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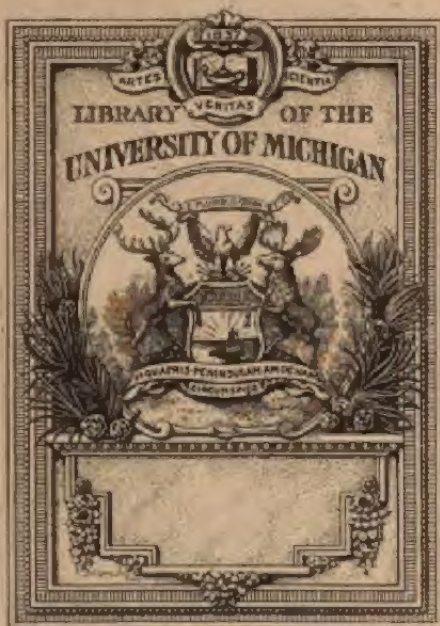
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**LARCHER'S**  
**NOTES ON HERODOTUS.**

**VOL. II.**

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LARCHER'S  
NOTES ON HERODOTUS.

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HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL

REMARKS

ON

THE NINE BOOKS

OF THE

HISTORY OF HERODOTUS;

WITH

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF

P. H. LARCHER,

MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE, AND OF THE LEGION OF HONOR; HONORARY  
MEMBER OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF LION; AND PROFESSOR  
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OF THE ACADEMY OF PARIS.

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## NOTES ON HERODOTUS.

### MELPOMENE. BOOK IV.

II. Ἐοθέερες] *They insert them into, &c.* Homer\* calls these people Galactophagi, that is to say, feeders on milk, and Hippemolgi, milkers of mares.

"I both saw and heard myself, at Basra," says M. Niebuhr,† "that when an Arab milks a female buffalo, another thrusts his hand and arm up to the elbow into the vulva of the animal; and they pretend to know from experience, that being thus excited, she yields a greater quantity of milk. This method greatly resembles that practised by the Scythians."

Περιζήαρες] *Round which they place, &c.* Of the two Mss. in the Royal Library, one has περιθήαρες, as we find in Stephens's Greek edition, and the other περιζήαρες. If we adopt περιζήαρες, which is the reading of the Medici Ms., followed by Gronovius, we must interpret it as περιθήαρες, and derive it from περιθήειν. Hesychius interprets περισιζοι by περικελᾶσαι. The translation of Gronovius, 'compungentes ad vasa,' is absurd. Herodotus uses the same expression in § CCII.

Τὸ μὲν αἶμα ἐπιστάμενον] *The portion of the milk which floats on the top.* This is cream. It is rather remarkable that there is no term either in Greek or in Latin to express this substance. Fortunatus, who lived in the 6th century, has used the word 'crema';‡ it is derived from 'cremor,' which the Latins employed to signify the gluten which floats on water in which grain has been macerated.

III. Τάπρον εὐδαί] *A wide ditch.* The Tauric Chersonesus is surrounded on all sides by the Euxine sea, the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and the Palus Mæotis, except a narrow neck which separates the gulf Carcinites from the Palus Mæotis: and there, I apprehend, the fosse which Herodotus mentions must have been cut. It begins at a place called Taphrḗ, where at the present time we find the town of Precops, which, according to the Abbé Briet, signifies in Tar-

\* Homer. Iliad. lib. xiii. vers. 5, 6.

† Description de l'Arabie, p. 140.

Her. No.

‡ Venant. Honor. Fortunati Poëmat. lib.

x; xlii. vers. 2.

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tanic, 'a ditch.' The Emperor\* Constantine Porphyrogenetes informs us, that in his time this canal was filled up. The mountains of which Herodotus speaks were within the confines of the Chersonesus Taurica; there are none beyond.

V. Σκύθαι λέγουσι] *The Scythians say that, &c.* The construction is Σκύθαι λέγουσι ὡς εἶναι . . . This is an Atticism, as to which the reader may consult Stephens, de Dialectis, p. 138. This treatise is to be found in the Appendix to his Thesaurus.

Νεώτατον] *Is the most modern.* Justin says† that the Scythians pretended to be more ancient than the Egyptians. This assertion is in express contradiction to Herodotus, and is equally opposed to probability. The descendants of Noah were not likely to have quitted the fine climates of Asia to explore the dreary regions of the north, till the soil of the former could no longer suffice for their nourishment.

Λειπόλαι] *The eldest was called Lipoxais.* M. Pelloutier\* calls these three princes, Leipoxain, Arpoxain, and Kolaxain. He adds, in a note, that this termination 'xain' seems to come from 'sahn,' the 'sohn' and 'son' of the Teutonic and the English: as Anderson, the son of Andrew, Johnson, the son of John, &c.

M. Pelloutier seems to me to be in error both in his text and in his note. In his text he gives these three proper names in the accusative case, as he has found them in the Latin versions, without referring to the nominatives Lipoxais, &c. This mistake has led him into another, namely, to search in the English and Teutonic languages for the termination 'xain,' a termination of the accusative case, the nominative of which ends in 'xais,' and the genitive in 'xaios.'

But this trifling error, and some others of a similar nature, which I may have occasion to point out in the notes upon this book, do not detract from the general merit of M. Pelloutier's *Histoire des Celtes*, which is a very curious work, distinguished by sound learning and deep research.

VI. Βασιλῆας] *Who was king.* According to the ordinary reading, these kings should be called 'Paralatæ;' but the Paralatæ were a people. M. Le Febvre-Villebrune, who some time back resided in Holland, but who is now in France, proposes to read τοῦ βασιλῆος instead of τοῦ βασιλῆας. This conjecture appears to me, as it did to M. Valckenaer, a very judicious one, and for this reason I have adopted it. M. Borheck has done so likewise, in his edition of Herodotus.

\* Constantin. de Administrat. Imper. cap. xlii.

† Justin. Hist. lib. ii. cap. i. p. 57, &c.

• Histoire des Celtes, Vol. i. p. 136.

Εἶναι οὖνομα Σκολότοι], *Are called Scoloti.* M. Pelloutier\* says, that the Scythians called their magistrates Scolotæ, and cites Herodotus. I think he has here fallen into a double error. Herodotus says, 1. that the people generally, and not their magistrates, were called Scoloti. This word Scolotus was a surname of their king. 2. They were called Scoloti, and not Scolotæ.

Σκύθαι] *Scythians.* Herodotus says that these people called themselves Scoloti, but that the Greeks gave them the name of Scythæ. In all probability† they gave them this name from their skill in archery; the Greek colonies established on the borders of the Euxine sea having afforded them an opportunity of remarking this peculiarity, and also of acquiring their language. At the present day, in Lithuania, 'szauti' signifies 'jaculari,' 'jaculatore.' From this word are derived 'szaudu,' which we find in Constantine Szyruidus, and which signifies, 'I draw the bow,' 'I shoot arrows,' and 'szaudikie,' which means an arrow. In Livonia, Finland, Courland, and Lapland, 'skytta,' 'kytta,' or 'kyt,' is an archer. The ancient Prussians, according to Prætorius, 'in orbe Gothico,' call an archer 'szythi.'

This appears to me a more probable account than that of M. Pelloutier, who derives this word from 'zihea,' which signifies to travel, or run about, because these people were Nomades.

VII. Χιλίων οὐ πλείον] *No more than a thousand years.* The Persian troops were nearly worn out by the siege of Babylon, which was tedious and sanguinary. It was necessary to allow them an interval of repose. The expedition against the Scythians required fresh levies and preparations, and those on a large scale, as Darius, aware that that people did not till their lands, knew that he must carry with him all necessary provisions. Five years will not be too long a time to assign for these preparations. I have therefore been induced, in concurrence with Petavius, to fix this expedition in the year 508 before our era. From this it will follow, that, according to their own account, the origin of the Scythians must be dated in the year 3206 of the Julian period, 1508 years before the vulgar era. If we adopt the opinion of the Greeks of Pontus, the Scythians are less ancient; and can date their origin only from the year 3360 of the Julian period, 1354 years before our era.

This is all the authority we can collect as to the origin of the Scythians, and this is not very satisfactory; but in default of better, we must content ourselves with it. Isidore of Seville, however, who died A.D. 636, has thought proper to date the migration of this people in the time of Sarag, great grandfather of Abraham. Messe-

\* Histoire des Celtes, Vol. I. p. 185.

lit. tom. I. p. 391.

† Commentarii Acad. Scient. Petropo-

\* Histoire des Celtes, tom. I. p. 144.



nina, in his work entitled 'Scandia illustrata,' has contented himself with copying this author. Liscander fixes the same epoch in the time of Abraham; and Roderic Zantius, about the time of Gideon. M. Pougen, after quoting these discordant authorities, adds,\* "that it is difficult to find in the histories of Greece, Rome, or Sweden, a more notable migration of the Goths into Egypt, into Greece, and into the Indies."

A fine collection of authorities certainly; the most ancient of which is 560 years posterior to the Christian era, and the others only of the last century. This is a strange abuse of his own leisure and the patience of his readers. It is the practice of some writers to erect a system founded wholly on fanciful etymologies, and sometimes on homonymies, as if they were ignorant that all mankind having had a common origin, there must have occurred in many of the ancient languages several words which were common to them all.

*Μετέρχονται*] Causes it to be brought. Had Herodotus meant only that the Scythians offered considerable sacrifices to this gold, he would have been content to say *θυσίαι μεγάλας μετέρχονται*, as he has in Book vi. § LXIX. *ἔπει τέ με λίσσῃσι μετέρχεαι*. M. Wesseling is of opinion that *μετέρχονται ἀπὸ πάντων ἔτος* signifies, that the kings cause this gold to be brought to the territories of each of them every year. I think he is in the right, and I have therefore followed his interpretation.

*Διὰ τοῦτο*] To indemnify him for the risk which he incurs. In the papers of M. Bellanger, I find the following remark of a man of letters :

"I think we should read, 'The Scythians say that it is the custom for the guardian of the sacred gold to sleep in the open air on the night of the festival, and that after that ceremony he does not survive the year. That to recompense him for having thus shortened his days, they give him, &c.' It appears to me, that we must in this passage add somewhat to the text, without which it is incomprehensible."

Herodotus does not speak of any custom; he says only, 'that if he who keeps the sacred gold should sleep, &c.' As to the end of the sentence, I am of opinion, with the annotator, that we must add somewhat to the text; but I doubt greatly whether he has laid hold of the true meaning of Herodotus. The gift of land that was made to this man would have ill compensated him for the abridgment of his life, if he was to die before he had derived any profit from it.

The sense which I have adopted appears to me more conformable to

\* *Essai sur les Antiquités du Nord*, &c. p. 69.

the context. The fate of the Scythians seems to have been attached by destiny to the preservation of these pieces of gold. He who was entrusted with the care of them, died in the course of the year, if he slept on the day of the festival. It was a punishment for his want of vigilance. If he did not sleep, the Scythians gave him a certain portion of land, to recompense him for his care, and to indemnify him for the risk he had run. Herodotus says only, 'and it is for this reason that they give him, &c.' In paraphrasing the passage as I have done, I think that I have adhered strictly to the real meaning of the historian.

As to the golden plough-share, I think it was only meant to enforce on the king of the Scythians, by that emblem, that agriculture was the most precious of all the arts.

[Ἰππὶ ἐν ἡμέρῃ μὴ περιλάσῃ] *Encompass in one day's journey on Horseback.* This was formerly the method of rewarding merit. "Donna amplissima Imperatorum ac fortium civium, quantum quis uno die plurimum circumaravisset."

At proceres . . . . .  
Ruris honorati tantum tibi, Cipe, dedere,  
Quantum depresso subjectis bubus aratro  
Comploti posset ad finem solis ab ortu.

"Cum illi ob virtutem et benè gestam Rempublicam tantum agri decerneretur, quantum arando uno die circuire potuisset."

[Πτεῖρᾱν] *Feathers.* These feathers are no other than flakes of snow, which fall in great abundance in that country, as we shall find, § xxxi.

VIII. Οἱ τὸν Πόντον οἰκοῦντες] *Who inhabit the borders of the Euxine sea.* In the Greek simply, 'those who inhabit the Pontus.' Herodotus and most of the ancients by Πόντος understand the sea in general; and we are to take it as applying to the Euxine sea, only when the sense and accompanying circumstances so limit it, that is to say, when our author is speaking of countries in the neighbourhood of the Euxine sea. He here speaks of the Scythians, and of their country situated on the borders of that sea. Circumstances therefore require that by the 'Greeks of Pontus,' we should understand the Pontic Greeks, in distinction from the Greeks of Greece.—DE LA NAUZE.

I have found this remark in a letter from M. De la Nauze to M. Bellanger, who understood this passage as applying to the Greeks of the Mediterranean.

\* Plin. lib. xviii. cap. iii. Vol. ii. p. 97. lib. 10.

<sup>1</sup> Ovidii Metamorph. lib. xv. v. 616.

\* Senec. de Benef. lib. vii. cap. vii. verius finem.

Ἐλαβόντα τὰς Γερύονας βοῦς] *Driving away the herds of oxen of Geryon.* The Latin has 'Geryonis vaccas agentem.' This is a misconstruction. The Ionians use the feminine with the name of the animal to signify a flock or herd. Ἡ ἵππος, is cavalry; ἡ ὄνος, is a herd of asses. Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι οἱ Ἴωνες πάσας τὰς ἀγέλας ἐκθηλύνουσι τῇ προφορᾷ, τὰς ἱπποῦς, καὶ τὰς ὄνους, καὶ τὰς βοῦς λέγοντες. Etymolog. m. p. 473. lin. 34.

Ἐξω τοῦ Πόντου] *Beyond the Pontus.* This is true with respect to the Græco-Scythians.

Ἐξω Ἑρακλήων στῆλέων] *Beyond the Pillars of Hercules.* This passage has occasioned a great deal of discussion, into which I do not think fit to enter. The point which should first have come under consideration was neglected till the last. Before endeavouring to explain the text, it would have been worth while to consider whether the text itself was correct. This no one attempted to do, till MM. Wesseling and Valckenaer, who, perceiving that the preposition ἐπὶ could by no means be allowed to remain, felt the less hesitation in suppressing it, as it is wanting in some of the Mss. It is certainly not found in the Ms. A of the Royal Library, though the various readings of the last edition of Herodotus indicate that it is in both the Mss. With respect to the position of Cadiz, beyond the Pillars of Hercules, see my note on § XXXIII. of Book II.

We must not believe that the Greek Hercules gave name to this place, whatever the Greek fables say on the subject. The Phœnicians, who frequented these coasts, carried thither, with their commerce, the worship of their Hercules. "The temple of Hercules, which is seen near the pillars, says Appian,<sup>a</sup> appears to me to have been founded by the Phœnicians; and this god is still adored there, after the manner of that people. This is not the Theban Hercules, but that of the Tyrians." This is also the opinion of Arrian,<sup>b</sup> and is consistent with probability.

IX. Τῖν' Ἐχίδναν] *A monster.* M. Pelloutier<sup>c</sup> calls this monster 'Siren.' But Homer represents the Sirens as very lovely women. The scholiasts give them wings, as does Servius on versè 864 of the 5th Book of the Æneid, and Hyginus, Fable CXLII. p. 248. But the same Hyginus<sup>d</sup> also says, that their lower parts, i. e. their feet, were like those of fowls, and in this he is confirmed by Fulgentius.

Diodorus Siculus speaks also of this monster,<sup>e</sup> and describes it as Herodotus does; but he makes it to have been a mistress of Jupiter, by whom he had 'Scythes,' who became celebrated, and gave his name to the nation.

<sup>a</sup> Appian. de Rebus Hispanicis, p. 426.

<sup>b</sup> Arrian. Expedit. Alexandri, lib. II. § xvi. p. 131.

<sup>c</sup> Histoire des Celtes, Vol. I. p. 126.

<sup>d</sup> Hyginus Fabulæ, Fab. 125. p. 222.

<sup>e</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. II. § XLII. p. 153.

Ἐπεὶν γένονται τρέφεις] *When they shall be grown up.* On this passage consult the learned note of Valckenaer, to which nothing need be added. I take this opportunity, however, of correcting Hesychius at the word τρέφεις; instead of εὖ τρεφόμενος, we should read ἐκτετραμμένος, which is a very trifling alteration. Εὖ τρεφόμενος signifies 'well fed, fattened'; ἐκτετραμμένος, 'adult.'

\* Πικροὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἔξῃ ἐκτετραμμένοι.

'When you shall have reached the age of puberty, you will come and punish them.' \* Venietis enim acerbi istis, adulti.'

Ἐντέλλομαι] *I command.* Ἐντέλλομαι cannot be a various reading; it is an error in the edition of Thomas Gale, which has been transcribed into that of Gronovius. This error is not found either in the *Man.* of the Royal Library, or in the editions of Aldus or Stephens.

X. Σκύθης] *Scythæ.* M. Pelloutier<sup>a</sup> calls him 'Scythæ,' and in another place 'Scythus,' and cites Herodotus. The latter historian always calls him 'Scythæ.'

Τὸ δὲ μόνον μαχαιροῦσθαι τὴν μητέρα Σκύθῃ. Such was the sense contrived in his favour by his mother. I read, partly with Suidas, and partly with some excellent *Mss.* τὸ δὲ μόνον μαχαιροῦσθαι τὴν μητέρα Σκύθῃ. Gronovius was wrong in transcribing Suidas with such acrimony. Τὸ δὲ . . . . μαχαιροῦσθαι occurs in the *Ms.* of Sacerdote, the *Mss.* A and B of the Royal Library, and in one of the Imperial Library at Vienna, as well as Σκύθῃ. Vala found the same reading in the *Ms.* which he used, as appears by his translation. See M. Wesseling's edition of Herodotus, p. 155, note 12.

XI. Μὴδὲ πρὸς πολλοῖς ὁμιλοῦσθαι ἀνθρώποις. Not to appear himself to the risk, &c. We read in the *Mss.* A and B of the Royal Library, μὴδὲ πρὸς πολλοῖς ὁμιλοῦσθαι ἀνθρώποις, and M. Wesseling observes that the same reading is found in a *Ms.* of the Imperial Library, and likewise in that of Sacerdote. After this we are surprised at the assurance of Gronovius, who asserts that all the *Mss.* have τὸ πρὸς πολλοῖς ὁμιλοῦσθαι. In the edition of Aldus we find τὸ πρὸς πολλοῖς ὁμιλοῦσθαι. M. Wesseling thinks that ὁμιλοῦσθαι is a corruption, and that it was written by a copyist who had written this word in the margin, and from the margin it may have come into the text. M. Wesseling, however, thinks that we should read ὁμιλοῦσθαι ἀνθρώποις, which occurs a little before. According to this translation we should translate, 'and they the people surrounded himself to' . . . M. Valckenauer proposes τὸ πρὸς πολλοῖς ὁμιλοῦσθαι ἀνθρώποις.

<sup>a</sup> *Enquêt. Suppl.* 1522.

<sup>b</sup> *Herodotus des Colon.* Vol. 1. p. 155.



μηδὲ πρὸς πολλοὺς οὐδὲν δέον μένοντας κωδυνεύειν : which he thus translates : 'Ita rem esse comparatam, ut optimum videretur excedere à regione, neque manendo atque adversus exercitum numerosum pugnando frustra se objicere periculo.'

This conjecture is a very happy one ; but as it requires too much alteration, I adhere to the first reading, and I am of opinion that we should suppress *δεόμενον* ; by which means the sentence becomes intelligible.

M. Coray thinks that we ought not to suppress *δεόμενον*. He considers it an Ionian tautology, which is to be found in Homer, which many authors since him, both in prose and in verse, have employed, but which no one has used so frequently as Herodotus. It is to be found in almost every page of this last-named author ; in proof of this M. Coray gives a list, which it is scarcely worth while to insert here : he also observes that he could cite a list of instances of this tautology from Hippocrates, another Ionian author ; and he then adds : "The Attic authors have been more reserved in their use of it, especially the prose writers, with the exception of two, who wrote when the language was on its decline. The Septuagint, for example, is full of instances, which must be attributed to the Hebrew text, where a frequent repetition of this Oriental figure occurs. Amongst the writers of the New Testament I recollect but one instance, which is in St. John's Gospel, chap. i. verse 20. *καὶ ὁμολόγησε, καὶ οὐκ ἠρνήσατο.*"

I cannot agree with M. Coray. Of all the examples which he cites, there is not one which bears the slightest analogy to the passage under consideration. He has not observed that in all these examples, as well as in a thousand others which he might have noticed, there is always a term opposed to the first, and that this term is preceded by a negation. I give some examples, in order to make the thing more obvious. *Κατ' αἶσαν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ αἶσαν ἡδύς, οὐδὲ μητρὶ δυσχερὴς ἐμμανής, ἀλλ' οὐ φρενής.* Sometimes the negative precedes, as in the following : *Οὐ χυλεῖται, ἀλλ' εὐπεθέως οὐ πλείο, ἀλλὰ τοσαῦτα οὐ πολλόν, ἀλλὰ σπάνιον.*

From these circumstances I am led to conclude that no tautology was here intended, and that *δεόμενον* must be suppressed.

*Τὸν δῆμον τῶν Κιμμερίων*] *That part of the people.* The Greek says merely, the Cimmerians ; but as the whole nation is not intended, but only one of the factions into which it was divided, I have thought proper to mark the distinction.

It should seem from this passage, that the country occupied by the Cimmerians extended westward as far as the Tyras or Dniester.

XII. *Κιμμέρια τείχεα*] *The cities of Cimmerium.* *Τείχος* signifies

a city or a castle. See notes, Book III. § xc1. and Book IV. § cxxiv. I call this city Cimmerium, in the singular, after Pliny, lib. vi. cap. vi. Vol. I. p. 306.

Πορθμία Κιμμέρια] *Cimmerian Porthmia*. I have met with persons who attending only to the signification of this word, which means 'a passage,' have been surprised at my translation of it. They had no conception that it was the name of a town, whence there was a convenient passage across the Cimmerian Bosphorus. Any one who should translate 'Trajectum ad Rhenum' into French, by 'trajet sur le Rhin,' (or in English, 'passage across, up, or down the Rhine,') instead of 'Utrecht,' would incur the risk of being laughed at.

XIIb. Ἄλλος λεγόμενος λόγος] *This other manner of relating, &c.* This passage appears to me to have no reference to the narration of Aristæus, but to the following words at the commencement of § xr. "They also relate another, to which I willingly subscribe."

Herodotus has a practice of finishing his narrations by this kind of recapitulation. An attention to this would have prevented Du Ryer and the Latin translators from referring this passage to that which follows it.

In the time of Herodotus there were four opinions on the history of the Scythians: The first, that of the Scythians themselves; it is mentioned in § v. The second, that of the Pontic Greeks, which commences in § viii. and continues to the end of § x. The third was common to the Greeks and the Barbarians, and was adopted by Herodotus; it is given in §§ xi. and xii. The fourth is that of Aristæus of Proconnesus, which commences § xiii.

Ἀριστεύς ἀπὸ Πρωκοννήσου] *Aristæus of Proconnesus*. He wrote the Arimaspiæ, an epic poem in three books, upon the war of the Arimaspi with the Griffins. Longinus has quoted six verses, which, in the opinion of that celebrated critic,\* are more remarkable for florid ornament, than for grandeur or sublimity. I give a translation of them by Boileau, which I could wish to be more strict; that of St. Marc, in his edition of this poet, is wretched.

"Oh, astonishing prodigy! Oh, incredible fury!  
That madmen on frail vessels  
Should go far from land to inhabit the waters,  
And, pursuing by sea an uncertain passage,  
Seek far and wide for care and trouble.  
Never do they taste peaceful repose.  
Their eyes are fixed on Heaven, and their minds on the waters:  
Their arms extended, their feelings moved,  
They address to the gods the prayers of despair."

\* Longin. de Sublim. § x. p. 40.

Tzetzes\* has preserved six other verses of this poem, which the reader will perhaps not be displeased to find quoted here. "The Essedones, proud of their long hair, have for their neighbours, on the northern side, a numerous people, brave and warlike, rich in horses, and in herds of oxen and sheep; they have but one eye in their lovely foreheads; their hair is thick. They are the strongest of all men."

Dionysius of Halicarnassus† looked on this poem as wholly imaginary. See note 1. on § xv.

Χρυσόφυλακας Γρύπας] *The Griffins which guard the gold.* These are not a people, as some writers have supposed, but a fabulous animal. "We observe on each side of Minerva's helmet," says Pausanias,‡ "a Griffin. Aristæas of Proconnesus says, in his verses, that they are always at war, on account of their gold, with the Arimaspi, who live beyond the Essedones; that the gold which the Griffins guard shoots up from the earth; that the Arimaspi are a people who from their birth have but one eye; that the Griffins are animals resembling the lion, but with the beak and the wings of an eagle."

Υπερβορέων] *The Hyperboreans.* Olen of Lycia, a poet and a diviner, is the first who makes mention of this people. He speaks of them in a hymn§ upon Achæa, who came from amongst the Hyperboreans to Delos. The Abbé Godeyn has confounded this woman with Achæa, a country of the Peloponnesus. See note 3. on § xxxv.

Ἐπὶ τῇ νοτίῃ θαλάσῃ] *The sea-coast towards the south.* Could we expect probability in the works of an author so justly decried as Aristæas, we might remark, that he here means the coast of the Euxine sea, near the Tauric Chersonesus, which is in fact towards the south, as regards the Essedones, the Arimaspi, &c.

With a view of giving a shade of probability to this account, I have translated 'the sea-coast towards the south,' though the original has 'the borders of the Southern sea.'

XIV. Ἰόντι ἐπὶ Κυζίκου] *Going to Cyzicum.* Plutarch\* no doubt supposed that the pretended death of Aristæas occurred in some other place than Proconnesus, as he makes out that he was met by travellers on the road to Crotona. The same author adds, immediately afterwards, the story of a certain Cleomedes of Astypalæa, who, being pursued, threw himself into a large chest, which he shut down upon himself. After many vain efforts to unclothe the chest, it was finally broke open; but Cleomedes was not found either dead or alive. Pau-

\* Tzetzes Chiliad. vii. vers. 688.

† Dionys. Halicarnass. de Thucydide

Judicium, § xxiii p. 235. lin. 19, &c.

‡ Pausan. Attic. age lib. i. p. 67.

§ Pausan. Eliacomm prior, sive lib. v. cap. vi p. 392.

\* Plutarch. in Romulo, p. 36. D.

sanias\* relates the same story. There would be no end to quoting such tales, whether from ancient or modern writers.

XV. *Μετὰ τὴν ἀφάνισιν τὴν δευτέραν Ἀριστεύ ἔρεσι τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίαις*] *Three hundred and forty years after the second disappearance of Aristæus.* "Aristæus of Proconnesus<sup>†</sup> lived about the 50th Olympiad, that is to say, 580 B.C." This is founded upon Suidas and some other authors, who place it in the 1st year of the 50th Olympiad; but, according to the account of the Metapontines, he must have lived long before the 1st Olympiad, as he re-appeared<sup>‡</sup> 340 years after he had disappeared for the second time. Herodotus, however, does not fix the date of this third appearance.

Du Ryer has a misconception which might mislead chronologists. Tatian<sup>§</sup> makes Aristæus more ancient than Homer. However this may be, in the time of Aulus Gellius<sup>¶</sup> his works either were, or were believed to be, extant. But see note 2. on § XIII.

*Ἰταλιωτῶν μόνον*] *The only people of the Italiots.* There is the same difference between the *Ἰταλιῶται* and the *Ἰταλοὶ*, that there is between the *Σικελοὶ* and the *Σικελιῶται*. The *Ἰταλοὶ* and the *Σικελοὶ* were the ancient people of Italy and of Sicily; the *Ἰταλιῶται* and the *Σικελιῶται* were the Greeks who had established themselves in those countries. See Stephanus of Byzantium.<sup>¶</sup>

*Κύραξ*] *A crow.* Pliny<sup>‡</sup> relates this story a little differently. It was the soul of Aristæus which quitted his body, and appeared under the form of a crow. "Aristæus etiam visam (animam) evolantem ex ore in Proconneso, corvi effigie, magna, quæ sequitur, fabulositate."

*Περί δὲ αὐτῶν δάσυναι ἑστῆαι*] *Laurel trees which surround them.* I read, with the Ms. of Saucroft, *περὶ δὲ αὐτῶν*. In the Ms. A of the Royal Library, we have *περὶ δὲ αὐτῶν*. M. Borheck has adopted the reading of Saucroft's Ms. It appears that these were not natural trees, but manufactured in bronze.<sup>¶</sup> Why has not Herodotus noticed this? It is probable that they were originally natural trees, but that when these perished, they were replaced by others in bronze.

XVI. *Ἡμεῖς ὑπεκτός ἐπὶ μετὰ τὸν*] *We have carried our researches, &c.* "Notwithstanding some ambiguities and some apparent contradictions," says the learned Major Rennel,<sup>¶</sup> "which we

\* Pausan. *Elucar. posterior. sive lib.* iv. Vol. I. p. 235.

† cap. 12. p. 474.

‡ Histoire des Celtes, tom. I. cap. ii. pp. 11, 12.

§ The Ms. B of the Royal Library has *ἑκατόν*, two hundred.

¶ Tatian. *Orat. ad Græcos.* § lxii. p. 130.

¶ Aul. Gell. *Noct. Attic. lib. ix. cap.*

iv. Vol. I. p. 235.

¶ Steph. Byzant. voc. *Ἰταλία*.

¶ Plin. *Hist. Nat. lib. vii. cap. lii. Vol. I. p. 407 lib. 19.*

¶ Athen. *Deipnosoph. lib. xiii. cap. viii. p. 685. C.*

¶ The Geographical System of Herodotus, p. 81.



find in the geographical description of Scythia, it is certain that Herodotus bestowed very great attention on the subject. From the solemn declaration that he makes in the beginning, we may suppose that he intended it to make a considerable impression. It has seldom happened that a traveller who derived his information concerning the geography of so extensive a country from sources so casual, has produced a description comprising so many circumstances in accordance with the truth."

XVIII. Ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ἀνω] *Above this country.* M. Valckenaer reads ἀνω, instead of ἀνθρωποι. This conjecture is founded on a Ms. of the Royal Library, in which we find ἄνοι, which has been taken for an abbreviation of ἀνθρωποι, as it often is. See M. Valckenaer's note. M. Borheck has ἀνω in his edition.

Ἀνδροφάγοι] *Androphagi.* To what I have said in the Geographical Table may be added, that they have the Melanchlenni on the east, the Neuri on the south-west, and that they occupy the Palatinate of Volhinia, which now forms a part of Russia.

XIX. Ὑλὴ δὲ δένδρεων] *Is without trees.* See § LXI.: ὕλη, whence the name Hylæa, signifies 'a forest.'

XX. Ταῦτα δὲ τὰ καλούμενα Βασιλῆα] *The country of the royal Scythians.* It is thus that I explain τὰ καλούμενα Βασιλῆα ἔστι. Others have rendered it by 'the abode of the kings of Scythia;' but a few lines lower down, and likewise in § LVI, Herodotus speaks distinctly of these royal Scythians.

XXI. Ἡ μὲν πρώτη] *The first, &c.* In the Greek, 'the first of the divisions.' Λάξις is not the name of a people, as M. Bayer,\* the author of a Memoir on the state of Scythia in the time of Herodotus considered, but an Ionian term, as we see in Gregory, archbishop of Corinth, (de Dialectis, p. 252.) In common parlance, λῆξις is used. Τὴν δὲ γῆν ταύτην ἀρίστην φασὶ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς εἶναι, καὶ μεγίστην τῶν ἐκεί λήξεων. 'They say that it is the finest country of India, and the most extensive of its provinces.' The Latin translator has not understood this word in Philostratus.

M. de Guignes,† probably borrowing from M. Bayer, has given us a people whom he calls 'Laxes,' and which never had an existence but in the Latin version of Valla.

XXII. Ἰσκαί] *The Iyrcæ.* It is in vain that MM. Falconet‡ and Mallet§ wish us here to read Τύρκοι, the Turks, as in Pomponius

\* Commentarii Acad. Scient. Petropol. tom. xxiv. p. 545.  
Vol. i. p. 421.

† Philostrat. Vit. Apollon. lib. iii. cap. v. p. 98.

‡ Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres,

§ In a Ms. note in the margin of his Herodotus, in my possession.

¶ Introduction à l'Histoire de Danemark, p. 38.

*Mela.\** It is better, with Plintianus, to correct the text of that geographer by Herodotus. Pliny<sup>b</sup> confounds this people with the Thyssagetæ. I doubt if any such people are mentioned by any other writer.

XXIII. Σμοί] *They have flat noses.* The Tartars of the present day have flat noses. Some ancient writers, I believe those who composed the History of Byzantium, have advanced that the Huns depressed the noses of their children, to make the helmet fit better to the face. Modern authors have repeated the assertion after them; but neither are well informed as to the customs of the Tartars. Their helmets do not reach down to the nose; they are merely little coifs, with a border, covering the top of the head, as may be seen in the description given by Gerbillon in his Travels, p. 327. Besides, their women likewise have flat noses, though they do not go to war, and wear no helmets. It is therefore a peculiarity which results from nature, and not from art.

Φωνὴν δὲ ἰδίην ἑαυτοῖς] *They have a language peculiar to themselves.* Herodotus wishing to point out what these people had in common with the Scythians, and in what they differed from them, remarks that they had a language peculiar to themselves. Æschines, moreover, has used<sup>c</sup> the word *φωνή* in the same sense. Demosthenes, says he, is a Scythian by birth, and a Greek only by language, ἑλληνίζων τῇ φωνῇ.

Πρόβατα γὰρ οὐκ ὅσά τ' ἐστ' ] *They have but a small stock of cattle.* Πρόβατα in Herodotus signifies not only sheep, but all sorts of cattle and live stock with four feet. 'Πάντα τὰ τετράποδα ἐκάλουον οἱ παλαιοὶ πρόβατα.' 'The ancients called all animals with four feet προβατα.'

Πόλιν στεγνὴν λευκῇ] *A stuff of white wool.* This was not a woven web, but a conglomerated mass, a kind of felt. The word *στέγναι*, 'firmus,' joined to *πίλος*, seems to me decisive on this point. It must be understood of a tent of felt. I have not however hazarded the expression. See also note l. on § Ixxv.

XXIV. Πολλὴ περιφάνεια τῆς χώρας ἐστ' ] *We have a thorough acquaintance.* Πολλὴ περιφάνεια χώρας does not signify to have an extensive view of a country, that a large proportion of it is perceived, but to have a thorough knowledge of it. 'Τοσαύτη περιφάνεια τῆς ἐμῆς ποιήσεως ἐγένετο παρ' αὐτοῖς.' 'So great a knowledge had they of my adoption.'

\* Pompos. *Mela*, lib. i. cap. xix. Vol. i. p. 116.

<sup>b</sup> Plin. lib. vi. cap. vii. Vol. i. p. 307.

<sup>c</sup> Æschin. advers. Ctesiphont. p. 78.

<sup>d</sup> Schol. Homer. in *Iliad*. lib. xiv. vers. 124.

<sup>e</sup> *Isæus* de Apollodori Hereditate, p. 66. lin. 17.

M. Wesseling notices this signification of the expression, and refers to *Isæus*.

We may also add another passage of the same author : " Νῦν δὲ τῇ περιφάνειᾳ τοῦ πράγματος, καὶ τῇ συνειδέναι ταῦτα πολλοὺς, οὐδαμῶθεν ἡμφισβητήθη τοιοῦτον οὐδέν. ' These points were never disputed, as being well known by all the world.' 'Τοσαύτη περιφάνεια τοῦ πράγματος ἔστιν. ' So clear an insight have we into this affair.'

XXV. Οἱ δὲ φαλακροὶ οὔροι] *The Argippæi*. I here put the name of the people, to avoid the too frequent repetition of 'these bald men.'

Johannes Ihrus, in his Suiro-Gothic Dictionary pretends, and M. Pougens after him,\* that the Phalacri were a Scythian people, and both of them cite Herodotus, Book iv. But the fact is, 1. that Herodotus speaks of the Argippæi.<sup>†</sup> These people, it is true, were bald, φαλακροί; but that was neither their name nor their surname. 2. The same historian remarks, that this people was not Scythian. Those two learned writers on the antiquities of the north, should have acquired a greater familiarity with the Greek authors.

Αἰγίποδες ἄνδρες] *Men with goats' feet*. These mountaineers, accustomed to ascend the most difficult crags, were, doubtless, compared by the Argippæi to the goats who climb the highest rocks. They therefore used the expression of 'goats feet' figuratively, and Herodotus understood it strictly.

XXVI. Ἀγάλματι χρέωντα] *They use it as a precious vase*. Ἀγάλμα signifies any thing that is precious. When the Essedones, says Herodotus, have thoroughly cleansed the skulls of their fathers, they gild them, and use them as precious vases in their solemn festivals. This appears to me the true meaning of the passage, which Vossius does not seem to have understood. These festivals were probably instituted in honour of their fathers; but it was not to the heads of their fathers that they offered a sort of worship, as that writer has supposed. They used them as drinking-cups. "Capita ubi fabrè expolivere, auro vineta pro poculis gerunt," as Pomponius Mela says, in speaking of the Essedones. They made the same use of the skulls of their fathers, that the Boii did of those of their enemies. "Purgato indè capite, ut mos iis est, calvam auro celavere; idque sacrum vas iis erat, quo solemnibus libarent." It would have been rather remarkable that the Essedones should have prepared the skulls of their

\* *Isæus de Cironis Hereditate*, p. 71. lib. 8.

† Demosthen. prima contra Stephanum, p. 622. lib. 2.

‡ *Essai sur les Antiquités du Nord*, p. 80.

§ Herodot. lib. iv. § xxv.

¶ Pomponius Mela, lib. ii. cap. i. p. 120. et ibi Vossius.

‡ Livius, lib. xiii. cap. xxiv. § xii.

fathers in exactly the same manner that the Boii did those of their enemies, and should afterwards have applied them to a different use.

Major Rennel<sup>a</sup> saw skulls fashioned into the shape of a cup, and thoroughly varnished within and without: they had been taken from temples or other places used for public worship. But the Major does not decide whether they had been preserved out of enmity or friendship: he is inclined to believe, however, that it was from the former motive. They had been brought from Boutan, which is the same country as that of the Yugures, where this writer places the Essedones.

Τὰ γενέσια] *The anniversary of the death.* Some persons may be surprised that I should thus translate γενέσια. There is a difference, says Ammonius,<sup>b</sup> between γενέθλια and γενέσια. The first stands for the anniversary of any one's birth; γενέσια for the anniversary of a death. And he goes so far as to say, that those who use γενέσια for the anniversary of a birth, commit an impropriety.

XXVII. Σκοῦ δὲ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν] *And 'spou,' the eye.* See the preface of Wachter ad Glossarium Germanicum, sect. τ.iii.

XXVIII. Ἢ δὲ θάλασσα πηγιύται] *Even the sea freezes in this frightful climate.* The Greeks, who had little or no knowledge of these countries, thought that the sea could not freeze; they therefore considered this assertion of Herodotus as fabulous. The moderns, who have acquired an intimate acquaintance with these regions, know that Herodotus was correct.

Οἱ ἐντὶς τάφου Σκύθαι] *The Scythians of the Chersonesus.* In the Greek, 'who dwell within the canal.' Herodotus means the canal or ditch dug by the sons of the slaves, of which he had spoken in § 111. This ditch or canal closed the entrance to the Chersonesus.

Κατοικημένοι στρατεύονται] *Pass in whole armies.* I have endeavoured in my translation to render supportable the Greek expression στρατεύονται, to which M. Valckenær takes so well-founded an exception. M. Van Eldick's correction<sup>c</sup> στραγγεύονται, is tolerable; but if we adopt it, we must translate, 'dwell on this ice.' We know that in the north huts are frequently built on the ice. Στρατεύονται and στραγγεύονται are easily confounded, as M. Wesseling remarks, in his 98th note on § cxxiv. of this Book.

Ὅροι δὲ καὶ ἡμυροὶ] *Mules and asses.* "Ipsum animal<sup>d</sup> (asinus) frigoris maxime impatiens: ideo non generatur in Ponto: nec equinoctio verno, ut cætera pecua, admittitur, sed solstitio."

Asses are very scarce in northern countries. Though the climate

<sup>a</sup> The Geographical System of Herodotus, p. 144.

<sup>c</sup> Suspicionum specimen, cap. ii. p. 16.

<sup>d</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. viii. cap. xliii.

<sup>b</sup> Ammonius de affinium vocabulorum Vol. I. p. 469. lin. 3.

Differentia, voc. γενέθλια, p. 24.

of England is for the most part mild and temperate, that animal is not common there, and never reaches its full perfection, as I have ascertained by travelling over the whole country for the space of two years; but things may have altered since I was in that country, fifty years back.

XXIX. Τὸ γένος τῶν βοῶν τὸ κέλον διὰ ταῦτα οὐ φέει κέρα αἰρόθι] *The rigour of the climate prevents their oxen from having horns.* Hippocrates, speaking of the cars of the Scythians,<sup>a</sup> says, that they are drawn by oxen without horns, and that the cold prevents them from having any.

"The oxen<sup>b</sup> are born without horns; or, if they have any, they cut them off, for that part is very susceptible of cold."

<sup>c</sup>Εν Ὀδυσσεῒ] *In the Odyssey.* Book iv. verse 85.

XXX. Ἐκ κατάρας τινος] *The effect of some malediction.* "Why do the Eleans,<sup>c</sup> when their mares are at heat, take them beyond their frontiers to have them covered? Is it because Cœnoëus, he who of all their kings took the greatest delight in horses, uttered tremendous curses against the mares who should be covered in Elis? and is it from apprehension of the effects of this curse, that they cause them to be covered in other countries?"

Pausanias makes the same remark that Herodotus does:—"In Elis<sup>d</sup> the mares will not conceive by asses, though they will out of the country. They attribute this circumstance to a certain malediction." The Abbé Gedoy<sup>e</sup> has strangely disfigured this passage. "Which is attributed," he makes Pausanias say, "to the horror which the Eleans feel for this mixture of the two species." It appears that he did not even understand the Latin of Amasæus. If he had had ever so slight a knowledge of the Greek, the passage from Herodotus which Kuhn<sup>f</sup> has quoted, at the bottom of the page, would have served to explain that of Pausanias, and have kept the Abbé from this mistake. Pausanias says, in another place,<sup>g</sup> that the mule was an animal considered accursed by the Eleans from the most remote periods, and that it was not bred in their country. This passage, which the Abbé has maimed in a similar manner, may serve to explain the former one.

This malediction was no doubt the reason why, in Olympia, the races of chariots drawn by mules, which had been introduced in the 70th Olympiad, by Thersias of Thessaly, were abolished.<sup>h</sup> The un-

<sup>a</sup> Hippocrat. de aëribus, aquis et locis, v. p. 384.  
Vol. i. p. 352.

<sup>b</sup> Strab. lib. vii. p. 421. C.

<sup>c</sup> Plutarch. Quæst. Græcæ, p. 303. B.

<sup>d</sup> Pausan. lib. v. sive Eliac. prior, cap.

<sup>e</sup> Pausan. François, in 4to. p. 151.

<sup>f</sup> Pausan. Eliac. prior, sive lib. v. cap. ix. p. 390.

<sup>g</sup> Id. ibid. p. 390.



graceful appearance of this kind of equipage might likewise have contributed to its being proscribed.

Although this mule race has a very remote reference indeed to the passage of Herodotus, I cannot here refrain from discussing a point of criticism regarding it.

The scholiast of Pindar<sup>a</sup> asserts, that the race of the Ἀρήναι, or chariots drawn by mules, subsisted only ten years, and that it was abolished about the 89th Olympiad. It had been introduced therefore, according to this scholiast, in the 86th Olympiad; a period long posterior to the time of Pausanias. Nevertheless, as this same scholiast remarks that Psaumis, to whom the ode on which he comments is addressed, obtained the prize of the Ἀρήναι in the 82d Olympiad, there must be an error in his text. He says, on the 6th Olympic,<sup>b</sup> that the race of the Ἀρήναι was abolished, according to some, in the 85th Olympiad, and according to others, in the 86th. He is then in agreement with Pausanias; for we find in that author, that in the 84th Olympiad it was proclaimed, that for the future there would be no races of the Ἀρήναι. This prohibition would therefore take effect in the succeeding Olympiad, which was the 85th. I give the entire passage from Pausanias, which the Abbe Gedoyne did not understand. "They also abolished certain games at Olympia; the Eleans, from a change of sentiment, having resolved to celebrate them no more . . . that is to say, the races of the Ἀρήναι and of Calpe, the first of which had been established in the 70th Olympiad, and the other in the Olympiad following. In the 84th Olympiad it was proclaimed, that for the future there should be no races of the Ἀρήναι and of Calpe. Thersias of Thessaly obtained the prize at the first institution of the Ἀρήναι, and Patæcus of Dyme in Achaia, at that of Calpe." After this explanation, I should be disposed to read in the scholiast, ἀλλὰ δωδεκαετης, instead of ἀλλὰ δεκαετης, and ὀγδοηκοστήν πέμπτην instead of ὀγδοηκοστήν ἐνάτην. I interpret χρόνος δὲ τῆς οὐ μακρᾶς, not of the entire duration of these races, but only of their duration from the time of the victory obtained by Psaumis in the 82d Olympiad. By this method, the scholiast is reconciled both with himself and with Pausanias.

There yet remains a slight difficulty. The scholiast says, on the 8th Olympic, that it was a certain Asandrostus that also applied himself to this contest with mules, Ἀσανδρόστατος ἐπεκίδευσεν καὶ ἡμιονοῦς ἀγωνίζεσθαι: whilst Pausanias, a very exact historian, says, that it was Thersias, whom the Abbe Gedoyne calls 'Thersius,' because he

<sup>a</sup> Scholiast. Pindari ad Pindar. Olymp. Oxon.

v. c. 16. 6.

<sup>b</sup> Pausan. Eliac. prior, sive lib. v. cap.

<sup>c</sup> Id. τὸν πρῶτον καὶ ἄλλων, p. 59. ex edit. ix. pp. 395, 396.

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has consulted only the Latin, where it is so written. The text of the scholiast appears to me to be altered in this place also, and I am inclined to read *Θέρσανδρος τις ἐνερθήδευος*, &c. Asandrastus is not a Greek name; and the Thersias of Pausanias appears to be equivalent to and the same with Thersander.

This note was written in 1772. There has since appeared at Groningen, in 1777, a translation of the Dissertation of Richard Bentley, and the answer of this learned man to Charles Boyle. I was surprised to observe the conformity of my note with pages 87 and 88 of the work of Bentley, which I had not been able to procure in English, on account of its great scarcity. I am glad, however, to give up the palm of originality, in this respect, to that learned man.

But to return to Herodotus; Gronovius, in his edition, has suppressed *rev* after *καράνης*, because it is not found in the Ms. of Florence, and he takes the opportunity of imputing the insertion of it to Stephens. This learned writer, who has done so much honour to France, no doubt found it in his Ms. It is also in that of Sauerstoff, and in the Mss. A and B of the Royal Library, and so it should seem that both Pausanias and Eustathius read it. (See M. Valckenaer's note.)

XXXI. *Εἰκάζοντες, τὴν χιόρην*] *It is from their resemblance to snow.* The Psalmist\* compares snow to flocks of wool, "he giveth snow like wool;" an expression which presents a sort of picture. That the Scythians, who beheld the snow fall in abundance in their country, should have compared it to feathers, does not surprise me; but that an African, who could rarely have witnessed such a spectacle, should use the very same expression, and that without having read Herodotus, I confess is rather astonishing. Johannes Leo Africanus says, that below the town of Imizmizi there is a defile which crosses mount Atlas, and leads to the country of Guzsula; that this defile is called Burris, that is to say, covered over with feathers, "eo quod<sup>b</sup> frequentes illic admodum cadant nives, quas plumas quis potius quam nivem judicaret."

*μακρότατα*] *These remote countries.* The comma which is after *ἀέθρας*, I place after *μακρότατα*.

XXXII. *Ὑπερβορέων*] *Of the Hyperboreans.* M. Fréret places this people\* beyond mount Boras, and thinks it is for this reason that they are called Hyperboreans. His conjecture does not appear to me admissible. He urges in support of it, that this mount borders on Ulyria. But if it was really so near Greece, how can the Greeks to broach such a variety of fables as to the sit

\* Psalm cxxiii. vers. 5.

\* Mémoires de l'Acad. des Belles L.

<sup>b</sup> Jo. Leonis Africani Africae Descriptio, tres, tom. xviii. Hist. p. 200. lib. ii. fol. 86.

tion of the countries beyond this mountain? 2. It should seem that the name of this mountain is altered in Livy, and that we should read 'Bernus,' as it is written in Diodorus Siculus, Vol. II. p. 644. line 4. or rather 'Bermius,' as we find in Herodotus, Book VIII. § CXXXVIII.

It appears by \* the scholiast of Pindar, that the Greeks, in his time, called the Thracians Boreans; and it is therefore very probable, that they called those who lived beyond, Hyperboreans. Constantine Porphyrogenetes appears to confirm this opinion, when he says,<sup>†</sup> that there are many considerable nations extending as far as the Danube, in the country of the Hyperboreans. The fact is, that the Greeks understood by this word the most distant people towards the north. They applied it sometimes to one nation, sometimes to another, as their acquaintance with geography increased. Herodotus, who possessed more information than most of the writers who succeeded him, applies it to a particular people. See the Geographical Table, article HYPERBOREANS.

These people appear to have been originally Greeks; the worship of the Delian Apollo, their rites, and some traces of their language observable in their proper names, all give strength to the conjecture.

'Εν 'Επιδόμοις.] *In the Epigoni.* This poem is very ancient, though in all probability Homer was not the author of it. The scholiast of Aristophanes<sup>‡</sup> attributes it to Antimachus. But Antimachus of Colophon, who was anterior to Plato, according to Suidas,<sup>§</sup> was posterior to Herodotus, or at least his contemporary. It was therefore impossible to impose on our historian in this particular. The Thebaid of Antimachus was not sufficiently known at Athens, at the time when Aristophanes produced his pieces, nor did the Athenians hold it in sufficient esteem to teach it to their children.

The author of the dispute between Homer and Hesiod quotes this verse of the Epigoni: †

Νῦν αἶθ' ὀπλοτέρων ἀρχώμεθα Μοῦσαι.

'Muses, let us now recommence our songs with the exploits of these young warriors.'

The poet gives the name of ὀπλοτέρους to the sons of those warriors who perished in the first war of Thebes.

The second war was the subject of the Epigoni. Aristophanes, in

\* Scholiast. Pindari ad Pyth. Od. iv. vers. 321. p. 224. col. 2. lin. 4.

† De Administrat. Imperii, p. 78. ex edit. Handuri.

‡ Schol. Aristoph. in Pac. vers. 1270.

§ Suidas. voc. Ἀντίμαχος.

\* Homeri et Hesiodi Certamen, ex editione Barnesii in primo vol. Homerii, p. xxvii. vel p. 14. ex edit. Henrici Stephani.



his comedy entitled "Pax," quotes the verse which I have given above.

XXXIII. Ἰπὰ δὲ Ὑπερβορέων φερόμενα] *The offerings of the Hyperboreans.* In the Greek there is ἰπὰ, 'sacra.' Salmasius<sup>a</sup> contends, that they were the firstlings of the victims; but these would have been spoilt before they could have reached Delos. It should seem that it was the first-fruits of the earth that were the first offerings made to the gods. I think therefore, with Baron Spanheim, that the author here refers to the first-fruits of barley or other grain, which the Hyperboreans sent to Delos. This is likewise the opinion of Grævius. I have preferred, however, a general term, because the Greek term is of that description.

As to the route pursued by the Hyperboreans, Callimachus<sup>b</sup> agrees perfectly with our author. The Athenians, who referred every thing to themselves, adopted another tradition, which has been handed down by Pausanias. According to them,<sup>c</sup> the Hyperboreans committed their first-fruits to the Arimaspi, the Arimaspi to the Essedones, the Essedones to the Scythians, the Scythians to Sinope; and thence the Greeks handed them from one to another as far as Præstæ, a village of Attica, which forwarded them to Athens, and the Athenians to Delos. Although Herodotus does not name the people to whom the Hyperboreans in the first instance committed their offerings, it is certain that it was to the Arimaspi and the Essedones, as Pausanias relates; but when this author adds that the Essedones transferred them to the Scythians, and these last to Sinope in the south, he is certainly mistaken. The tradition of the Delians seems better founded. There were several nations between the Essedones and the Scythians. These offerings travelled from the north-east to the south-west, till at length they reached the Adriatic.

Those who brought these offerings enclosed in sheaves of corn were called 'Amalophori'<sup>d</sup> and 'Oulophori.' "Græci<sup>e</sup> tradunt Οὐλοφόρους ex Hyperboreis . . . in insulam Delum venisse." It might be concluded from this passage of Servius, that at least in early times these offerings were enclosed in barley straw. We know that this was the species of grain first in use, and that which in Greece was scattered on the heads of the victims; a custom of which I have spoken in note 4. on § cix. Book 1.

Τὸν Ἀδριν] *The Adriatic sea.* M. Burette<sup>f</sup> says, as far as L.

<sup>a</sup> Aristoph. Pax vers. 1270.

<sup>b</sup> Salmas. in Soteri Polyhistor. p. 147.

<sup>c</sup> Callimach. Hymn. in Delum, vers. 284.

<sup>d</sup> Pausan. lib. i. Attic. cap. xxxi. p. 37.

<sup>e</sup> Porphy. de Abst. lib. ii. § vii. 135.

<sup>f</sup> Servius ad Virg. Æneid. lib. vi. 838.

<sup>g</sup> Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript. t. xiii. p. 222.

town of Adria. This is a trifling mistake, which by a little attention he might have avoided.

Οἱ οὖν Περφερῆες καλοῦνται] *Which are now called Perpherees.* Those who were deputed by the different states of Greece to consult Apollo, or to offer to him sacrifices in the name of their country, were called in general 'Theori'; those who came from the Hyperboreans, 'Perpherees,' as Herodotus informs us. Porphyrius calls them Amaltophori, and Serrius Onlophori, perhaps because their offerings were enveloped in straw. See note, p. 20. The name of 'Deliasæ' was also given to those sent to Delos, and 'Pythiasæ' to those sent to Delphi. See Hesychius, Phavorinus, Athenæus, &c. The chief of the deputation was called 'Architheorus.'<sup>a</sup>

Ἡ Ἀπρεμίδει τῇ Βασίλειῃ] *The Royal Diana.* This goddess<sup>b</sup> was called in the Thracian tongue 'Bendis.' Βένδης, ἢ Ἀπρεμίδει Ὀρακιστρί. The Athenians celebrated, in honour of her, a festival which was called Βενδίδεια.

Οὐκ ἔσεν πυρρὴν καλᾶμιν ἐχούσας τὰ ἰρά] *Without making use of wheat-straw.* Ἐχούσας appears to me the true reading, from which has arisen ἐχούσας. Ουούσας is a gloss, which, as frequently happens, has passed from the margin into the text.<sup>c</sup>

XXXIV. Ἐνὶ τῷ στήμα] *Upon the monument of these virgins.* The custom of offering the hair of the head to the gods is very ancient. It was sometimes placed in the temples, an example of which we have in Berenice, who dedicated hers in the temple of Venus. Sometimes it was hung upon the trees. Trees thus distinguished were called by the Romans<sup>d</sup> 'capillatæ' or 'capillares.' The Roman vestals hung theirs upon the Lotos. "Antiquior illa est (Lotos), sed incerta ejus vetas, quæ capillata dicitur, quoniam Vestalium virginum capillus ad eam defertur."

To cut off the hair was a sign of mourning. It was practised at the burial of a father, a mother, or any other person the most nearly allied. It was for this reason that the young people of Delos, of both sexes, cut off their hair in honour of these Hyperborean virgins, for the purpose of marking the regret they felt for their loss. The same custom was observed at Træzene, in the temple consecrated to Hippolytus, as foretold to this young hero by Diana: "The young maidens shall cut off their hair in honour of you, and you shall in all after-time enjoy the tribute of their tears, the expression of their grief."<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Ælian. Hist. Var. lib. iii. cap. I. Vol. i. p. 190.

<sup>b</sup> Hesychius in voc.

<sup>c</sup> Synonymorum Specimen, p. 16.

<sup>d</sup> Sert. Fest. Pomp. voc. Capillatam.

p. 66.

<sup>e</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxi. cap. xlv.

Vol. ii. p. 40. lin. 7.

<sup>f</sup> Euripid. Hippolyt. vers. 1486.

The author of the treatise on the Syrian Goddess,\* which is found amongst the works of Lucian, was wrong in attributing this custom to the Troezenians exclusively, as it was observed also in the island of Delos.

‘Ες τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον] *The spot consecrated to Diana.* This could not have been within the temple itself; for how should an olive or any other tree grow there?

XXXV. Καὶ τὰν Ὀρίαν] *The other Opis.* Orion, who was beloved by Aurora, and who is reported by Pherecydes to have been the son of Neptune and Euryale, but by other authors considered as a son of Tellus, while offering violence to Opis,<sup>1</sup> was killed with arrows by Diana, according to some writers.

The first Hyperborean virgins who brought these offerings to Delos, were named, according to Callimachus, Oupis, Loxo, and He-cæerge, daughters of Boreas.<sup>2</sup>

Ἀγείρειν σφί τὰς γυναῖκας] *Their wives ask alms for them.* The custom of begging alms in honour of the gods is very ancient. See M. Ruhnken's note on the Lexicon of Timæus, 9th and following pages of the 2d edition, in which this critic quotes two verses from the Inachus of Sophocles, which M. Brunck has omitted in his excellent edition of that poet. Plato<sup>3</sup> has quoted them partially, without naming their author, as well as the scholiast of Aristophanes, who gives them entire, on verse 1385 of the Ranæ. They are as follows:

Νύμφαι ὄρεσίγανοι, θεᾶσιν ἀγείρω  
Ἰνάχου, Ἀργείου ποταμοῦ, παῖσι βιοδώροις.

‘Nymphs of the mountains, I beg in behalf of the daughters of Inachus, an Argian river, goddesses who bestow fertility on our plains. Mr. Tyrwhitt, Conject. in Strabonem, p. 25. quotes another passage from the same poet, with which M. Brunck will perhaps enrich a future edition of Sophocles.

Ῥεῖ γὰρ ἀπ’ ἄκρας  
Πίνδου, Λάεμον τ’ ἀπὸ Πεφραίβων,  
Εἰς Ἀμφιλόχου κήκαρνάντας,  
Μίσγει δ’ ὕδασι τοῦ Ἀχελώου,  
Καὶ ὑποβάς ἐνθὲν δ’ εἰς Ἀργος,  
Διὰ κύμα τεμένων, ἤκει δῆμον  
Τὸν Λυρκείου.

See Strabo, Book vi. p. 416. G.

\* Lucian de Dea Syria, Vol. iii. § 12. pp. 489. 490.

<sup>1</sup> Apollodor. lib. i. p. 16. lin. 17, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Callim. Hymn. in Delum, vers. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Plato de Republicâ, lib. ii. Vol. 2. 381. D.

I give another fragment of Sophocles, which is quoted in an Etymological Ms. of the Royal Library.

Κινῶ ἔστι ῥῆμα πρωτῆς καὶ δευτερᾶς συνυγίας τῶν περισπωμένων, εἰς κινεῖσιν· ἐξ οὗ καὶ κινεῖσθαι, ὡς μεταθῆναι. Odyss. xiv. 163.

Κινεῖσθαι δ' ἐτέρως διὰ σταθμοῖο φάβηθεν.

Καὶ πάλιν Σοφοκλῆς, Φρίξ·

Κινεῖσθαι ἐξέπραξαν κινεῖσθαι.

M. Brunck quotes, p. 16, as a fragment of the piece called Ino, the verse beginning by the words, 'Ἰνὼ δὲ τῶι. It is the 1118th verse of the Bacchantes of Euripides. The same critic, under the word Σάγμα, p. 64, quotes the following verse:

Κάλλιστα τεύχη δ' ἐν καλοῖσι σάγμασι.

This verse is not from Sophocles, but from the Andromache of Euripides. I will cite another passage of the same author, the wrong punctuation of which has prevented the learned editor from apprehending its true meaning. It is from the Œdipus Colonna, verse 149.

Ἐ εἰ

Ἄλαω ὀμμάτων ἔρα καὶ

Ἦσθα φντάλμιος, δυσαίων,

Μακράων θ', ὡς ἐπεισάσαι.

M. Brunck has translated, 'Hei! Hei! cæcus ergo es, infelix, et senex, ut conjicere est;' and in the Lexicon of Sophocles, under the word Φντάλμιος, p. 65, he says: "Φντάλμιος Σοφ.

Προσῆλθε μητρὶ καὶ φνταλμῷ πατρὶ.

Etymol. m. in Φντάλμιος. Eurip. Rhæso, vers. 923.

Λέειν τοις ἐπὶ τῶν Στρατηγῶν φνταλμῶν.

Unde emendandus etiam Hesychius: Φνταλμῶν, φνταλμῶν, γοτρίμοι. Alio significatu occurrit in Œd. Col. 151."

He is mistaken, however, φντάλμιος signifies in this passage of Sophocles and every where else, 'genitalis,' 'sator,' 'progenitor,' 'father.' Æschylus in the Agamemnon, vers. 335.

Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀμφὶ σώμασιν πεπρωκότες

Ἀνδρῶν εὐσεργήτων τε καὶ φνταλμῶν.

See also Maximus Tyrius, Dissert. xli. § 11. Pausanias Corinthiac. sive lib. 11. cap. xxxi. p. 188.

The passage of Sophocles must be thus punctuated :

Ἔ 2

Ἀλλῶν ὀμμάτων. Ἄρα καὶ

ἦσθα φηγάλμος, δυσσίων,

Μακρῶν θ', ὡς ἀπεικάσαι.

With ἀλλῶν ὀμμάτων we must understand *ἐνεκα*. Φηγάλμος is taken in its ordinary acceptation. 'You then also are a father.' The Chorus conjecture this, because they see Antigone. This correction is due to M. Coray. The same critic reads also ὡς ἀπεικάσαι, 'ut conjicio,' because *ἑπεικάσαι* signifies 'ut insuper conjicio,' which does not suit the meaning of the sentence. He also corrects the 1222d verse of the Trachiniae, as follows :

Ἰόλην θάλας, ὧς' ἑπεικάζειν ἐμέ.

Which was formerly read, ὧς' ἑπεικάζειν ἐμέ.

M. Brunck may be assured that no one has a greater esteem both for his person and his learning than myself, and that I have made these observations with no other view, than that of contributing as far as is in my power to the perfection of a future edition of Sophocles.

Ὀλὴν ἀνὴρ Λύκιος] *Olen of Lycia*. Olen, a soothsayer and a poet anterior to Homer, and even to Parnphos and Orpheus,\* is the most ancient poet that Greece ever produced, and the first who delivered † the oracles of Apollo. The Delphians sung hymns which he had composed for them. "They sing," says Callimachus, ‡ "the hymns which Olen of Lycia, a poet and a soothsayer, brought them from the borders of the Xanthus." In his hymn to Ilithyia, he says that she is the mother of Cupid, or Love. § He also composed a hymn to Juno, ¶ in which he asserts that that goddess was brought up by the Hours, and he reckons amongst her children both Mars and Hebe. There is likewise another poem of his to Achæia, †† who came to Delos from the country of the Hyperboreans. The Abbé Godeau not content with converting this woman into a province of the Peloponnesus, next takes her for the Achæi, besides making other ludicrous blunders of the same sort, which I should not have taken the trouble to correct, but for the opportunity thus afforded me of rectifying the text of Pausanias, which has been altered. The following passage is found in the last edition by M. Facius, Vol. II. p. 29. Κομισθήνη

\* Pausan. Bæot. sive lib. ix. cap. xivii. p. 762.

† Id. Phocic. sive lib. x. cap. v. pp. 969, 810.

‡ Callimach. Hymn. in Delum, vers. 304.

§ Pausan. Bæot. sive lib. ix. cap. vii. p. 762.

¶ Id. Corinthiac. sive lib. ii. cap. ii.

†† Id. Eliac. prior, sive lib. v. cap. p. 392.



ἐς τῆς Ὑπερβορέων γῆς τὸν εὐνινὸν φασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἐς Ἑλλάδα· εἶναι δὲ ἀνθρώπους οἱ ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀνεμὸν οἰκοῦσι τὸν βορέαν. Πρῶτος μὲν ἐν ὕμνῳ γῇ ἐς Ἀχαΐαν ἐποίησεν Ὀλὴν ὁ Λύκιος, ἀφικέσθαι τὴν Ἀχαΐαν ἐς Δῆλον ἐκ τῶν Ὑπερβορέων τούτων. Ἐπεὶτα φῶδῃ Μελάνοπος Κορυαῖος ἐς Ὀπιν καὶ Ἑκαίργην ᾔσεν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν Ὑπερβορέων καὶ εἶναι πρότερον ἐς τὴν Ἀχαΐαν ἀφίκοντο καὶ ἐς Δῆλον.

It is evident that in the last line the words *ἐς τὴν Ἀχαΐαν* are needlessly repeated, and should be struck out. We then translate:

"They say that Hercules introduced the wild olive-trees into Greece from the country of the Hyperboreans, and that these people dwell beyond the wind Boreas. Olen of Lycia, in a hymn composed in honour of Achæia, first informed us, that that nymph came to Delos from the country of these Hyperboreans. After Olen, Melanopus of Cymæ says, in an ode in honour of Opis and of Hecæerge, that they also came in ancient times to Delos."

Let us now refer to the translation of the Abbé Gedoy. I shall mark by inverted commas such expressions as are not in the text, or are in opposition to it. "Hercules first brought this plant to Greece from the country of the Hyperboreans." The poet Olen of Lycia, in a hymn made 'for the Achæans,' informs us, that the Hyperboreans were a nation who dwelt 'under the north, and that Hercules was come from thence to Delos and into Achæia.' After Olen, Melanopus of Comæ composed a canticle in honour of Opis and Hecæerge, in which he says that these 'goddesses' were also come from the country of the Hyperboreans to Delos and 'into Achæia.'" This specimen will show that the Abbé Gedoy does not possess, like Midas, the art of turning what he touches into gold.

Olen was of Lycia, as Herodotus, Callimachus, and the Greek text of Pausanias agree—I say the Greek text, because the French of Gédoy<sup>1</sup> makes Pausanias an Hyperborean.

Ποῦς ἦν τετραμύκρη, ἀγχοῦρα τοῦ Κυτῶν ἱερῆτοπον] *Near the hall where the Carians celebrate their festivals.* The Athenians and the inhabitants of the Cyclades celebrated with great magnificence, at Delos, in honour of Apollo, a festival which was termed 'Delia.' This festival occurred after the revolution of four years, that is to say, at the commencement of the fifth. Those which were celebrated annually by no means equalled this in magnificence. In the grand festivals, the inhabitants of the Cyclades sent a Chorus to Delos, and every island had an edifice peculiar to itself in which to lodge its deputies; at least we may conjecture as much from this passage of Herodotus. I shall say nothing of the festival itself; Mr. Taylor, Father

<sup>1</sup> Gédoy's Pausanias, tom. i. p. 124. chap. v. tom. ii. p. 328.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias traduit en Français, liv. 3.

Corsum, and the Abbe Barthelemy, having left nothing to be desired on this point: the first, in the work entitled *Marmor Sandvicense*; the second, in the 6th Dissertation appended to the *Notæ Græcæ*; and the last, in the *Travels of the Young Anacharsis*, Vol. iv. p. 192, 230 and following, edit. in 4to.

XXXVI. Ἀβάρης] *Abaris*. Authors vary as to the time when Abaris came into Greece. Some<sup>a</sup> fix it in the 3rd Olympiad, others in the 21st; but Pindar,<sup>b</sup> a writer whose authority is incontestable, places his voyage in the reign of Cræsus. He ought to be sufficiently informed on the subject, as he lived at a time when the memory of Abaris was still recent. He was born in the 3rd year of the 66th<sup>c</sup> Olympiad, and Cræsus was made prisoner in the 4th year of the 58th, after a reign of 14 years. If we suppose that Abaris came into Greece in the 3rd year of the reign of that prince, that is to say, in the year 4157 of the Julian period, 557 years before the vulgar era, his voyage would have preceded the birth of that poet by 40 years.

Ἄρ' ὅν' ἀνέρας] *Carried on an arrow*. I read with MM. Wesseling and Valckenaer, *Ἄρ' ὅν' ἀνέρας* . . . an alteration which appears necessary, and is founded on what most of the writers who speak of this Abaris say, i. e. that he was carried on an arrow. See the note of those critics: M. Borheck agrees with them in his edition.

Nevertheless, a fragment of Lycurgus, quoted<sup>d</sup> by the Empress Eudocia, has led me to doubt as to the propriety of this correction, and consequently the manner in which I have translated the passage. "A famine," says that orator, "having been experienced amongst the Hyperboreans, Abaris came into Greece, and placed himself in the pay of Apollo. That god taught him to deliver oracles. He afterwards travelled all over Greece, delivering oracles, holding in his hands an arrow, the symbol of Apollo, who was a great archer."

This fragment is taken from the oration of Lycurgus against Menæches, ἐν τῇ κατὰ Μενεάρχου. This name appears to me to have been altered, and I think we should read 'against Menesarchinus,' ἐν τῇ κατὰ Μενεαρχίνου.

See also Apollonius, *Histor. Mirab.* cap. iv. p. 9. where no mention is made of this wonderful arrow.

Εἰ δὲ οἱαὶ τινες Ὑπερβόρειοι] *If there are Hyperboreans, &c.* "Eratosthenes" contends that the conclusion of Herodotus, viz. that there are no Hyperboreans, because there are no Hyperboreans, is a sophism,

<sup>a</sup> Harpocration, Suidas voc. Ἀβάρης.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>c</sup> Suidas voc. Πισδαρος.

<sup>d</sup> *Anticlaia Græca* Vol. i. p. 20.

<sup>e</sup> *Suidas* lib. i. p. 106. B, 107. A.

and is the same as if he were to say, there are no people who delight in evil, because there are none who delight in good. There may be Hyperboreans, since the Notus does not blow in Ethiopia, nor even lower down, continues this writer. Now as the winds blow in all climates, and that which comes from the south is called Notus, it is very surprising that there should be any country where it is not felt. But the exact contrary is the case; for not only is Ethiopia subject to the Notus, but all the country beyond it up to the equator. This admitted, Herodotus is censurable for believing that any people were called Hyperboreans, because they did not feel the wind called Boreas. Though poets and their interpreters may advance these things in their fictions, he should give us sounder doctrine."

The reasoning of Eratosthenes is absurd. In Greek they say *ἐπιχαίρειν*, and not *ἐπιχαίρειν*. But though the first term exists it does not follow that the second should not, because there is no corresponding term. I cannot fully explain the idea of the geographer, because in our language the two words are exactly similar.

XXXVIII. *Ἀτταὶ διήσεις*] *Two peninsulas*. Ἀττὴ is often taken for a peninsula. Attica was so called only because it was a peninsula. See the notes of Isaac Vossius on the Periplus of Scylax."

Ἀπ' ἀντῆς] *Opposite*. In all the editions, and in all the Mss. of the Royal Library, we read ἀπ' αὐτῆς. This reading, which is evidently corrupt, has been altered to ἀπ' αὐτῶν by Cornelius de Pauw, who understands with it, *θαλασσῶν*. The late M. Wesseling approved this correction. But in the margin of the Ms. A of the Royal Library we find ἀντῆς, written in a more recent hand than the text. I have given the preference to this reading, which affords a better sense. M. Borheck has somewhere found the same reading, for he has adopted it in his edition.

Τῷ Μυριανδρικοῦ κόλπου] *The Myriandric gulf*. The former reading was 'Mariandic gulf;' but as that gave no meaning at all, M. Wesseling changed it to the true reading, after Stephanus of Byzantium. See his note. This gulf is so called from the town of Myriandrus. It was also termed 'Issic,' from the town of 'Issus.'

XXXIX. Τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν] *The Erythrean sea*. We must remark that not only the Arabian gulf, but likewise the Persian gulf and the Southern ocean, or the whole space of sea between the two, was designated by this name.

Ἐς τὸν Δαρεῖος ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου διώρυγα ἐποίησε] *At the spot to which Darius had conducted a canal*. See Book II. § CLVIII. note 1.

This canal commences, says Herodotus,<sup>a</sup> a little above Bubastis.

<sup>a</sup> Geograph. Script. Minores, Vol. I. p. 9.

<sup>b</sup> Herodot. lib. II. § clix.



It flows through a long tract from west to east. It then passes through the defile of the mountain of Arabia, and turns towards the south, till it reaches the Erythrean sea, near Patumos. Herodotus, however, has omitted one important circumstance, which is, that this canal passes through the bitter lakes.\* But to obtain a clear idea of its origin and its termination, see the Geographical Table, articles *BUNASTIS* and *PATUMOS*.

It is very remarkable that Herodotus, who had seen this canal, and knew that it conveyed the waters of the Nile into the Arabian gulf, should be contradicted by Diodorus Siculus,<sup>b</sup> by Strabo,<sup>c</sup> and by Pliny,<sup>d</sup> who all affirm that Darius desisted from this enterprise, and that it was completed by Ptolemy. It is certain that Diodorus had never seen this canal, as he makes it to commence, contrary to the notoriety of the fact, at Pelusium. It appears to me, that this canal, having been filled up or obstructed by the negligence of those entrusted with the care of it, Ptolemy the second merely had it cleared out and rendered navigable. When Pliny asserts that Darius caused it to be carried only as far as the bitter lakes, he merely proves, that from the bitter lakes it had been filled up, but that all the upper part of it remained uninjured till the time of Ptolemy. This prince did not content himself with merely clearing out the canal, he constructed locks<sup>e</sup> or flood-gates, which were opened and shut as the convenience of navigation required. It seems that in the sequel very little attention was paid to it; for in the course of two hundred years afterwards, it had become so greatly impaired, that Cleopatra, wishing to withdraw beyond the Arabian gulf, conceived the idea of transporting her vessels from the Mediterranean to that gulf by land.<sup>f</sup> Had the canal been at that time navigable, such a notion would never have occurred to her. If it became filled up in less than two hundred years, namely, from the time of Ptolemy to that of Cleopatra, why should not the same thing have happened in the course of more than two centuries, under the Persian kings, whose cares and attention, being divided by so vast an extent of empire, could not be very sedulously directed to so secondary an object?

We may therefore safely conclude, with Herodotus, that Darius completed the canal begun by Nechos; but that, being neglected, it became gradually filled up: that Ptolemy Philopator, sensible of its utility, had it cleared out, but that his successors neglecting it, it became again obstructed.

<sup>a</sup> Strab. lib. xvii. p. 1156. C; Plin. lib. vi. cap. xxix. Vol. i. p. 241. lin. 4.

<sup>b</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. ii. § xxviii. p. 39.

<sup>c</sup> Strab. loco laudato.

<sup>d</sup> Plin. loco laudato.

<sup>e</sup> Diodor. ibid.

<sup>f</sup> Plutarch. in Antonio, p. 948. C. D.

Trajan caused it to be once more cleared out, if we may\* rely on Ptolemy; but Macrizi, an Arabian author, asserts, that it was the Emperor Adrian. The opinion of Macrizi is the more probable, as Trajan was never in Egypt, while Adrian was, and, having been adopted by the former, was sometimes called by his name. I borrow this suggestion from the ingenious M. D'Anville.<sup>†</sup>

Amrou, the general of the Emir of the Faithful, Omar, had it dug out afresh, by the order of that Emir, in the tenth year of the Hegira, A. D. 639, that is to say, about 500 years after Adrian had rendered it navigable. It was used for the transport of corn to Mecca; but Mohammed Ben Abdallah Ben Alhassan having revolted in Medina against Abouglafar Al-Mansor Billah, second caliph of the house of the Abbassides, that Emir filled it up again, about the 145th year of the Hegira, A. D. 762; and from that time to the present it has so remained.

But we shall do better to refer to the Oriental writers themselves; and I therefore present the reader with an extract communicated to me by M. Sylvestre de Sacy, one of the most learned Orientalists in Europe.

*Extract from an Historical and Topographical Description of Egypt, by Takieddin Ahmed, better known by the name of Macrizi.*

OF THE CANAL CALLED KHALIDJ MESR.<sup>‡</sup>

This canal is without the city of Fostat-Mesr; it passes to the west of Cairo. It is an ancient canal, which was first constructed by one of the early kings of Egypt, on account of Hagar, mother of Ishmael, son of Abraham, the friend of God, when Abraham fixed the abode of Hagar and her son at Mecca. After a long series of ages it was again dug out by one of the Greek kings, who reigned in Egypt after Alexander.\* When God had established the Mussulman religion, and the Mussulmans governed Egypt, Amrou Ben Al-As, the governor, had it cleared out, by order of the Emir of the Faithful, Omar, Ben Al-Khattab. It was cleared out in the year called the / year of mortality. It discharged its waters into the sea of Kol-

\* Ptolemaei Geograph. lib. iv. p. 124.

† Mém. sur l'Égypte, &c. p. 133.

‡ This was the year of the revolt of Abdallah. See Elmacin, Abulfeda's Annales, Vol. ii. p. 15.

§ See Gellius in Afric. p. 153. Sacy.

¶ This king is the Emperor Adrian. The modern Arabs, accustomed to term the empire of the East the kingdom of Room,

also give this name by mistake to the emperors anterior to the foundation of Constantinople. Sacy.

¶ This was in the 18th year of the Hegira (A. D. 639). In this year there was a terrible famine at Medina, and the plague made dreadful ravages in Syria, as Abulfeda (Abulfedi, Annales Vol. i. pp. 242. 243.) and Elmacin relate. This year was

zom, and ships went down to the Salt Sea by this canal,<sup>a</sup> and by this sea to the Hedjaz (Hegiaz or Higiah), the Yemen, and the Indus. Things remained in this state until the time when Mohammed, son of Abdallah, son of Hassan, son of Houssain, son of Ali, son of Abou-talib, was recognised as sovereign at Medina. The caliph who then reigned in Irak, Aboudjafar Abdallah, son of Mahommed, son of Al Mansor,<sup>b</sup> wrote to the governor who commanded for him in Egypt, and ordered him to fill up the canal of Kolzom, that provisions might no longer be transported from Egypt to Medina. The governor obeyed this order; and from that time this canal ceased to join the sea of Kolzom, and was reduced to the state in which it is now

This canal was originally called the canal of Mesr. When the General Djauhar (Giaubar) had constructed Cairo on the banks of the canal, it was called the canal of Cairo. It was also called the canal of the Emir of the Faithful, that is to say, of Omar Ben Al-Khattab, because it was he who had given the order to have it excavated afresh. It is now called the canal of Hakemi, and it is commonly said that it was<sup>c</sup> Alhakem Biamrillah Abou Ali Mansour who had it dug; but that is not true, for the canal existed long before Hakem. Amongst the people, there are some who call it the canal of Loulone. I shall give an adequate detail of all that concerns the history of this canal.

Macrizi, in the first place, after Ostad Ibrahim Ben Vasifschah, ascribes the original establishment of the canal to Toutis Ben Malia, king of Egypt, of the number of the Pharaohs, and contemporary with Abraham. According to this author, Hagar being established at Mecca, communicated to the king of Egypt that the country where she dwelt was barren, and entreated him to come to her assistance.<sup>d</sup> Toutis<sup>e</sup> then dug this canal in the eastern part of Egypt, and conducted it to the port of the Salt Sea. Thus they transported to Hagar wheat

also, according to Elmacin, the epoch of the conquest of Egypt. Abulfeda places this conquest in the year of the Hegira 20, A. D. 640. Abulf. Annal. Vol. i. p. 245. Sact.

<sup>a</sup> See Notices and Extracts from the Mss. Vol. i. p. 169. Djelaeddin (Gelaeddin) upon this passage of the Koran: 'We have caused the children of Israel to pass the sea.' Sura vii. says, 'this is the Salt sea,' (i. e. the Asphaltic or Dead sea.) Sact.

<sup>b</sup> This is the second caliph of the Abbasides. He ascended the throne in the year 136 (of the Hegira, A. D. 756), the revolt of Mohammed occurred in the year

145 (of the Hegira, A. D. 762). See Elmacin and Abulfeda. Sact.

<sup>c</sup> Hakem Biamrillah, third caliph of the race of the Fatemites, began to reign in the year 366 of the Hegira, A. D. 996. He died in the 411th year of the Hegira, A. D. 1020. Biblioth. Orient. voc. Hakem Biamrillah.

<sup>d</sup> See the Koran, Sura xiv. vers. 37. Sact.

<sup>e</sup> The Arabs, very ignorant of the history of all other countries but their own, have the ridiculous vanity of referring every thing to themselves. The first king of Egypt who dug this canal was certainly Nechos.

and other grain, which was disembarked at Djidda, and thence conveyed by land, on camels, to Mecca. The province of Hedjaz received subsistence by this channel<sup>a</sup> for a considerable time. Such was the origin of this canal. Macrizi thus continues:—

This canal was dug out a second time by Adrian Kaiser, a king of the Greeks. Some call him Andrianous, others<sup>b</sup> Hourianous. We read in the history of Rome, that Adrian Kaiser, one of the kings of the Greeks, ascended the throne, and reigned twenty-one years. It was he who a second time exterminated the Jews, after they had endeavoured to rise up against him. He rebuilt Jerusalem, that is to say, the Holy City. He wished its name to be changed, and to be called Elia (Ælia). He ascended the throne in the 439th year<sup>c</sup> of Alexander. From Jerusalem he went to Babylon, made war on the king of Babylon, whose army he put to the rout; he then returned to Egypt, and dug a canal from the Nile to the sea of Kolzom. This canal was navigated by ships. There were some remains of it when the Mussulmans conquered Egypt, and Amrou Ben Al-As had it dug out afresh.

Such is the history of the second opening of this canal. Under the Mussulman dominion, Amrou Ben Al-As opened it for the third time: which event is thus related by Abdalbakem, in the part where he speaks of the canal which was dug by the command of the Emir of the Faithful. According to what we learn, says he, from Alleith Ben Saad, who had it from Abdallah Ben Saleh, under the caliphate of the Emir of the Faithful, Omar Ben Al-Khatal, the inhabitants of Medina were visited by a dreadful famine, in the year of mortality.<sup>d</sup> Omar wrote therefore to Amrou Ben Al-As, who was then in Egypt, demanding provisions of him. Amrou<sup>e</sup> sent him a numerous caravan of camels loaded with provisions, which restored abundance to Medina. Omar afterwards sent for Amrou and some other inhabitants of Egypt; and when they had arrived, he explained, at Thuron, the project he had conceived of opening a canal of communication from

<sup>a</sup> The Hedjaz or Hejaz is a country which comprehends Medina and Mecca beyond Mecca comes Tebama.

<sup>b</sup> We must read Adrinous and Hadrianous. The Arabs easily corrupt foreign names. The resemblance of the Dal and the Vau has here led the copyists into error. Sams. If the Arabs corrupt foreign names, they corrupt history still more flagitantly. It is therefore surprising that they should hand down to us a fact, noticed by no Roman historian, and which is yet very probable, from the same which Ptolemy gives to the canal.

We should read in Macrizi the 417th

year of Alexander, which year answers to the year 429 of the era of the Seleucids, A. D. 117, which is the year of Adrian's accession to the throne. If we admitted the date of Macrizi, it would follow that Adrian began to reign only in the year of his death, as the year 439 of Alexander answers to the year 138 of our era, and Adrian died in the calends of January in that year.

<sup>c</sup> See p. 29. note f.

<sup>d</sup> I have abridged the narrative of Macrizi, but without making any essential alteration.

the Nile to the sea of Kolzom, by which provisions might be more commodiously transported than by land from Egypt to Mecca, and then ordered him to retire, and concert with his companions the means of carrying this project into execution. Amrou communicated to them the design of Omar; but they, apprehending that the result of such an attempt would be the imposing of a grievous burthen on the inhabitants of Egypt, persuaded Amrou to assure the caliph that the thing was impracticable. Amrou answered the caliph accordingly; but no sooner did the caliph see him, than, bursting into a laugh, he repeated to him the whole of what had passed at their consultation; and Amrou, in great confusion, confessed it to be the truth. The caliph ordered him to return, to commence the work, and proceed in it with such activity that the canal might be opened before the expiration of a year. Amrou therefore returned, and dug the canal called the Canal of the Fair of the Faithful, near Fostat, and conducted it from the Nile to the sea of Kolzom.

Ere the year had expired, vessels sailed down this canal, and conveyed provisions to Medina and Mecca. Provisions were transported by this passage till the time of Omar Ben Abdalaziz. The governors afterwards neglected it, the sand accumulated in it, and the communication with the sea was obstructed. It terminated at a place called the Crocodile's Tail, which is in the district of Taba<sup>b</sup> Al-Kolzom.

Macrizi afterwards relates the same history in the words of various authors, whose accounts differ in no material point. I shall extract from them only the following passage.

Al-Kendi<sup>c</sup> says that this canal was dug in the 23d year of the Hegira;<sup>d</sup> that the work was accomplished in six months, and that in the seventh, vessels sailed down it and arrived at Hegiaz. Afterwards, Abdalaziz Ben Marwan<sup>e</sup> built a bridge over this canal, during the time that he was governor of Egypt. This canal was used for the

<sup>a</sup> Omar Ben Abdalaziz, eighth caliph of the race of the Omniades, ascended the throne in the 99th year of the Hegira, A. D. 717. He had been governor of Medina from 86 to 93, i. e. from A. D. 705 to 711.

<sup>b</sup> In the Saia, near Oxyant, is a town named Iam, of which both Abulfeda in *Descript. Egypt.* p. 4. and the geographers of Nubia, p. 41. of the Latin version make mention. Al. V. Anallou Meamres sur l'Egypte, p. 173. call it Iam or Medain. But, as this surname is given to distinguish it from the town mentioned above. I have called it, the 'crocodile's tail,' should be very near Kolzom, from what Abulfeda says. Saci. Zarah el

Tamneh, 'cauda Crocodilorum.' (Abulfeda *Descript. Egypt.* p. 7.)

<sup>c</sup> Abou Amrou Ben Issouf, surnamed Al Kandi, composed a treatise on the remarkable objects of Egypt, entitled *Fadloun Mesr*, 'the excellences and the prerogatives of Egypt.' He died in the 216th year of the Hegira, A. D. 860.

<sup>d</sup> Others say the opening of this canal six years earlier, i. e. in the year 16.

<sup>e</sup> Marwan<sup>e</sup> Caliph of the Omniades, surnamed Al Kandi, composed a treatise on the remarkable objects of Egypt, entitled *Fadloun Mesr*, 'the excellences and the prerogatives of Egypt.' He died in the 216th year of the Hegira, A. D. 860.



transport of provisions up to the time of Omar Ben Abdalaziz,\* who also availed himself of this communication; but being subsequently neglected by the governors, the sand accumulated in it, and its course was obstructed. It then terminated at a place called the Crocodile's Tail, in the province of Taha Al-Kolzom. Ebn Kodaid says, that Abougiassar Al Mansor<sup>b</sup> caused this canal to be stopped up, when Mohammed Ben Abdallah Ben Al Hassan revolted against him at Medina, to prevent the conveyance of provisions to him, and that it has remained closed up ever since. SACI.

Some remains of this canal are still observable, especially in the immediate neighbourhood of the Nile, its utility having been felt in watering the lands. But as this note may be considered as already extended to an unreasonable length, I refer the reader<sup>c</sup> to the work of Major Rennel, where the point is very ably discussed.

XLI. Καὶ μὲν νῦν Αἴγυπτον στενὴ ἐστὶ. Which is very narrow at the part adjoining to Egypt. If Gronovius had observed that Herodotus only here repeats in other terms what he had already said, Book II. § CLVIII., he would not have changed the ancient reading for that of the Ms. of Florence, which gives no meaning at all. See the following note.

Τῆς θαλάσσης] This sea. We must necessarily understand the isthmus between the Mediterranean and the Arabian Gulf or Red Sea. Herodotus has said before, Book II. § CLVIII., that the shortest way by which you could pass from one of these seas to the other was 1000 stadia. Agrippa asserts, on the authority of Pliny,<sup>d</sup> that from Pelusium to Arsinoe upon the Red Sea was 125 miles; which comes to the same thing, this author always reckoning eight stadia to the mile.

XLII. Τὴν νοτιὴν θάλασσαν] The Austral sea. This is the ocean which washes the eastern and southern coasts of Africa. Herodotus, it should therefore seem, knew that the Atlantic ocean and the Erythrean sea communicated after making the circuit of Africa. Eratosthenes was likewise aware of this, as we learn from<sup>e</sup> Strabo. This truth, however, was unknown both to Hipparchus and to Ptolemy, and was in fact lost sight of until the time when Bartholomew Dias and Vasco de Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope in 1486-7.

\* See p. 32. note a.

<sup>b</sup> Abou Giasar Al Mansor, called Al Mansor Billah, second caliph of the house of the Abbasides, succeeded his brother Aboul Abbas Seifiah, in the year of the Hegira 126, A. D. 753. He died, according to Ben Schohmah, in the year of the Hegira 158, A. D. 774.

<sup>c</sup> The Geographical System of Herodotus, &c. p. 473 and f. following.

<sup>d</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. v. cap. xi. Vol. I. p. 250. lin. 10.

<sup>e</sup> Strab. lib. i. p. 97. This note is borrowed from the excellent work of M. Gosselin, entitled Géographie des Grecs analysée, p. 37.



[Ἐπὶ μὲν δὲ πλοῦν] *This appears to me by no means credible.* Herodotus does not doubt that the Phœnicians had circumnavigated the coast of Africa, and returned to Egypt by the straits of Gibraltar; but he cannot believe that in the course of this voyage they had the sun on their right hand. The Phœnicians must necessarily, however, have so had it, after having passed the line; and this material circumstance, which in an age when astronomy was in its infancy could scarcely be conceived, confirms the authenticity of this voyage, which might otherwise be doubted. I feel highly flattered that this observation is approved by Major Rennel.\*

This voyage, on mature reflection, appears to me as well authenticated as most of those of our modern travellers, though the narrative of it can afford but very little information. A literary character of the first eminence, however, has thought proper to<sup>b</sup> treat it as a romance. He endeavours to prove this by refuting the account of Herodotus; but let us examine his remarks.

"It has been pretended," says M. Gosselin,<sup>c</sup> "that the ancients would not have known that Africa was really a peninsula, had not some navigator sailed round the coast."

How could this fact have been ascertained by any other means, especially at the time of the reign of Nechos, i. e. between the years 617 and 601 B. C.?

"It might have been known," continues M. Gosselin, "that Africa was a peninsula, because Hanno,<sup>d</sup> in visiting the western coast of Africa, and Himilco, in traversing the western and northern coasts of Europe, had satisfied themselves that these continents were distinct and separate."

This is founded upon M. Gosselin's position, that the voyage of Hanno should be dated as far back as 1000 years before our era; and this he founds, 1. on the origin of Carthage, which he fixes<sup>e</sup> 1265, or at least 1235 years B. C. The reader will find this question discussed in the Essay on the Chronology of Herodotus, Vol. VII. chap. 11. § 11. p. 136 and following. The opinion which appears to me the most probable, is that of Velleius Paterculus; and it is upon the authority of that historian that, in my Canon Chronologique, I have fixed the foundation of Carthage 819 years before our era. If my hypothesis be correct, M. Gosselin makes Hanno start from Carthage four centuries before the foundation of that city. But even supposing that Carthage was founded 1235 or

\* The Geographical System of Herodotus examined, &c. p. 718.

<sup>b</sup> Recherches sur la Géographie Systématique et Positive des Anciens, &c.

tom. i. p. 216.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. p. 267.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. p. 208.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. p. 138.

1265 years B. C., still it would not follow that the voyage of Hanno took place 1000 years before that era. Nine critics have laboured in the investigation of the epoch of this voyage. M. Bougainville has carried it the farthest back of any of them, and he places it in the year 570 before our era, that is to say, 432 years later than the time fixed by M. Gosselin. I do not mean to assert, that M. Bougainville is mistaken; but M. Gosselin adduces no authority in support of his statement, and we may venture to say, that his only motive for fixing the voyage of Hanno at that period, was that of propping his own system, as he brings forward no shadow of proof that it preceded our era by 1000 years.

"Herodotus" adds, that the Phœnicians having navigated for two years, they doubled, in the third year, the Pillars of Hercules, and returned to Egypt."

M. Gosselin does not directly contradict this statement; but he pretends, "that<sup>a</sup> if the Phœnicians propelled their vessels by the oar, being born in a temperate climate, they could not have resisted so protracted a fatigue, especially under the burning zone, which they twice crossed." M. Gosselin had said a little before, p. 207, "We are far from supposing that the circumnavigation of Africa had never been effected before the time of Nechos. The numerous testimonies which we have collected . . . scarcely permit us to doubt, that all the coasts of the continent had been explored before the time of which we are speaking." If they had been so, it could only be by the oar and the sail, because no other means of navigation were known, and the navigators must necessarily have been exposed to the burning heat of the torrid zone. If they, whoever they were, resisted it, why should not the Phœnicians be able to resist it also? Moreover, if all the coasts of the continent had been explored before the time of Nechos, as M. Gosselin says they had, why should he refuse to believe that Africa had been circumnavigated under the reign of that prince? What had been done before, could surely be repeated in his time. It is singular that M. Gosselin should deny a fact recorded in history, and should affirm another which is found in no written authority whatever.

"In short," adds M. Gosselin, "if they proceeded by oar and sail, or alternately by the one and the other, notwithstanding the stoppages they are supposed to have made for the purpose of sowing and reaping the corn necessary for their subsistence, they had no need to take two years and a half or three years to go round the coast of Africa."

<sup>a</sup> Recherches sur la Géographie Systématique et Positive des Anciens, tome. i. p. 203.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 200.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. pp. 200, 210.

Herodotus says, that the Phœnicians doubled the Pillars of Hercules in the third year; and that is saying clearly enough that they circumnavigated Africa in two years, and that in the commencement of the third they reached the straits of Gibraltar. But even supposing that they had spent three entire years in accomplishing this voyage, what can we conclude from that? Nothing more than that they stopped in certain provinces of Africa, sometimes for the purpose of sowing and gathering corn, and sometimes to take shelter from the excessive heat, longer than M. Gosselin supposes necessary.

"The Phœnicians," continues Herodotus, "related on their arrival, that in sailing round Libya, they had the sun on their right hand."

M. Gosselin objects to this,\* that Thales had learned in Egypt the principles of calculation, so far as to enable him to predict the eclipses of the sun. Now this knowledge involves that of the obliquity of the sun's course, and of the phenomena which arise from this in different latitudes. He could not therefore be ignorant, that in circumnavigating Africa, one must have the sun on the right, and consequently this circumstance might be known without the voyage having ever been really made.

To this I answer, 1. that to predict the eclipse of the sun on the 9th July, 597 B. C. it was not necessary to be perfectly acquainted with the obliquity of the sun's course for all the different latitudes; it was sufficient to know the obliquity of its course for certain known latitudes only. 2. The slender knowledge of astronomy then attained was confined to a very limited number of learned men. How can we suppose that common mariners were in possession of this knowledge? In the present age, when that science has reached a high degree of perfection, and when it is cultivated by a great number of persons, thousands of mariners are to be found without the slightest notion of it. How then can we imagine, that in the time of Thales the Phœnicians employed by Nechos possessed any such knowledge? Their surprise on finding the sun on their right, proves their ignorance. They felt that they should with difficulty be believed; but their candour and simplicity still induced them to report the fact they had witnessed, and which they expected would be doubted. Now, in my opinion, this fact proves the reality of the voyage round Africa, because it occurred at a time when astronomy had made too little progress for it to have been imagined. But even were it possible that it should have been imagined, does that prove that it was effected?

"When the autumn was come," proceeds M. Gosselin, after He-

\* *Recherches sur la Géographie Systématique, &c. tom. i. p. 206.*

Herodotus, "the Phœnicians landed in that part of Libya near which they found themselves, and sowed corn. They then waited for the time of harvest, and, after gathering it, they proceeded on their voyage."

It is certain that along the eastern and southern coasts of Africa, the seasons do not occur in the same months that they do in Phœnicia. For instance, at the Cape of Good Hope the sowing takes place in June or July, and the harvest in December. From this, M. Gosselin concludes, that Herodotus having advanced that the Phœnicians sowed in autumn, had put forth a fable which earned its contradiction with it.

This objection, though at the first glance it seems strong, does not rest upon a solid basis. 1. It is probable that the Phœnicians did not write the narrative of their voyage. It was necessary only to confirm its authenticity. In a country which is little better than a desert, few adventures could happen to them calculated to excite the curiosity of their contemporaries. Having no commercial views, they neglected to give the details of their navigation, to speak of the capes, gulfs and rivers they had met with, as Hanno afterwards did. They contented themselves with relating, that, having reached a certain distance, they had the sun on their right; that they sowed corn, and that they waited for the time of the harvest, without specifying when that occurred. Herodotus, who travelled into Egypt 150 years afterwards, having heard speak of this voyage, considered it sufficiently interesting to obtain a place in his history; but, as he did not know that the sowing season in a part of Africa did not answer to the same season in Greece, he imagined that the Phœnicians sowed in autumn, though the mariners had said nothing of that particular in their account. Herodotus has certainly committed an error, very excusable for the time in which he lived, in placing the seed-time in autumn in that part of the world; but we cannot from this error conclude that the voyage is a mere romance, any more than we can conclude that the navigation of the Indus by Scylax is imaginary, because Herodotus affirms\* that he descended this river from the east to the sea, though it is certain that its course is from north to south. See note 2, on § XLIV. p. 40.

"In fact," says M. Gosselin, "Mela and Pliny, who have endeavoured to prove the possibility of this grand navigation, by collecting every fact and tradition favourable to their conjecture, make no mention of this passage of Herodotus, though they have often cited the work of that historian. Does not so remarkable a silence prove, that

\* Herodot. lib. iv. § xlv.

† Recherches, &c. tom. 1, p. 200.



the philosophers and geographers never yielded any faith to so vague an account?"

It is precisely because it is a vague account, or to speak more properly, a simple assertion of a fact unsupported by proofs, and without any circumstances which could serve to guide either philosophers or geographers, that Pomponius Mela and Pliny have passed it over in silence. Moreover, both these authors have been equally silent upon the navigation of the Indus and the periplus of Scylax. The same reasoning should induce us to consider that navigation and periplus as purely imaginary, though M. Gosselin admits their authenticity.

From what has been observed, it may be concluded, that the learned author of the '*Recherches sur la Géographie systématique et positive des Anciens*,' in endeavouring to prove that Herodotus has written a romance, has advanced only negative proofs, and has been unable to adduce in support of his opinion one reason which rests on a solid basis. His work is, notwithstanding, of the greatest value to those who study geography, and deserving of very high commendation. I will go so far even as to pronounce, after an attentive perusal, that it bears the stamp of genius: let me be permitted, however, the liberty of cautioning him against yielding too much to the spirit of system.

*Ἐγνώθη*] *Was known*. Herodotus does not mean to say that the interior of Africa was known, but only that it had been ascertained that that part of the world was surrounded by water, except on the side by which it joins Asia. This we must supply, after what we read at the commencement of the paragraph: οὐτω μὲν αὐτῇ ἐγνώθη τοπικόν, namely, *περίβροντες τοῦσα, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτῇ πρὸς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐκπλῆει*.

XLIII. *Καρχιδόνιοι*] *The Carthaginians*. The Carthaginians having concluded treaties with Xerxes, and travelling to all parts of the world, might have heard speak of the voyage or periplus of Sataspes. *Ζωπύρου τοῦ Μεγαβύζου*] *Zopyrus, son of Megabyzus*. See the last note on Book III.

*Ἐσθῆτι φοινικίῃ*] *Habits of the palm-tree*. In the Greek text *ἐσθῆτι φοινικίῃ*, which has been translated by some, 'habits of Phœnician make,' and by others 'red garments;' but it appears to me that neither of these is correct.

1. How could people far distant from any commercial town, and who to all appearance had never seen any ships, since they had not perceived that of Sataspes, have procured habits of Phœnician make?

2. The giving them red garments appears to me as little founded. It is very doubtful whether people so barbarous as Herodotus

sents these to be, should have possessed stuffs, or even if they had, that they should know the art of dying them red.

When our historian wishes to express that colour, he always uses the word *φοινίκτος*, and never *φοινυήτιος*, which is an Ionism for *φοινίκεος*, and which throughout the nine books of this history always signifies 'Phœnician' or 'of palm.'

Examples of *φοινίκτος* for 'red' occur, Book I. § xcviij.; Book II. § cxxxii.; Book VII. § lxxvi.; Book IX. § xxii., &c.

*Φοινυήτιος* is taken for 'of the palm-tree,' Book II. § lxxxvi.; Book III. § xx., &c.

3. I have translated 'habits of the palm-tree,' that is, made of the leaves or pellicle of that tree. Savage people, such as these were, were frequently so clothed. "Diu \* fuere occulta ejus (naturæ) beneficia; summumque munus homini datum, arbores sylvæque intelligebantur: hinc primum alimenta, harum fronde mollior specus, libro vestis: etiamnum gentes sic degunt."

The ancient anchorites, says the Abbé Bellanger, in a note in this passage, were habited in the same style. St. Paul the hermit, according to the breviary of Paris,<sup>†</sup> "tunicam in spartæ modum ex palmæ foliis sibi contexuerat." St. Athanasius also says: "Paulus à vigesimo secundo ætatis anno ad tertium decimum supracentesimum, palmâ ei victum et vestitum præbente, Anachoretarum primus in eremi speluncâ degebat."

*ἑσίοιρες*] *That having entered into their towns.* I read *ἑσίοιρες* with the Mss. of Sancroft and of the Imperial Library, that marked A in the Royal Library, the margin of the Greek edition of Stephens, 1570, and that of Valla. The *σινοίρες* of the editions does not appear to me correct; MM. Wesseling and Valckenaer have adopted *ἑσίοιρες*.

*Πρόβατα*] *Cattle.* If we prefer *βρώα*, which is the reading of the two Mss. of the Royal Library and of the Greek edition of Stephens, we must translate, 'provisions.'

*Οἱ ἄνατον ἐν προβαταῖς*] *Could not advance.* It was, according to all appearance, the east wind which prevented the vessel from advancing. It blows constantly in this sea at a certain season. See M. Wesseling's note.

XLIV. *Σκύλας ἄνδρα Καρυάδα*] *Scylas of Caryanda.* This Scylax did not appear either to Vossius or Dodwell to be the same with the author of the 'Periplus of Europe, Asia, and Africa.' See Dodwell's Dissertation in the 1st Vol. of the Lesser Geographers, p. 43. and following. But M. de St. Croix, in a Dissertation read to the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres in 1778,

\* Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xii.; Prefat. Vol. I. p. 654. lta, 4.

† Pars hyemalis, p. 291. Ibid. p. 401.



and printed in the 42d Vol. of its Memoirs, 350th and following pages, identifies this Scylax as the author of the Periplus; and his reasoning appears to me conclusive.

*Katà poramṓn prós hṓ te kal ḥlíou áνατολῆς*] *They descended the river to the east.* The course of the Indus is from north to south; consequently Scylax could not descend to the sea by the east. That skilful navigator was not ignorant that he had reached the sea on the south; but Herodotus, who had not read his account, and who had heard say that he had descended the Indus to the sea, imagined that that sea was on the east, for such was the opinion of his time: and considerably afterwards, Hipparchus<sup>a</sup> asserted the same thing.

*Ἰνδοῦς τε κατεπράξατο Δαρεῖος, καὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ ταύτῃ ἔχρατο*] *Darius subjugated the Indians, and availed himself of this sea.* The President Montesquieu says: "The navigation which Darius caused to be performed of the river Indus and of the Indian sea, was rather the fantasy of a prince anxious to display his power, than the digested plan of a monarch who has any useful end in view. It produced no result either for commerce or navigation; and if for a moment they emerged from ignorance, it was to relapse into it immediately." This ingenious writer adds, in a note, "Herodotus, in Melpomene, says that Darius conquered the Indies; but this is to be understood only of Ariana, and that was an ideal conquest."

But how was this conquest merely ideal, as Xerxes and Darius himself had Indians in their armies? How was this voyage without results either for commerce or navigation, since, after the people was accomplished, that prince subjugated the Indians and made use of their sea?

But if the President Montesquieu speaks too contemptuously of this expedition of Darius, Mr. Bruce exalts it too highly. "Darius, king of Persia," says he, "attempted to open this trade in a much more worthy and liberal manner, as he sent ships down the river Indus into the ocean, whence they entered the Red Sea. It is probable in this voyage he acquired all the knowledge necessary for establishing this trade in Persia; for he must have passed through the Persian gulf, and along the whole eastern coast of Arabia must have seen the marts of perfumes and spices that were at the mouth of the Red Sea, and the manner of bartering for gold and silver, as he was necessarily in those trading places which were on the very same coast from which the bullion was brought."

This is a fine long commentary on the two words which we have

<sup>a</sup> Strab. Geograph. lib. ii. p. 142. A.

<sup>b</sup> Travels to discover the source of the Nile, Book ii. chap. v. Vol. iii. p. 171.

<sup>c</sup> L'Esprit des Loix, liv. xxi. chap. viii. p. 483.

just read in Herodotus. I much doubt whether our historian would have approved of it.

Mr. Bruce, however, makes an eulogium on Darius with regard to his commercial discoveries which he did not deserve; we must allow as little weight to his declamation against Cyrus.\* "Whatever character," says he, "writers give of this great prince, his conduct with regard to the commerce of the country shows him to have been a weak one: for not content with the prodigious prosperity to which his dominions had arrived, by the misfortune of other nations, and perhaps by the good faith kept by his subjects to merchants, enforced by those written laws, he undertook the most absurd and disastrous project of molesting the traders themselves, and invading India, that all at once he might render himself master of their riches. He executed this scheme just as absurdly as he had formed it; for, knowing that large caravans of merchants came into Persia and Assyria from India through the Ariana, (the desert coast that runs all along the Indian ocean to the Persian gulf, almost entirely destitute of water, and very nearly as much so of provisions, both which caravans always carry with them,) he attempted to enter India with a large army, by the very same route his predecessor, Semiramis, had projected 1300 years before; and as her army had perished, so did his, to a man, without ever having had it in his power to take one pepper-corn by force from any part of that country."

All that Mr. Bruce has here advanced, is founded on one line of the President Montesquieu, (*Esprit des Loix*, liv. xxi. chap. viii. p. 482.) "Tradition says, that the armies of Semiramis and of Cyrus perished in these deserts."

This appears to me a commentary equally remarkable for its *curiosity*, its *learning*, its *deep interest*, and the unexpectedness with which it bursts upon us. The line in Montesquieu is founded on Strabo,<sup>†</sup> who says, upon the authority of Nearchus, that Alexander having heard that Semiramis and Cyrus had each made an expedition into India, the former returning from it with only twenty men of her army, and the latter with only seven, resolved to gain for himself glory by effecting the conquest of a country which had proved a stumbling-block to those illustrious warriors. "But," adds Strabo, "what confidence can we have in these expeditions of Cyrus and of Semiramis? Megasthenes is of the same opinion, he who exhorts us to mistrust the ancient histories of the Indies, and who maintains that the Indians never made an expedition out of their country, and

\* Travels to discover the source of the Nile, Book ii. chap. v. Vol. iii. p. 275.

† Strab. lib. xiv. p. 1007. A.

that none was ever made into it, with the exception of those of Hercules, of Bacchus, and of Alexander."

M. de Montaigne should have read the whole paragraph of Strabo, and Mr. Bruce should not have relied on a modern writer as an authority for a fact which took place twenty-four centuries back, and especially should have taken care to abstain from commentaries, in which he is singularly unsuccessful. Moreover, who ever heard that the Ariana extends all along the Indian ocean? This is strange geography.

This trait, I must repeat, is not particularly calculated to inspire confidence in what Mr. Bruce has written concerning Ethiopia. See also Book III. note 1. to § xxiii. (Vol. i. p. 544.)

XIV. *Ἡπ' Ἀφγερδας εὐρησμένη* It (Europe) exceeds the two other parts of the world. It is not astonishing that Herodotus should have conceived this notion of Europe and of Asia, since, with the exception of the Massagetæ, of Arabia, and of a part of India; he knew no more of Asia than the countries which were under the government of Darius. Moreover, this historian considered as a part of Europe that immense country to the north of Caucasus, of the Caspian sea, and of the Massagetæ. On the one hand, he added to Europe extensive countries which he subtracted from Asia; whilst on the other, this latter division of the world comprised an immense extent of country of which he had no knowledge. We must not therefore be surprised at his asserting that Europe is larger than Asia and Africa.

*Ἐν δὲν κτεταί* Or why they assign to Asia. If we make *καὶ ὁπώρα ἀπὸ* to relate to *ἡ δὲ Ἑβέρω*, which immediately precedes it, we confound the meaning. This passage cannot refer to Europe, but to Asia. The President Bouchier,\* who perceived this, thought that it had been transposed, and ought to be joined to the end of the preceding paragraph. I think he is in the right. I have not, however, ventured to translate in opposition to the authority of the Mss. and of all the editions. But I have explained *ἀπὸ* as of Asia, which will prevent any misunderstanding.

"We may here remark," says the ingenious and learned Major Rennel,<sup>b</sup> "that Herodotus considered, and perhaps with reason, the whole of the earth then discovered to be one entire continent, and that Europe, Asia, and Africa, were portions of that continent."

*Ἄλλῃ δὲ αὖτε τὰς εὐρωπαϊάς* They took the names. *Ἑβέρω* is not here taken in the usual reciprocal sense of the middle voice.

*Τὸν Κούριον* Son of Cotys. Cotys appears at the first glance to be a Thracian name. Atys is decidedly Lydian. Independently of

\* Recherches et Dissertations sur l'É.  
redote, chap. xxiii. p. 199

<sup>b</sup> Geographical System of Herodotus examined, &c. p. 2.

King Atys, Herodotus speaks of a son of Croesus, and of the father of the rich Pythius, who both bore this name. To this we may add what our author relates of the history of Lydia, and which he has not borrowed from Xanthus of Lydia, as Thomas Gale imagined: \* that husbandman, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus,<sup>4</sup> having no where spoken of Tyrrhenus, nor of the sending of the Minorian colony into Italy. In that passage, (Book i. § xciv.) he calls the son of Manes 'Atys,' and not 'Cotys.' Eustathius appears to have read 'Asia,' son of Atys. But though these authorities have great weight, I allow 'Cotys' to stand, because it appears by the same Eustathius on Homer,<sup>4</sup> that the ancients considered Asia as the son of Cotys, and moreover, because Dionysius of Halicarnassus<sup>5</sup> affirms that Manes, first king of Minoria, had by Calirhoe, Cotys, and that Cotys had by Hala, daughter of Tullus, Asia and Atys: for so we must read, on the authority of the various Mss. cited at the foot of the page.—VALCKENAEK.

I add to this note, which I have borrowed from M. Valckenaer, that Cotys is not a name so peculiar to Thrace, but that it is met with in different parts of Asia Minor. The prince or king of the Paphlagonians, as Plutarch calls him,<sup>6</sup> who was contemporary with Agesilaus, king of Lacedaemon, was called Cotys.<sup>4</sup>

'Asios' is an Ionism for 'Asia.' I have therefore written Asia in my translation. See the Etymologicum Magnum, at the word 'Ασιος & Λαίριον, and Eustathius on Homer, p. 254. lin. 16 and 17.

'Απ' ὧν] From whom. We must read with the Ms. A in the Royal Library, Απ' ὧν. See Book i. § vii. note 3.

'Απὸ τῆς Τυρίας . . . Εὐρώπης] Of Europe from Tyre. Bochart<sup>4</sup> thinks that this division of the world was called Ur-Appa by the Phœnicians, from the fair complexion of its inhabitants: and he is possibly in the right.

XLVI. 'Εννός τοῦ Ἡέρου] On this side of the Euxine sea. Herodotus uses the word ἑνός only to express that which is on the hither side, or between him and the object referred to. He therefore did not write this passage in Asia Minor, at Halicarnassus, or at Samos; for in neither of those situations would the Scythians have been between

\* M. Valckenaer appears to me mistaken. See Book i. § xciv. note 7.

<sup>4</sup> Dionys. Halicarn. Ant. Rom. lib. i. p. 72 lin. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieget. vers. 279. To these authorities we may add that of the Etymologicum Magnum, at the word 'Ασιος & Λαίριον, p. 153.

<sup>6</sup> Eustath. in Homer. Iliad. B. p. 192. 81 of the edition of Basil, which it should

acorn M. Valckenaer uses; but p. 254 of the edition of Rome, which I use.

<sup>4</sup> Dionys. Halicarn. Ant. Rom. lib. i. p. 21. lin. 20 et seq.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch. in Agesilaus, p. 601. E.

<sup>6</sup> Xenoph. Orat. de Agesilaus, cap. in. § iv. p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> Bochart Geograph. Sacra. lib. iv. cap. xxxiii. p. 296.

him and the Euxine sea. He therefore, in all probability, wrote it at Thurium, in the foot of the boot of Italy: with regard to which place, the Scythians are on the near side of the Euxine sea. This therefore is one of those passages which our author added to his history, after having fixed his residence in Italy.

Τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ ἔθνους] *The Scythian nation.* The Scythians were not very clever, nor does Herodotus mean to say that they were; but only that they might be considered so in comparison with the other nations on the same side of the Euxine sea.

Τὸ δὲ μέγιστον οὗτοι σφι ἀνεύρηται] *These advantages consist.* It was in these particulars that consisted the skill and prudence which distinguished them from the other nations of which Herodotus had been speaking.

Μῆτε τείχεα] *Nor fortresses.* Τείχεα signifies fortresses or castles, as we find in a hundred passages of our author, of Thucydides, of Xenophon, &c. Hesiod\* also says:

ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε

Ἴπ τῶν γε στρατῶν εὐρὺν ἀπώλεσεν, ἢ ὕγε τείχος.

'Now Jupiter destroys their armies, and now their cities.' See also Book III. § xcī. note 3; and Book IV. notes on § xii. and § cxxiv.

Ζευγέων] *Their chariots.* Æschylus,† who was forty-one years anterior to Herodotus, expresses himself in the same manner, in his piece entitled 'Prometheus bound.' Prometheus, wishing to point out to Io the road she is to take, says to her, "On leaving this place, turn your steps towards the gates of the east. Across the deserts, which the plough has never yet furrowed, you will reach the Scythian Nomades, a people armed with light arrows, and who have no other dwellings but cabins of reeds erected upon cars."

XLVII. Ἰστρος μὲν καὶ Τάρις] *Such are the Ister . . . and the Tanais.* That is to say, that Scythia is enclosed by the Danube and the Don. It comprehends therefore the Ukraine, the Nogay Tartars, the Don Cossacs, &c.

XLVIII. Πέντε ῥέοντες] *There are five large ones.* In the text we have πέντε μὲν οἱ ῥέοντες. This μὲν οἱ is certainly an alteration. M. Reiske reads οἷδε, and M. Valckenaer μόνοι: but I cannot approve of either of these corrections. I am persuaded that it originally stood πέντε μεγάλοι ῥέοντες, as in § xlix. there is ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Αἰμον τῶν κορυφῶν τρεῖς ἄλλοι μεγάλοι ῥέοντες πρὸς βιβρὴν ἢ εἰς ἑμεν, ἐσβύλλονσι ἐς αὐτόν.

This expression, τρεῖς ἄλλοι μεγάλοι, necessarily supposes the correction which I adopt.

\* Hesiodi Opera et Dies, vers. 213. 715 et seq. at edit. Brunckii.

† Æschyl. in Prometh. Vincit, vers.



I have since recollected that I am in accordance with M. Koen. See his excellent notes on Gregorius de Dialectis, p. 221.

XLIX. *Nórs*] *The Nore*. On this river, see my Geographical Table. I cannot, however, here refrain from noticing that Mr. Bryant (in a new System, or an Analysis of Ancient Mythology,) contends that this is the proper name of the Danube, without the prefix *Da*. Thus, according to this writer, they said, *Da-Nau*, *Da-Nauos*, *Da-Nauus*, *Da-Nauhus*. It follows from the reasoning of the same writer, that the Danube crossed the Triballian plain, a part of Thrace—which is rather curious, and what is still more so, that it discharged itself into the Danube. I cannot conceive how any man with so much talent and information could produce so worthless a work.

In the following line, mention is made of the *Cios*, another river of Thrace. The Mss. of Sancroft and of Valla have another reading, which may lead us to the true one; for this name is certainly corrupted. The Mss. have *Skios*, *Sciis*. Strabo<sup>a</sup> speaks of a river *Scæus* in Thrace. This is the river whose name we seek, without yet having attained its true one. Thucydides<sup>b</sup> also mentions it. The *Oscius*, says he, has its source in mount *Scomius*. This mountain, which is barren and of great extent, joins mount *Rhodope*. This will accord very well with the *Sciis* of Herodotus. For though this historian says the *Sciis* has its source in mount *Rhodope*, it is evident that he does not distinguish between this mount and mount *Scomius*, of which latter he does not even speak; for it is difficult to fix the spot where *Rhodope* ends and *Scomius* begins. Pliny appears to me to give us the true reading, when he says, ‘*ex Rhodope (Escus).*’ The true name of this river, therefore, is *Oloros*, *Æscos*. Ptolemy confirms this,<sup>c</sup> when he names a town of *Æscos* in the country of the *Triballi*. We know it was a very common practice with the ancients to name a city or town after the river on which it was situated. There was then, according to Ptolemy, a river of this name in the country of the *Triballi*. Now the *Sciis*, or *Cios* of Herodotus, traverses the *Triballian* plain: it must therefore be the same river. The Table of the Emperor Theodosius, commonly called *Peutinger’s Table*, proves this incontestably. It places in this country a river *Escus*, and upon this river a town of the same name. See segment vii. B. According to these authorities, I ought to have written *Æscos* in my translation; but I have not ventured so to do from fear of censure from those who have more veneration for the authority of Mss. than for that of reason.

<sup>a</sup> Strab. lib. xiii. p. 883. C.

Vol. i. p. 180. lin. 19.

<sup>b</sup> Thucyd. lib. ii. § xvi.

<sup>c</sup> Ptolemæi Geograph. lib. iii. cap. x.

<sup>d</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. iii. cap. xxvi. p. 88.

‘Πῦν γὰρ . . . .] *We need not, &c.* These words are not in the text. I have added them with a view to express the force of γὰρ, which without them, I apprehend, would not have been felt.

Μετὰ Κύνητας] *If we except the Cynetae.* These are the same with the Cynesians. See Book II. § xxxiii. note 7.

L. Οὔτε ποταμοὶ, οὔτε κρήνη οὐδεμίη ἐσθιδοῦσα] *Receives neither river nor fountain.* Herodotus is mistaken. The Astapus or Abawi, the Astaboras or Athara, which are very considerable rivers, and a multitude of others which run from Abyssinia and the countries beyond it, swelled by the tropical rains, pour their waters into the Nile, in Ethiopia. But perhaps our historian meant to say only, that the Nile, after its entrance into Egypt, received neither river nor fountain; which is precisely the case.

Νιφετῷ δὲ πάντα χυῖται] *Is covered with snow.* In the Greek, νιφετῷ δὲ πάντα χυῖται. Hesychius has preserved the signification of this word χυῖται, which he explains by μολύνεται. “Nive omnia inficiuntur et sordent.” See also M. Ernesti’s note on the Hymn of Callimachus in honour of Diana, verse 69.

LII. Μήτηρ Ὑπάνιος] *The mother of the Hypanis.* “Hypanis\* ex grandi palude oritur, quam Matrem ejus accolæ appellant.”

LIII. Οὗτος δὲ τι ἐσθλὸς πικρῇ] *And which is so bitter.* “Hypanis† non longè à mari, ex parvo fonte, cui Exampeo cognomen est, adeò amaras aquas accipit, ut ipse quoque jam sui dissimilis et non dulcia hinc defluat.”

‘Πᾶσι τε καθαρὸς πρὸς θαλεροῖσι] *Though the neighbouring rivers are muddy.* So in the Greek: which M. Bellanger had translated, “It (the water of the Borysthenes) is even pure and clear, though it passes through a rich soil, and crosses a canal full of mud and filth.” A man of letters, who had communicated to M. Bellanger his remarks on his translation of Herodotus, had rectified this passage. M. Bellanger, however, persisted in his own interpretation of it, which is as different as it well can be from the meaning of Herodotus. Pomponius Mela, who has translated this passage of our historian, explains clearly enough the meaning that should be given to it. “Turbidis‡ aliis (amnis), liquidissimus defluit.”

‘Ἄλς τε ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ ἀνρόμαροι πηγυνται] *The salt spontaneously crystallizes at its mouth.* Dio Chrysostom,‡ who passed an entire summer at Borysthenes, says, “A large quantity of salt is found at this place. Many barbarians come to furnish themselves with it,

\* Pomponius Mela, lib. ii. cap. i. p. 127.

† Id. ibid.

‡ Id. ibid. p. 126.

§ Dio Chrysost. Orat. Borysthen. p.

437. D.

as well as the Greeks and Scythians who inhabit the Tauric Chersonesus."

Τὰ ἀντακαὶον καλέουσι] *Which are called Antacæi.* The comic poet Antiphanes speaks of it<sup>a</sup> in his Deucalion. Pomponius Mela also mentions it: "Alit lætissima pabula, magnosque pisces, quibus est optimus sapor et nulla ossa sunt." Count Marsigli, in *Danubio Pannonico-Mysico*, Vol. iv. p. 31., calls this fish Huso. It is the Tock or Tuck of the Danube.

Τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν πλῆος] *Forty days' navigation.* Hylæa is a small country on the borders of the sea. The agricultural Scythians live beyond it. The northern part of the country of these Scythians is eleven days' navigation ascending the Borysthenes, as we have seen in § xviii. The country of the Gerrhæ is not very far distant, and it is there<sup>c</sup> that the Borysthenes begins to be navigable. I am convinced from this that there is an error in the text, and that we should read τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα, fourteen, instead of τεσσαράκοντα, forty. M. Bayer appears to have been aware of this error, as, in his *Memoir on Ancient Scythia*,<sup>d</sup> he says, "cognoscebatur Græcis Borysthenes ab Gerrhæ regione, quæ quatuordecim navigatione dierum distabat à mari."

I have not, however, ventured to alter the text, because this reading is found not only in all the editions, but likewise in the three Mss. of the Royal Library, and in all those which had been consulted by M. Wesseling. Moreover, if the text really has been altered, as I think it has, the fault is of very ancient date; for we find it in Pomponius Mela,<sup>e</sup> who translates from Herodotus. "Longè venit, ignotisque ortus à fontibus, quadraginta dierum iter acutè stringit, totoque spatio navigabilis." Scymnus of Chios<sup>f</sup> had also said, that the Borysthenes was navigable forty days' journey.

Ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ἔλος] *In the same marsh.* I read ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ἔλος with the marginal reading of Stephens's edition of 1570, p. 151. and the Mss. of Cardinal Passionei and of Dr. Askew. Dion Chrysostom, who had seen this country, and was well acquainted with it, says the same thing. MM. Wesseling and Valckenaer also approve this reading.

Ἐμβολον τῆς χώρας] *The tongue of land.* Ἐμβολον τῆς χώρας signifies, literally, 'the ship's beak of land': that is to say, that this part, at its termination, resembled in form the head of a vessel, as we see in Dion Chrysostom, from whom I shall give the entire passage, as

<sup>a</sup> Athenæus, lib. iii. cap. xxii. p. 118. D.

<sup>b</sup> Pomponius Mela, lib. ii. cap. i. p. 35.

<sup>c</sup> Herodotus, lib. iv. § lxxi.

<sup>d</sup> *Commentar. Academicæ Petropolitaneæ*, Vol. i. p. 311.

<sup>e</sup> Pomponius Mela, lib. ii. cap. i. p. 126. 58.

<sup>f</sup> Scymni Chii fragm. vers. 69, 70. Vide *Geographiæ veteris scriptores minores*, Vol. ii. p. 47.

it seems to illustrate that of Herodotus. "The Borysthenes" has given its name to the city, (of the Borysthenitæ,) from its size and the beauty of its waters, though the city is really situated on the Hypanis. It now occupies the very same ground it formerly did, a little above the promontory of Hippolaus, and opposite to it. This part of the country, in the neighbourhood of which the Hypanis and the Borysthenes join, is solid, and terminates in a point, like the prow of a vessel. These rivers, from their confluence as far as to the sea, form a lake of about 200 stadia in length, and as much in breadth. The greater part of this lake is covered with slime, and in calm weather it is perfectly tranquil, as a stagnant water. The river appears on the right, and the force of its current induces those who navigate it to think that it is very deep at its mouth; in fact, but for the rapidity of its current, it would be choked up, when the south wind sets violently against its mouth."

In this passage of Dion Chrysostom, I read *σραβεῖα*, and make it agree with *λίμνη*. The comma which is after *ρεύματος*, I place after *τὸ βάθος*. I understand *ὅθεν περ καὶ ἐξίησι*, of the mouth of the river, and I understand *ἂν* with *ἀνεφάρτετο*, of which we find many examples. See the Ionian Lexicon of Æmiliius Portus, under the word *Ἄν*.

The greater part of these corrections are found in the edition of Dion Chrysostom, published in 1784 by M. Reiske. This volume of my first edition was then printed, so that I could not be aware of it.

*Δήμητρος*] *To Ceres*. Some of the Mss. have 'to Ceres,' and others 'to the Mother.' We must understand this expression as of Ceres, and not of Vesta, as Gronovius does. When he says that the Scythians knew neither Ceres nor Cybele, he is right; but he should have recollected that the Borysthenitæ or Olbiopolitæ were Greeks by origin, and had retained many of the rites and customs of their ancestors.

LIV. *Πέμπτος ποταμός*] *It is the fifth river*. *Μετὰ δὲ τούτους πεμπτὸς ποταμὸς ἄλλος, τῷ ὀνόματι Παντικῆς*: 'another fifth river' . . . . Thus the Attic authors express themselves. We find in Æschylus,<sup>a</sup> *τέταρτος ἄλλος . . . ζὼν βοῇ παρίσταται*. We read in Sophocles,<sup>b</sup> *δεύτερον ἄλλο ιακόν*; and in Euripides,<sup>c</sup> *τὸν δὲ δεύτερον λέγω, Ἐτεόκλον, ἄλλον χρηστότην ἠσκηκότα*, 'The second, I mean Eteocles, who has exercised himself in benevolent actions.' Our historian has also said, Book 1. § cxcvii. *δεύτερος δὲ σφίρι ὅδε ἄλλος σφί νόμος κατεστήκει*.

As the Ionians were Athenians by origin, they preserved many of the idioms of the ancient Attic tongue.

<sup>a</sup> Dion. Chrysostom. Orat. xxvi. p. edit. Brunckii.  
427. B.

<sup>b</sup> Æschyl. *Ἐπὶ τῷ Θηθ.* vers. 488. ex

<sup>c</sup> Sophocl. Antig. 1304.

<sup>d</sup> Euripid. Suppl. 871.

Οἱ γεωργοὶ Σκύθαι] *The agricultural Scythians.* For so I translate the word Γεωργοὶ in Herodotus, to mark the difference between them and the labouring Scythians. Pliny always terms the former 'Georgi.' "Panticapes Nomadas" et Georgos determinat." Hardouin, in a note on this passage, confounds the 'Georgi' or cultivators with the labourers.

LVII. Σκύθας βασιλεῖας] *The royal Scythians.* The Scythians were divided<sup>d</sup> into three distinct states. At the time of the Persian invasion, Idanthyrsus reigned over the first and greatest, Scopasis over the second, and Taxacis over the third.

LVIII. Ἔστι σταθμώσασθαι ὅτι τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει] *As we may remark.* In the Greek, 'We may conjecture that the case is so, in opening, &c.' Ἔστι σταθμώσασθαι ὅτι τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει. We must read with the Ms. A of the Royal Library, ἔστι τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει. It is an Ionian familiar to our historian. He had said before, (Book II. § XLIII.) πολλὰ μοι καὶ ἄλλα τεκμήριά ἐστι τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχειν. The Athenians, from whom the Ionians were descended, used the same form of expression. We find in Thucydides,<sup>e</sup> οὐδ' ἄξιον, οὕτως ἔμῳ. I read also ἐπιχλωράτη with MM. Wesseling and Valekenauer, to whose notes the reader may refer.

LIX. Ὁρθότατα, κατὰ γνώμην γε τὴν ἐμὴν] *A name which, in my opinion, perfectly suits him.* Herodotus supposed that with the Scythians the word signified 'father,' and perhaps it was so. We know that in all languages, πα, πα, παπα, are the first syllables which infants pronounce when they cry to their fathers.

Ἀπόλλων δέ, Οἰρόσσυρος] *Apollo, (Eteasyros.* What was the meaning of this epithet bestowed by the Scythians on Apollo? This is not known, and in all probability never will be. Hesychius<sup>d</sup> says, Γορρόσσυρον τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα. Σκύθαι. It is evident that we must read Γορρόσσυρον, which is the same word as Herodotus used, with the digamma, as is remarked by M. Alberti. But as to the explanation given by that critic, I think it will be approved by few, because he derives it from the Greek, whereas its origin should be sought in the Scythian tongue. M. Pelloutier has not been more fortunate. He derives this word<sup>e</sup> from 'goet syr,' the good star. He should first have shown that in the language of that people 'syr' signified a star. Moreover, he has neglected to observe, that the word was corrupted in Hesychius, and ought to be written with the digamma. It was so written by the Æolians: amongst the other Greeks we find Οἰρόσσυρος, as in

<sup>c</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. iv. cap. xii. Vol. I. p. 217. lin. 15.

<sup>d</sup> Herodot. lib. iv. § cxx.

<sup>e</sup> Thucyd. lib. ii. § lxxi. p. 143. lin. 61.

<sup>d</sup> Voc. Γορρόσσυρον, p. 847.

<sup>e</sup> Histoire des Cultes, liv. iii. chap. xii. tom. ii. p. 221.



Herodotus. In the \* inscriptions of Marquardus Gudius, there is one which is the more curious, as we learn from it that the same epithet was given to the moon :

ΘΕΑ. ΣΗΛΟΙΤΟΣΚΥΡΑ  
ΚΑΙ. ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΩ. ΟΙ  
ΤΟΣΚΥΡΩ. ΜΙΘΡΑ  
Μ. ΟΥΑΙΟΣ. ΠΛΟΚΑ  
ΜΟΣ. ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΣ  
ΑΝΕΘ.

Θεῶ Σελήνῃ Οἰοσύρῃ καὶ Ἀπολλῶνι Οἰοσύρῃ . . . ἀνέθηκε. \* M. Ulpus Plocamus Neocorus has dedicated to the goddess Luna Cētosyra, and to Apollo Cētosyras Mithras. . . .

LX. Τὰ ἱρὰ] *Sacred places.* M. Wesseling thought that τὰ ἱρὰ were the rites which were observed when victims were sacrificed, and not temples, as Herodotus had just said that the Scythians erected none but to Mars. But it seems more natural to understand by τὰ ἱρὰ, a sacred place. Though the Scythians had no temple properly so called, it is very probable that they assembled in the open air for religious purposes, in certain places, which on account of the sacrifices there made might be esteemed sacred.

Οὐτ' ἐπισημαίας] *Without any other preparatory ceremony.* Herodotus makes this remark, because the Greeks were profuse in ceremonies.

1. The victim was sprinkled with the lustral water. 2. They scattered on his forehead grains of barley mixed with salt. (The Latins scattered meal mixed with salt, which they called 'mola salsa:' see Book 1. § CLX. note 4.) 3. A portion of hair was cut from the forehead of the victim, and cast into the fire.

The first of these ceremonies we find described in Euripides. Iphigenia relates that she had seen in a dream the whole of her father's house, except a single pillar, overthrown. This pillar was Orestes. In the same dream she sprinkles this pillar; she thence concludes that Orestes is dead; for those whom she sprinkles with the lustral water die.

\* Θρήσκουσι δ' οὐς ἂν χερνίβες βάλω' ἔμαι.

In the same piece, verse 621, Orestes says, "How, will you sacrifice me yourself, you who are a woman?" Iphigenia answers, "No; but I will sprinkle on your head the lustral water."

Οὐκ' ἀλλὰ χαίτην ἄμφι σὴν χερνίφομαι.

See also verse 643 of the same piece.

\* Inscriptiones Antiquæ, p. 66. No. 2.

† Iphigenia in Taurid. vers. 58.

Homer has brought these three ceremonies together.

‘ γέρων δ’ ἱππηλάτα Νέστωρ  
 Χέρνιβά τ’ ὀλοχύτας τε κατήρχετο· πολλὰ δ’ Ἀθήνη  
 ἔβχετ’ ἀπαρχόμενος, κεφαλῇ τρίχας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλων.

‘Nestor sprinkles the lustral water and the sacred barley over the victim, cuts hair from his forehead, and throwing it into the fire, addresses his prayers to Minerva.’

Madame Dacier has not seized the true meaning of this passage. She thinks that Nestor washed<sup>a</sup> his hands in this water; and a few verses before, she interprets χέρνιβα an ewer or jug, (aiguïère,) whereas it is the lustral water. It should seem that she confounds χέρνιψ with χέρνισον: the former of which in Homer never signifies an ewer. This mistake has led her to wish an alteration in the text,<sup>c</sup> for which there is no occasion.

Pope is correct. He thus renders the verses :

Scatters with quiv’ring hand the sacred flour,  
 And the stream sprinkles, from the curling brows  
 The hair collected in the fire he throws.

A slight inaccuracy has escaped him, in attributing to the Greeks a custom which was peculiar to the Romans. Nestor did not scatter flour, but the barley in grains. I have noticed this custom in a note on § CLX. Book 1.

M. Bitaubé has avoided these errors.

The Greeks designated these ceremonies by the word *κατάρξασθαι*, which is the peculiar and appropriate term.

LXI. Αἰνῶς ἀξύλου τοῦσης] *As there is no wood.* Αἰνῶς is an Ionism for σφόδρα, ‘valde.’ It occurs frequently in Homer and in Hippocrates. See, on this word, Foesii *Œconomia Hippocratis*.

Λαοβίοισι κρητῆροι] *Vases of Læbos.* This species of vase is now unknown.

Ἐς τὰς γαστέρας τῶν ἰππίων] *In the belly of the animal.* Before the invention of pots and kettles, barbarous people used skins to cook their food. The Bedouin Arabs, the Greenlanders, and several tribes of Tartary still continue the same custom.—WESSELIING.

We may remark also, that in countries where wood is very scarce, they use the bones of animals for fuel. A remarkable example of this occurs in Ezekiel, chap. xxiv. verse 5.

Καὶ ἅλλα ἱφθία ἐκαστοῦ] *The same practice is observed as to*

<sup>a</sup> Homer. *Odys.* lib. iii. verse 444.

Pans, 1740

<sup>b</sup> *Gaym.* tom. i. p. 232. édition de

<sup>c</sup> See her Remark, *ibid.* p. 262.

*the other victims.* In the Greek, 'and the other victims cook, each itself.'

Τάλλα πρόβατα] *Other animals.* I have remarked in a note on § XCIII. of this Book, that πρόβατα signifies all sorts of four-legged animals. To this I may add that μῆλα, which was afterwards limited to signify sheep only, was formerly, as well as πρόβατα, understood of cattle and quadrupeds in general. Hence the nymphs who presided over the pastures were termed Ἐπιμελίδες. Phrynichus, according to a Ms. copy in the Royal Library, says, αἱ (Νύμφαι) περὶ τὰς νομάς τῶν τετραπόδων Ἐπιμελίδες, ὅτι μῆλα ἀπαντα τὰ τετραπόδα καλοῦσιν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι. "The nymphs who are in the pastures of the four-footed animals are called 'Epimelides,' because the ancients gave the name of 'Mela' to all quadrupeds."

Ἄλλοις τοῖν θεῶν] *To these gods.* In the Greek, 'to the rest of the gods:' which evidently relates to the gods of whom Herodotus had just been speaking. The historian makes use of that term, by way of contradistinction to the god Mars, of whom he speaks immediately afterwards.

LXII. Ἀρχηίων] *A plain appropriated to the national assemblies.* Ἀρχεῖον signifies 'the senate-house,' 'the place where the magistrates assemble.' In a nation not provided with houses, such assemblies must have taken place in the open air, as in what we formerly called the 'Champ de Mars.' Had it been a building, how can we conceive that it could be sufficiently high or extensive to contain a pile of faggots three stadia in length and in breadth, and little less in height? I have therefore thought myself bound, for the sake of clearness, to translate it 'a field or plain appropriated to the national assemblies.'

Ὑψος δὲ ἑλασσον· ἄνω δὲ τοῦτον] *And less in height.* I am persuaded, with M. Wesseling, that a pile of small wood, three stadia in length and in width, and little less in height, is perfectly inconsistent with the circumstances of the country, viz. a remarkable scarcity of wood. I am of opinion with him, that the number which expressed the height has been forgotten by the copyists.

Ἀκινάκης σιδήρεω ἀρχαῖος] *An old iron scimitar.* Other barbarous people honoured the god of war under the emblem of a scimitar. Ammianus Marcellinus says of the Huns: "Nec templum" apud eos visitur aut delubrum. . . sed gladius barbarico ritu humi figitur nudus, eumque ut Martem . . . colunt." At Rome<sup>d</sup> even, as we learn from Varro, a pike formerly served as a symbol representative of the god Mars.

<sup>c</sup> Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxi. cap. ii. p. 478.

<sup>d</sup> Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gentem, § iv. p. 41. lin. 2.

Καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖς δ' ἐτι . . . θύουσι] *And sacrifice to him.* I read καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖς δ' ἐτι, instead of καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖς δ' ἐτι. This latter reading might, however, in strictness be maintained, as there were several kinds of scimitars.

Τοὺς δεξιὸς ἄμους σὺν τῇσι χερσὶ] *The right arm with the shoulder.* I understand by χερσὶ, the arm with the hand. See note 11. on § CXVI. of Book 11.

Ἐπειτα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέραντες ἰππία] *After having finished the sacrifice.* "M. Wesseling changes ἀπέραντες ἰππία to ἀπαράραντες. I think that we should make no alteration, or that we should read ἀποπέραντες in the sense of ἀποθύσαντες, 'after having finished the sacrifice of the other victims,' as Herodotus himself has said, Book IX. § VII. οὐκ ἀπερερείχιστο, 'the wall was not yet finished,' and § XXX. of the same Book, ἀπετέδυσαν, 'when they had ceased weeping.' We know that πέζω is synonymous with θύω." Homer's *Iliad*. lib. 1. 443.

Φοίβω θ' ἱερὴν ἀκατόμβην

Ῥέξαι ὑπὲρ Δαναῶν.

"We might likewise correct ἀπέραντες by ἔρδω, which would equally signify θύω. This correction appears to me the more likely to be right, as Herodotus a little before, § LX., speaking of the sacrifices of these same Scythians, says, θυσίῃ δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ πᾶσι κατέσθη. . . ἔρδομένη ᾧδε. Hesychius explains ἔρδω by θύειν. And if I have observed that we may leave the reading ἀπέραντες as it stands in the text, it is because I find again in Hesychius, ἔρδω . . . θύω, though it is not unlikely that in this gloss he has confounded ἔρδω with ἔρπον. At all events, I am inclined to believe that Herodotus meant to say ἀποθύσαντες, rather than unnecessarily adopt M. Wesseling's correction."

CONAT.

LXIV. Ὅργιστος δὲ αὐτὸ, ἄτε χειρόμακτρον ἐτετηται] *When he has sufficiently softened it, he uses it as a towel.* The following verse of the Ctenomachus of Sophocles explains what Herodotus here says.

Ἐσθιοτὶ χειρόμακτρον ἐκτεκαρμένον.

'Torn off after the manner of the Scythians, its skin forms a towel.' For so this verse is to be understood, and not as Casaubon explains it in his notes on Athenæus, as Hesychius proves under the word Ἐσθιοτὶ χειρόμακτρον, though this gloss has been altered.

Demosthenes twice names this piece in his *Oratio pro Corona*, and Hesychius explains the second passage of this orator under the word Ἀρσυποῖος Οἰόμαος. Had the Abbé Auger been acquainted with this

\* Athen. lib. ix. cap. xviii. p. 410. C. The sense of this passage has been mutilated by M. Lefebvre-Villebrune. See his *Fragments of Sophocles in Brunck's edition*, p. 24, Group Appendix ad Emendationes in Didam, Vol. iv. p. 466.

gloss of Hesychius, he would not probably have chosen to say that *Æschines* had played the part of *Ænomaus*. See his *Demosthenes*, tom. iiii. notes in pp. 268 and 298. The *Ænomaus* was a tragedy of *Sophocles*, of which but a few verses have reached us. It has also been called *Hippodamia*.

*Bairas*] *Shepherds' cloaks*. This sort of cloak was called in Greek *Baira*. It was made of the skins of beasts sewn together.

LXV. *Ὁὖν χρᾶται ποτηρίῳ*] *As of a drinking-cup*. *Strabo*,\* as well as many other authors, mentions this custom of the *Scythians*, of drinking out of the skulls of their enemies.

"*Ἦν οὖν διάφοροι γένεσθαι*] *Have attacked them*. We read also *προεθίκαντο* in the Ms. A of the Royal Library, and *λέγεσθαι* two lines lower down.

LXVI. "*Ὀνείδος δὲ σφί ἐστι μέγιστον τοῦτο*] *And is to them a mark of ignominy*. " *Ut<sup>d</sup> quisque plures interemerit, ita apud eos habetur eximius. Cæterum expertem esse cædia, inter opprobria vel maximum.*"

*Σύνδυο κύλικας ἔχοντες*] *Two cups joined together*. See *Salmasius*, ad *Solini Polyhist.* p. 136. col. 1. C.

LXVII. "*Ῥάβδοισι ἰερίησι πολλῇσι*] *Rods of willow*. *Atamianus Marcellinus*, speaking of the *Huns*, says: "*Futura<sup>c</sup> miro præaugiunt modo: nam rectiores virgas vimineas colligentes, easque cum incantamentis quibusdam secretis præstituto tempore discernentes, apertè quid portendatur norunt.*"

This kind of divination has nothing in common with the divining rod of the *Abbé de Valmont*; but I have seen, in the province of *Berry*, traces of this superstition amongst the shepherds.

See also the note of *Lindenbrogius* on the passage of *Ammianus Marcellinus*.

*Οἱ δὲ Ἐνάρεις*] *The Enarees*. See what has been said on this subject, in note 3. on § cv. Book 1. (Vol. i. p. 157.)

*Φύλλῳ δὲ φλοιῷ λαντεύονται*] *Use the bark of the linden-tree in divination*. *M. De Pauw<sup>d</sup>* makes *Herodotus* to say, that the *Scythians* used the leaves of trees in divination; but that it would be necessary to write an express dissertation to explain this kind of divination.

A dissertation to explain a thing that no one ever heard of, would be somewhat curious.

LXVIII. *Τὰς δὲ βασιλείας ἰσρίας*] *By the Lores of the palace*. The *Turks* to this day swear by the *Ottoman Porte*.

\* *Strab.* lib. vii. p. 460. B.

<sup>c</sup> *Pomp. Mela*, lib. ii. cap. i. p. 133.

<sup>d</sup> *Ammian. Marcellin.* lib. xxxi. cap. ii. sub finem, p. 478.

<sup>d</sup> *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois*, sect. vii. p. 106.

B.



Καταδῆσῃσι (κιορησῃσι) *Convict him.* Καταδῆσῃσι. See the learned note of M. Valckenaer. Herodotus has used the same word in the same sense, Book II. § CLXXIV.

Ἀπολύσῃσι] *Declare him innocent.* Ἦν . . . ἀπολύσῃσι, if they absolve him. Julius Pollux\* has said that ἀφεῖναι, ἀπαλλάξαι are words used by the best writers to signify 'to absolve;' but that ἀπολύσαι is a vulgar word, confined to the lower orders. And yet Herodotus, no less remarkable for the elegance than the purity of his style, has several times made use of it. "Ὅσοι μὲν αὐτὸν τῶν θεῶν ἀπέλυσαν μὴ φῶρα εἶναι. 'The gods who sent him away absolved from the crime of theft.' Book II. § CLXXIV. Παιδας δὲ αὐτοῦ . . . Πανσαρίας ἀπέλυσε. 'Pausanias sent back the children of Attaginus absolved.' Book IX. § LXXXVII. Thucydides likewise uses it in this sense:† τῶν μὲν ἰδίῃς πρὸς τινα ἀδικημάτων εὐθύνῃ, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα ἀπολύσαι μὴ ἀδικεῖν. 'He was condemned for private faults, but sent back absolved of the public and more weighty ones.' The same term is also frequently found in Xenophon.‡ "Εἰ μὲν, ὦ πάτερ, εἰ μὴδὲν ἔδιδας Σφοδρίας, ἀπέλυσας ἂν αὐτὸν, οἶδα. 'I know, my father, that if Sphodrias had been innocent, you would have absolved him.' Lysias, who is considered by Dionysius of Halicarnassus§ as the most perfect model of the Attic tongue, has likewise made use of it.¶ Εἰ δὲ τινες κακόνους ἐγένοντο εἰς τὰ ὑμέτερα πράγματα, ἢ γνώμην μὴ ἐπιτηδεύειν εἶπεν, οὐχ οἱ πάντες τούτων αἰτιοὶ εἰσὶν (ὥστ' καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ὑμεῖς ἀπελύσατε. 'If there have been persons ill-disposed to your government, or who have professed pernicious principles, you should not punish for this persons who have not been present at such deliberations, after having sent away absolved those who really were partakers in them.'

After these examples, what are we to think of the remark of that grammarian?

LXX. Τὰ δὲ θήλεα οὐκ ἀδικεῖσι] *But he spares the females.* Why does M. De Pauw assert, that in China the relations of a criminal are put to death, with the exception of the females, who are sold for slaves, 'according to the practice of the Scythians' mentioned by Herodotus? It is very certain that Herodotus simply says, that no harm is done to the females.

"Ὅπρην δὲ ποιεῖσθαι Σκύθαι ὄβρι] *When the Scythians make a treaty with any one.* See Book I. § LXXIV. and notes 4. and 5. on

\* Jul. Pol. Onomast. lib. viii. cap. ii. segm. ix. Vol. ii. p. 855.

† Thucyd. lib. i. § xcv. p. 63. lin. 41.

‡ Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. v. cap. iv. § xxxi. p. 339.

§ Τῇ Ἀττικῇ γλῶττι ἁριστος καλῶν.

Dionys. Halicarn. Vol. ii. p. 130. lin. 41.

¶ Lysias Polystrati Defensio, p. 159. lin. 40. Sc. ex edit. Henr. Stephani.

⁂ Recherches Philosophiques sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois, rect. viii. p. 300.

that paragraph, to which I may add, that when \* Henry III. entered Poland to take possession of that kingdom, he found there 30,000 horse arrayed for battle. The General approaching him, drew his sabre, then piercing his arm with it, and catching in his hand the blood that flowed from the wound, he drank it, exclaiming, "Sire, wo be to him amongst us who is not ready to shed in your service the last drop of blood in his veins; and with that intention, I will waste none of mine."

Ἐπιτμήματα . . . σημειῶν τοῦ σώματος] *Slight incisions in the body.* This is what Herodotus said, Book i. § LXXIV. ἐπεὶν τοὺς βασιλεῖας ἐπιτμήματα ἐς τὴν ὁμοκρασίην. This passage explains the former one. The learned Dodwell (Dissertat. Cyprian. XIII. § XVIII. p. 130.) has some very curious remarks on this subject.

LXXI. Ἐς δὲ ὁ Βορυσθένης ἐστὶ προσπλωτός] *Where the Borysthenes begins to be navigable.* In the Greek, 'the place whence you can ascend the Borysthenes.'

Κυρέρον] *Souchet*, (French.) The cyperus, I think, is our 'souchet.' Homer numbers this plant amongst those that serve as food for horses. See the Odyssey, Book iv. verse 603.

Τοῦ ὠτός ἀποκόμουνται] *Cut off a small portion of their ear.* M. Bayer makes Herodotus <sup>b</sup> to say, that this people cut off a portion of the king's ear.

Ῥαψί] *Branches of willow.* The same M. Bayer <sup>c</sup> has translated this passage, "super lignis vestes ponebant." We may conclude, that he has only cast his eyes on Valla's translation, where we find "palliis contegunt."

Διήκορον] *His minister.* For so I translate ἀγγελισφόρον. See Book i. § XCIX.

LXXII. Ἀποκνίζουσι] *They strangle fifty, &c.* M. De Voltaire <sup>d</sup> supposes that they impaled alive the favourite officers of the Khan of the Scythians, round the royal corpse; and he attributes this assertion to Herodotus, who expressly says, that they first strangled them.

I doubt not that these inhuman sacrifices may appear incredible to such of the moderns as judge of the ancients after themselves, and of foreign nations by their own. Let them learn, however, that in China, the mildest and best-regulated country in existence, the Emperor Tehun-Tchi, <sup>e</sup> having in the year 1660 lost one of his wives, sacrificed upon her tomb more than thirty slaves. He was a Tartar, that is to

\* Histoire de France, par le Père Daniel, nouvelle édit. 4to. tom. x. p. 532.

<sup>b</sup> Mémoires Scythiques. Comment. Académ. Petropolit. Vol. iii. p. 368.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. p. 359.

<sup>d</sup> Philosophie de l'Histoire, p. 200 (221.)

<sup>e</sup> Histoire Générale de la Chine, tom. i. p. 43. du Discours Préliminaire.

say a Scythian. This example may induce us to consider what Herodotus tells us of the ancient Scythians as not altogether fabulous.

Κατὰ τὰ μήκεα] *Through their whole length.* In the Ms. A of the Royal Library we read *καταμήκεα* in a single word; and in the Ms. B of the same library, *κατὰ μήκεα* in two.

LXXIII. "Επειτα θάπτουσαι] *They then bury them.* All the Scythians did not observe the same customs in their interments. There were some who suspended the dead bodies on trees, and there left them to putrefy. "What matters it to Theodore," says Plutarch, "whether he rots in the ground or above ground? for the latter is honourable burial amongst the Scythians."

Silius Italicus also mentions this custom:†

At gente in Scythiæ suffixa cadavera truncis  
Leata dies sepelit, putri liquentia tabo.

I have remarked, in a note on § CIV. Book II., (Vol. I. p. 423.) that the Colchi had probably borrowed from the Scythians their manner of rendering the last duties to the dead.

It may not be superfluous to observe, that barbarous people have customs as barbarous as themselves, and that these customs often bear a strong resemblance, in nations that never could have communicated them to each other.

Captain Cook\* relates, that in the island of Otaheite they suffer their dead bodies to putrefy above ground, till the flesh is entirely consumed, and then they bury the bones.

LXXIV. "Ἔστι δὲ σπῆ . . . φνομένη ἐν τῇ χώρῃ] *Grows in Scythia.* I have followed the usual reading. M. Valckenaer proposes to read: *ἔστι δὲ σπῆ κάναβις αὐτομάτῃ φνομένη ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, πλὴν παχύρροπος, καὶ μεγάλους, τῷ λίγῳ ἐμφερεσύτερῃ ταύτης δὲ πολλὰ ὑπερφέρει ἡ κάναβις αὐτῇ, ἢ καὶ σπειρομένη φέρεται.* This conjecture is ingenious; but I do not like to make alterations in the text, unless they seem absolutely necessary. See the late M. Wesseling's note. If, however, M. Valckenaer's correction should be preferred, I here give the translation of it, for the benefit of those who do not understand Greek. "In Scythia there is a species of hemp which grows spontaneously, which resembles flax, only that it is thicker and coarser; that which is sown, is much superior to it."

Θρηάκις] *The Thracians.* Hesychius says, that it is the women of

\* Plutarch. an Vinositas ad Infelicitatem sufficit, p. 499. D.

† Silius Italicus, lib. xiii. vers. 496.

\* An Account of the Voyages undertaken by order of the King, for making

discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere, drawn up from the Journals of the several Commanders, by Dr. Hawkesworth. From the London Chronicle, 29th June, 1773. p. 3.

Thrace who make garments of hemp." "Ἐστὶ δὲ φυτὸν τι λιγὲρ ἕρπον" *ἔξ ὧ αἱ Θρᾷσαι ἱμάτια ποιοῦσιν.* 'Hemp is a plant which bears some resemblance to flax: the women of Thrace make garments of it.' These garments were doubtless worn only in summer; because we learn from Book vii. § LXXV., and from the Expedition of Cyrus, Book vii. chap. iv. § 11, p. 414, that the Thracians were careful to clothe themselves warmly in winter. It should appear, however, by the piece called Rhesus, attributed to Euripides,<sup>2</sup> that the Thracians were very lightly clothed in winter. But the customs of this people might have altered from the time of the siege of Troy.

LXXV. Ὑποδύνουσι ὑπὸ τοῖς πύλοις} *Having crept under these tents of thick wool.* Πῖλος *elpireos* is a woollen stuff, fulled and welted, i.e. felt. See above, § XXXII. note 4. The term ὑποδύνουσι, they creep or slip in, ('se glissent,') indicates that the opening by which they entered was very small. It is most likely that it would be so; and it is even probable that they stopped it up entirely after they entered, that the vapour might not escape from it. This stuff must have extended on all sides down to the ground, which has induced me to call the erection 'tents.' Herodotus had said before, § XXXIII. that the Argippeï live all the year under trees, which in winter they cover with this woollen cloth. Now if this had not reached down to the ground, it would not have protected them from the inclemency of the season.

The cars of the Scythians were also lined with felt, as we learn from Hippocrates.<sup>3</sup> Αὗται δὲ πύλοισι περιπεφραγμένοι, 'they are lined with felt.' And, three lines farther on, he adds, ταῦτα δὲ καὶ στεγὰ πρὸς ὕδωρ, καὶ πρὸς χιόνα, καὶ τὰ πνεύματα, 'which protects them from the rain, the snow, and the winds.'

This kind of tent is still in use amongst the Tartars. Dr. Cook, who lived several years at Astracan, upon the Volga, who has journeyed from this city to Asoph, upon the Don or Tanais, and from Asoph to Astracan, and who has several times crossed the desert of Astracan, thus expresses himself in his travels: "The Calmucks inhabit that vast desert which is between the Volga and the Don, having Circassia on its south, and on its north the line drawn between those two rivers. They do not till the earth, but pasture their numerous flocks. They have no fixed habitation; but are continually

<sup>2</sup> Hesych. voc. Ῥεσῆς.

<sup>3</sup> Eurip. d. in Rheno, vers. 413. The verse is altered; see Mangrove's notes.

<sup>4</sup> Hippocrat. de Aer. Aquis et Locis, Vol. i. p. 353.

<sup>5</sup> In all the editions we have *στεγὰ*, *αὐτοῖς*, which gives no meaning. I have

therefore followed the corrections of the late M. Hemsterhuis in his notes on the *Plutus* of Aristophanes, p. 309. Harlitz, 1744, 8vo.

<sup>6</sup> *Voyages and Travels through the Russian Empire*, &c. Vol. i. p. 307.

passing from one place to another. They live in tents of a bee-hive form: those of the rich being covered in with felt, and those of the poor with reeds. The Calmucks winter on the frontiers of Circassia; when the spring appears they proceed to the north as far as Tzaritzin, and at the approach of winter return to their former position."

Medea<sup>a</sup> introduced into Greece the use of warm baths. They were conducive to health, and rendered the body more supple. The apparatus of the boilers and the fire induced the multitude to suppose that she renewed the youth of men by a culinary process; and they were the more confirmed in this idea, as she carefully concealed her method, lest the physicians should learn it. Pelias was suffocated by the vapour of the bath.

Οἰδεύειν ἂν μὴ σόβει] *That there is no stove.* Σόβει is properly a stove, or perhaps rather a sweating-room, a place calculated to excite perspiration. The Latins called it 'caldarium,' 'tepidarium.' Those who have rendered this word by 'cassiolette,' a perfuming-pan, have deviated from the real meaning of Herodotus, having probably been misled by the Latin versions, where we read 'thuribulum.'

The Indians of Hudson's Bay have to this day a custom which is very similar. "When they wish to procure a perspiration, they<sup>b</sup> take a large round stone, upon which they make a fire, and keep it up till the stone becomes quite red. They then erect round it a small hut, which they carefully close up; they enter naked, with a vessel of water with which they sprinkle the stone. The water being converted to a moist warm vapour, which fills the tent, causes a rapid transpiration."

Ἀναπνεύειν ἂν σόβει] *Stupified by this vapour.* I understand by this, the stupor, or sort of intoxication occasioned by the vapour; and such was the opinion of the late M. Wesseling. This kind of intoxication occasioned them to utter confused cries, or, to use the expression of Herodotus, made them howl. It has been before observed, (Book I. § CCII.) that the vapour which arose from a certain fruit when thrown into the fire, occasioned a sort of intoxication to the Massagetæ.

A few lines lower down, it is said, that the Scythian women make use of the wood of the tree which bears the incense; and I have observed in a note at the foot of the page, that I cannot conceive how they came by it. I have come to the conclusion, that as the Greeks then carried on a very extensive commerce, they brought this wood to the Greek trading cities on the Euxine sea, and that by this channel the Scythian women might procure it.

<sup>a</sup> Palmplatt. de l'acredibul. § xlv. p. 55.

<sup>b</sup> Histoire des Voyages, tom. xiv. p. 606.



M. Van Eldik reads \* *χρῆνται*, instead of *ὑπάρτται*. This correction appears to me a happy one. But then what shall we do with *ἀγάμενοι*? If we changed it to *ἀγαλλόμενοι*, all would then be clear, and we should translate, "the Scythians make use of this vapour with pleasure," or, "take pleasure in the use of this vapour."

LXXVI. Αἰῶς] *A prodigious*. See § LXI. note I. on αἰῶς.

Ἀναχάρα] *Anacharsis*. See the Life of this philosopher by Diogenes Laertius,<sup>1</sup> who attributes to him many inventions, confirmed likewise by Strabo. See also the notes of Ménage on this life, and my 3d note on § cv. Book i. of Herodotus. Anacharsis, says Galen,<sup>2</sup> a barbarian by birth, was nevertheless much admired, and entitled THE WISE. Some one having reproached him with being a barbarian and a Scythian, he answered him, "That reproach dishonours my country, but you are yourself a dishonour to yours." We find in the Collection of the Letters of the Philosophers and Orators, published by Aldus, certain letters under the name of Anacharsis. These, I am persuaded, are altogether supposititious. They are, however, very ancient. Cicero cites one of them in his *Tusc. Quæst.* Book v. § xxxii., and St. Clement of Alexandria appears to allude to it in his *Stromata*, Book i. p. 364. lin. 18.

Ἀποδείκνυμι καὶ αὐτὴν σοφίην πολλήν] *And having every where displayed great wisdom*. Ἀποδείκνυμι is an Ionism for ἀποδείκνυμι. We have seen, in the commencement of this history, ἀπόδειξις for ἀπόδειξις. I notice this, because I have known several persons puzzled by it.

Περὶ νύκτα] *The eve*. The festivals properly commenced on the beginning of the night preceding the day on which they were celebrated; and in all probability the night was passed in singing hymns in honour of the god or goddess to whom the festival was dedicated. See the \* *Pervigilium Veneris*.

Ἀγάλματα] *Little statues*. The Argonauts established at Cyzicum the worship of Cybele, and, if we may rely on Strabo,<sup>3</sup> founded those temples erected in honour of her near to that town and on Mount Diadymus. The priests of that goddess carried a tambourine, and little statues or images on their breasts. "The Phrygians" rendered the goddess Rhea propitious with the tambourine. They traverse the town,<sup>4</sup> asking alms for the Mother of the gods, and carrying on the breast little images." These images hung from the neck down to the

<sup>1</sup> *Suspicionum Specimen*, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Diogen. Laert.* lib. i. argum. 101 et

seq.

<sup>3</sup> *Galen. Sensoriæ ad Artes*, Vol. i. p. 2. lin. 51.

<sup>4</sup> *Strab.* lib. i. p. 76. B; lib. xii. p. 862. A.

<sup>5</sup> *Apollonius Rhodius*, lib. i. vers. 1139.

<sup>6</sup> *Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom.* lib. ii. § xix. Vol. i. p. 55. lin. 25.

breast, as we learn from St. Clement of Alexandria. "Anacharsis" had images suspended from his neck, like a priest of Cybele, when the king killed him with an arrow." These figures were called Προστηθίδια. See Suidas under the word Γάλλος, and under the word Προστηθίδιον.

[Ἰστω ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ ἀποθανόν] *Killed by his own brother.* In the Greek, 'let him know that he was killed by his own brother.' Many Mss., and the edition of Henry Stephens, have ἀδελφίδεος, his nephew: and this reading has led into error the authors of the Universal History.

LXXVII. Ἄλλως πέλαισται] *A mere invention.* We read in the edition of M. Wesseling, ἄλλως πέλαισται. Although this critic has adduced, in his Dissertation on Herodotus, p. 71, very good reasons in support of this reading, I have nevertheless preferred πέλαισται, which I find in two Mss. of the Royal Library, and the Greek edition of Stephens. With regard to ἄλλως, I have adopted the interpretation of M. Toup.<sup>a</sup>

LXXVIII. Ἐξ Ἰστρινῆς] *Of the city of Istria.* In the editions we have Ἰστρινῆς, and in the Ms. of Cardinal Passionei, Ἰστρινῆς; but neither of these appears to me correct. This woman was of the city of Istros or Istria, the inhabitants of which are called by Herodotus, in the Ionian dialect, Ἰστρινῶν, (Book II. § XXXIII.) Stephanus of Byzantium calls them, in the common dialect, Ἰστριανοί. I read, therefore, Ἰστρινῆς.

Καὶ ἐγγυε] *And married.* Γυναικὶ ἐγγυε ἐς ἀβρά. Αβρά relates to αἰεία, which is before: "uxorem duxit in istas ædes." See M. Valckenaer's note.

LXXIX. Ἐς ταύτην ὁ θεὸς ἐπέσκηψε βέλος] *The god struck it with his arrows.* The Greeks frequently used this mode of expression to signify, "the lightning fell." We have before seen, "the god rains," for "it rains."

Ὁ γὰρ οἰκός] *Is contrary to reason.* In all the editions we find οἶκος; but we should read οἰκός, Ionically, with the Royal Ms. A.

Δυσήρθευσε] *Secretly repaired.* In the Ms. A of the Royal Library we read δυσήρθευσε, in the Ms. B, ἐρήρθευσε. These words, which afford no meaning, have given rise to various conjectures, as the reader may see in the notes of Valckenaer and Wesseling. Neither does διωλόρευσε, in the Ms. of Sancroft, appear to me correct: for a secret is not confided to a whole army. Otherwise, that verb would do very well, placing the comma after Βορυσθενείρων, and taking

<sup>a</sup> S. Clem. Alexandr. in Protreptico, p. 11.      <sup>b</sup> Epist. Critic. ad Episc. Glouc. p. 81.

it away after Σιόθας, so as to leave the construction λέγων πρὸς τοὺς Σιόθας. M. Valckenauer reads διέπεσε or διέπειρε, 'urbe elapsus est:' and this is the reading which I have followed; but yet I am not altogether satisfied with it. The gates of the city were closed only to prevent the Scythians from entering it, and not to deprive the inhabitants of the liberty of going out. If the citizens of Borysthenes had this liberty, how can we say that this man escaped from the city? But perhaps διακρηστῆναι is one of those words found but once in an author, of which there are many instances, and that we must give it the signification which Stephens does in his Thesaurus, 'Indicium defero,' 'indico.'

Μελλόντων δὲ αὐρέων . . . συνάψαι] *On the point of giving battle.* In some Mss. we read συνάπτειν, but συνάψαι is the true reading. The Attic writers frequently join the future with the present of the verb μέλλω. See note on § CLVII. Book VII.

We may further observe, that συνάπτω means precisely the same as the 'committo' of the Latins. Μύχην is understood.

\* Κάπροι δ' ὅπως, θίγοντες ἀγρίαν γένυν,  
Συνῆσαν.

'They fell to with the same fury as two wild boars who have just whetted their murderous teeth.'

The Scholiast very properly puts συνῆσαν μάχην.

LXXXI. Ὀλίγον τι πρότερον] *A little above.* The Mss. A and B of the Royal Library have τοῦ καὶ ὀλίγον τι πρότερον, c. r. λ.

Κρητάρου] *Than the vase.* "Nymphis\* of Heraclea relates, in the 6th Book of the history of his country, that Pausanias, who conquered Mardonius in the neighbourhood of Platæa, violating the laws of Sparta, and giving himself up to his pride, consecrated, whilst he was near Byzantium, a brazen vase to the gods whose statues are seen near the mouth of the Euxine sea, and which exists to this day. His vanity and insolence caused him so far to forget himself, that he dared to say in the inscription that it was himself who had consecrated it.

"Pausanias of Lacedæmon, son of Cleombrotus, and of the ancient race of Hercules, a general of Greece, has consecrated this vase to the king Neptune, as a monument of his valour."

LXXXII. Ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ μέγεθος διὰ πηχῶ] *It is two cubits long.* It was the measure of the foot of Hercules, and also that of the foot of Perseus. See Book II. § XCI.

\* Eurip. Phœniss. 1390, ex edit. Brunck.;  
ex ed. Musgraviæ, 1818.

\* Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. xii. cap. ix.  
p. 536. A, B.

LXXXIII. *Zeúgynesthai tòn Ophlíon Bútopon*] *To construct a bridge of boats, &c.* The Greek does not positively say this: but it is evident that the two shores of the Thracian Bosphorus can be joined no otherwise than by a bridge of boats. Our author, a little further on, (§ LXXXVIII.) uses the word *αχέδην*, which is the proper term.

LXXXIV. *Ταύτην ἐλπιοντο*] *They left them in that very place.* "Cum bellum Scythis indixisset (Darius), Orientem ciuentibus, rogatus ab Œbazo nobili sene, ut ex tribus liberis unum in solatium patri relinqueret, duorum operâ uteretur: plus quam rogabatur, pollicitus, omnes se illi dixit remissurum: et occisos in conspectu parentis abiecit, crudelis futurus, si omnes abduxisset."

LXXXV. *Πλαγυράς*] *Floating islands.* The Cyanean rocks were so near to each other, that viewed from a short distance they appeared to join. This optical illusion probably gave rise to the fable of their floating, and the fable was believed by reason of the great danger that was incurred on that sea. On these rocks, see Apollonius Rhodius, Book 11. 320th and following verses, and the same Book, 659th and following verses.

*Ἐν τῇ ἱερῇ*] *In the temple.* Darius did not pass over to the Cyanean islands, as Du Ruyer says; but he sailed in that direction, and landed near the temple of Jupiter, whence he contemplated the Euxine sea. This temple was not situated on the Cyanean rocks, but on the Asiatic shore,<sup>a</sup> and forty stadia from the rocks.<sup>c</sup>

Jupiter was invoked in this temple, under the name of *Urius*, because he was considered to favour navigation, *οὔρος* signifying a favourable wind. Never was his assistance more needed than in this stormy sea. The inscription engraved on the base of the statue of this god has been given by Spon and Wheeler, but much more correctly by Chishull in the Appendix to his *Asiatic Antiquities*.

*Τοῦ τὸ μὲν μήκος στάδιοι εἰσι ἑκατὸν καὶ χίλιοι καὶ μύριοι*] *It is 11,100 stadia in length, and 3300 in breadth.* Chardin objects<sup>d</sup> that that makes 462 leagues, of 15 to the astronomical degree; which, he observes, is so flagrant an error, that he knows not how to excuse it. It is very easy, however, to justify Herodotus. Had the historian meant the Olympic stadium, it would have made no more than 419 leagues, which is very far from the computation of Chardin. This is not the stadium spoken of, but that of 51 toises, which Herodotus generally uses. Eleven thousand one hundred of these stadia give 226 of our leagues (Fr.), which is the length of the Euxine sea, as we may satisfy ourselves by reference to the chart of M. D'Anville.

<sup>a</sup> Seneca de Ira, lib. iii. cap. xvi. Vol. i. p. 120.

<sup>b</sup> Tabula Peutingeriana, segm. viii. C.

<sup>c</sup> Arrian, Peripl. Ponti Euxini, p. 25.

<sup>d</sup> Chardin's Travels, Vol. i. p. 146.

The width of the sea being 3300 stadia, that will give 67 leagues and near a third.

The answer which I give to Chardin will apply to what Major Rennel\* has said of the length of the Euxine sea. I do not dispute with this learned writer the correctness of the dimensions of that sea as given by him; but I cannot agree with him in his computation of the stadium. This would be the proper place to refute what he has said on that itinerary measure of the Greeks; but as that would lead me into a discussion incompatible with the necessary limits of this work, I refer the reader to the treatise of M. D'Anville.

It should seem, however, from the perplus of the Euxine sea by Arrian, that taking in the utmost extent of its coasts, and allowing for all the promontories, its circumference does not exceed 8385 stadia. Supposing then, as I have assumed, that Herodotus here means the smaller stadium, and Arrian the stadium of eight Roman miles, it still would not the less follow that our historian is not so widely in error, as he does not in his measurement seem to have allowed for the sinuosities of the coast. Thus, though Chardin should be wrong, still Major Rennel may be right.

Στάδια τριχόσιοι καὶ τριαχ(ί)σιοι] *Three thousand three hundred in width.* In all the preceding editions, as well as in the Mss. A and B of the Royal Library, we read διτκόσιοι; but the succeeding paragraph proves that τριχόσιοι, which we find in the Ms. of Sancroft, is the true reading.

LXXXVI. 'Οππυῖας ἐξακισμύριαι] *Seventy thousand orgyie.* That makes 700 stadia for the day, and 600 for the night; or 1300 in the twenty-four hours. Marinus reckons, upon the authority of Ptolemy, a day's navigation at 1000 stadia; Aristides (in *Ægyptio*), at 1200; and Polybius maintains that it is impossible to accomplish 2000 stadia in a day. Strabo says, that from the Cyrenaica to Criu-Metophon, a promontory of the isle of Crete, is two days' and two nights' sail; which, according to Eratosthenes, is 2000 stadia, and Pliny (Book iv. cap. xii.) says the same thing: "Ipsa (Crete) abest promontorio suo, quod vocatur Criu-Metophon, ut prodit Agrippa, à Cyrenarum promontorio Phycunte, cccxv. m. p."

I have borrowed this note from Casaubon upon Strabo, p. 61 of the edition of Amsterdam, or p. 23. col. 1. of the commentary in the Paris edition. We must remark, however, that in the place where this author mentions the computation of the marine day according to Herodotus, there is a typographical error, namely, 13,000 instead of 1300; and that this error has been, together with many others, most religiously preserved in the edition of Amsterdam.

\* The Geographical System of Herodotus, &c. p. 43, and elsewhere.



[Ἐξῆκα μυριάδες καὶ ἑκατὸν ὀργυίαι] *Eleven hundred and ten thousand orgyia*. I think there must be a transposition in the Greek text, and that we should read Ἐξῆκα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες ὀργυίαι, as in Book VII. § LX. Ἐξῆκοις καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες. It is rather remarkable that no translator or commentator, either ancient or modern, should have perceived it. They none of them allowed to the Euxine sea more than 10,100 orgyia in length, which would make only 1101 stadia, a number very different from that given by Herodotus. 70,000 orgyia multiplied by 9, the number of days occupied in sailing its length, give 630,000 orgyia. 60,000 orgyia multiplied by 8, the number of nights necessary to traverse the sea, give 480,000 orgyia. These two numbers added give 1,110,000 orgyia, which divided by 100, give 11,100 stadia. We know that there are 100 orgyia in the Olympic stadium, the orgyia being 6 feet, and the stadium 600.

Though it should seem from this calculation that the Olympic stadium was the one in question, it is nevertheless certain that Herodotus speaks only of the smaller one. (See note in p. 63.) But I am inclined to think that as there were stadia of different capacities, so also there were orgyia of different capacities, and that in the Olympic stadium there were 100 orgyia of 6 Greek feet each, and in the smaller stadium 100 orgyia of shorter measure.

LXXXVII. Τῆς Ὀρθωσίνης Ἀρτέμιδος] *Orthosian Diana*. There was a mountain in Arcadia \* called Orthius. Diana, who was adored there, received from it the names of Orthian and Orthosian, or rather of Orthia and Orthosia. She was adored under these names by the Tauri and in Sparta. Men were sacrificed to her in the Tauric Chersonesus, and at Lacedæmon youths were scourged in honour of her till the blood ran down from them, without their uttering a single cry.

The statue of this goddess seen at Lacedæmon, was one which had been in the Tauric Chersonesus. Pausanias relates some circumstances which superstition led him to credit, but which will now be received with some grains of doubt. † “Astrabacus,” says he, “and Alopecus, descendants of Agis, having found this statue, immediately lost their senses. The Limnææ of Laconia, the Cynosurians, the inhabitants of Messon and of Pitane, having quarrelled whilst sacrificing to the goddess, many of them died by the side of the altar, and a mortal disease carried off the rest. The oracle, on being consulted, commanded that the altar should be sprinkled with human blood. A victim was consequently chosen by lot. Lycurgus substituted for

\* Schol. Pindari ad Olympic. Od. iii. vers. 54.

† Pausan. Laconic. sive lib. iii. cap. xvi. p. 340.

this practice the scourging of young people, so that the altar is not the less sprinkled with human blood."

Plutarch relates,\* on the authority of some antecedent authors, "that before the battle of Platæa, Pausanias offering a sacrifice at a small distance from the ranks, certain Lydians fell on him, and began to pillage and overthrow all the preparations for the sacrifice; that Pausanias and his companions, having no arms, struck them with rods and whips; and that in memory of this occurrence, the procession of the Lydians was instituted at Sparta, and the flagellation of young people round the altar."

Even were the altar, mentioned by Plutarch in this passage, that of Diana Orthia, we can scarcely conclude that he alludes to the same festival spoken of by Pausanias. The same remark will apply to the account given by Xenophon,<sup>†</sup> of certain young persons who, being surprised in the act of stealing corn, were scourged at the altar of Diana Orthia.

These authors, therefore, do not contradict the account of Pausanias, as has been imagined by M. Vauvilliers, who, by the bye, has used a very defective edition of Xenophon. Pausanias speaks of the festival of Diana Orthia, and of its institution; Plutarch of another festival celebrated in commemoration of the attack of the Lydians, whilst Pausanias was engaged in a sacrifice: whereas Xenophon alludes only to a flagellation inflicted whenever a young person was detected in a theft.

Τὴν δὲ Βορρῶπον ὁ χῆρος] *That part of the Bosphorus.* This place is clearly ascertained by Herodotus. The Abbé Barthelemy, taking this historian for his guide, has, in his Plan of the Thracian Bosphorus, very properly fixed the situation of this bridge of boats. M. D'Anville has not thought necessary to point it out, although the locality of this bridge was a point sufficiently interesting to the lovers of ancient history. Herodotus, in § LXXXV, places the bridge at Chalcedon, not that it was exactly there, but because it was the nearest town of any importance. He here expresses himself with exactness.

LXXXVIII. Ἐδωκεν αὖτις δέκα] *Made rich presents.* The strict signification of the Greek is, 'he made him a present of ten things of each kind;' that is to say, of each kind that the presents included. The reading of Gronovius, καὶ δέκα, is extremely absurd. How could the term 'first-fruits' apply to this present, supposing it to have con-

\* Plutarch. in Aristide, p. 329. D.

† Examen Historique et Politique du

† Xenophon. Lacedæmon. Polit. cap. ii.

Gouvernement de Sparte, p. 30, note.

§ x. p. 68.

sisted of ten boys? M. Bellanger perceived that we must read *ἑκατὸν*, according to the marginal observation of Henry Stephens.

Homer has several times used an expression which, at the first glance, appears to be the same, but which, on a closer examination, will be found very different. For example, in Book XVIII. of the *Iliad*, verse 373, speaking of Vulcan making the tripods, he says,

*Τρίποδας γὰρ ἑκατοσι πάσσας ἐκρυχεν.*

Which signifies, 'he made twenty tripods at a time;' that is to say, neither more nor less. See M. Valckenaer's note on this passage of Herodotus.

*Ζῶα γραφόμενος*] *In having a picture painted.* *Ζῶα γραφόμενος* is for \* *ἐγγραφόμενος*, as is remarked by Eustathius, who adduces many examples of a word being separated into two. We should observe also the distinction of the middle voice. Had he said *ζῶα γραφάς*, it would have conveyed that he had painted the picture himself.

XCI. *Τεύρου ποταμοῦ κεφαλῇ*] *The sources of the Teurus.* This inscription is necessarily in prose; and therefore I cannot conceive by what caprice we find it measured out into lines in the Anthologia of the Vatican, as if it had been written in verse, of which it does not bear the slightest appearance. This fact was communicated to me by M. De la Rochette.

*Πάντες τῆς ἡπείρου*] *Of all the terra-firma.* The Persians termed Asia 'the Continent.' Now it is certain that they were the masters of the greater part of this continent. We have seen before (Book III. § CXXXIV.) that Darius talked of making a bridge to cross from the continent of Asia to that of Europe.

XCIV. *Ἀθάνατοι δὲ τὸνδε τὸν ἑμῖνον*] *The Getae consider themselves immortal.* The Getae were a nation who believed in the immortality of the soul, and not that they themselves were a sect of immortals, as M. De Pauw imagines.\*

*Δαίμονα*] *Their god.* In the Greek, 'the genius Zalmoxis.' But as Strabo<sup>c</sup> calls him the god of the Getae, *ὁ παρὰ τοῖς Γέταις θεός*, and Iamblichus<sup>d</sup> 'the greatest of the gods of the Getae,' I have conformed to these authorities. Herodotus speaks of him as a god, in the sequel of this very paragraph. The expression *ἀθάνατοι*, in my opinion, means, that they believe in the immortality of the soul, as in the following passage of Josephus,<sup>e</sup> *ἀθάνατοι δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς*, 'they believe in the immortality of the soul,' alluding to the Essensians.

\* Eustath. ad Homer. p. 696, lin. 58.

<sup>b</sup> Recherches Philosophiques sur les Egyptiens, &c. sect. III. p. 208.

<sup>c</sup> Strab. lib. vii. p. 447. A.

<sup>d</sup> Jambl. Vit. Pythag. § cxxxii. p. 147.

<sup>e</sup> Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. xviii. cap. i. § 7.

In the same sense we must understand the passage of Arrian,\* *ἐπὶ δὲ Γέρας ποτὶ ἀναθαρσίζοντας*: 'He then reached the country of the Getæ, who believe in the immortality of the soul.' Gronovius has evidently misunderstood it, as he translates, "immortalibus consecrantes."

*Ζάλμοξις*] *Zalmoxis*. Though this is more commonly written 'Zamolxis,' I have preferred 'Zalmoxis,' with M. Wesseling: 1. because it is the reading of many Mss. and indeed of the best of them: 2. because it is more agreeable to etymology; for the Thracians call in their language a bear's skin, 'zalmos;' and Porphyrius observes, in his life of Pythagoras,<sup>b</sup> that the name of 'Zalmoxis' was given him, because he was covered with a bear's skin as soon as he was born.

*Γεβελειζις*] *As Gebelcizis*. M. Bayer<sup>c</sup> interprets this name, 'he who gives, or is the author of, repose.' He founds this interpretation on the language of the Lithuanians, in which 'Gyva, Leysis,' have this signification. 'Zemeluks' or 'Ziameluks,' a name which approaches very nearly to Zalmoxis, signifies, in the same language, 'the god of the earth.' Nothing, however, is less to be depended on than etymological inferences. M. Pelloutier<sup>d</sup> thinks with M. Bayer.

*Πεντηετηρίς*] *Every five years*. St. Clement of Alexandria<sup>e</sup> says it is every year, and he calls Zalmoxis 'a hero.' He had probably some sources of information, on this subject, quite distinct from those of Herodotus.

XCV. *Οὐ τῷ ἀσθενεστάτῳ σοφιστῇ*] *One of the most celebrated philosophers*. In the Greek, 'a philosopher who was none of the weakest.' This is one of those figures called *λατάνης, μετάνης*, very common amongst the Greek and Latin writers, of which I will cite some examples. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, speaking of the Roman history, says, that 'it is not the most trifling of subjects,' *οὐκ ἐλαχίστην τῶν ὑποθέσεων*, meaning that it is the most important and magnificent of which he could treat. *Ὁὐτὶ κάκιστος ἀνὴρ*, he is not the most timid, for he is the bravest. "Polybius,"<sup>f</sup> says Livy, "haud quaquam spernendus Auctor," Polybius, an excellent author . . . and Horace, speaking of the same Pythagoras, "Non sordidus Auctor naturæ verique." See notes to Book I. § XLII. and Book VIII. § XIII. *Ὁὐ τῶν ποίπας εὐδαιμονίας πρώτης*, 'of the lowest class of

\* Arrian. *Exped. Alexand.* lib. i. cap. 596. lin. 3.

iii. § ii. p. 15.

<sup>b</sup> Porphyr. *Vit. Pythagor.* § xiv. p. 16.

<sup>c</sup> Origin. *Sin.* p. 288.

<sup>d</sup> *Hist. des Celtes*, liv. iii. tom. ii. p. 232.

<sup>e</sup> Clem. Alexand. *Stromat.* lib. iv. p.

<sup>f</sup> Dionys. Halicarn. lib. i. § iii. p. 3.

<sup>g</sup> Homer. *Iliad.* lib. xvi. vers. 670.

<sup>h</sup> Tit. Liv. lib. xxx. § xlv. p. 666.

<sup>i</sup> Horat. *Carmen.* l. Od. xxviii. vers. 19.

<sup>j</sup> Sophocl. *Ed. Col.* vers. 144.

misfortunes.' On this expression the reader may consult the scholiast of Sophocles, and more especially Eustathius, in his Commentary on Homer, p. 479, 12th and following lines.

This philosopher had learned from the Egyptians the absurd dogma of the Metempsychosis. He pretended to have been, at the siege of Troy, the same Euphorbus who wounded \* Patroclus: which is well expressed by Horace in the 28th ode of Book 1. 10th and following verses. It is somewhat wonderful that so great a man should have fallen into so miserable an absurdity, and that he should have found others mad enough to adopt it. Lactantius forcibly ridicules it. "O felicem, cui soli tanta memoria concessa est! vel potius infelicem, cui translato in pecudem non licuit nescire, quid fuerit! Atque utinam solus delirasset! Invenit etiam, qui crederent, et quidem doctos homines, ad quos stultitiae transiret hereditas."

XCVII. 'Ο νεῶς στρατός] *His land army.* The phrase in Herodotus, and in all the best writers, such as Xenophon, Demosthenes, Thucydides, &c. always signifies a land army, in opposition to ναυική δύναμις, 'a naval armament.' We have seen, Book III. § XLV, πεζομαχίην, used to signify fighting by land, and we shall find, Book VIII. § XV, πεζομαχίην, for a land battle. Xenophon expresses himself in the same manner: "πρῶτον μὲν εἰπεῖν, λέγον ἡμῖν τῆς πόλεως τήν τε νεῶς καὶ τὴν ναυτικὴν δύναμιν. 'First declare to us what are the forces of the Republic by land and sea.'"

But when this expression is followed by ἱππός, it always signifies infantry, as in § CXXXIV. ἀντεράχθησαν οἱ ἐπολεμήσαντες Σκύθαι πεζοὶ καὶ ἱπποὶ. 'The Scythians who remained in the country, ranged themselves in order of battle opposite to the Persians, as well infantry as cavalry;' and § CXXXVI. πεζοὺ στρατοῦ is opposed to Σκευτοῦ ἱππέων.

Ἐκ μίσθον φήσω] *To propose to your council.* We find also in a Ms. of the Royal Library, ἐκ μίσθον φήσω.

XCVIII. Ἀράφας ἄμματα ἔθηκεν ἐν ἱμάντι] *He made sixty knots in a thong.* This mode of computing the time supposes great ignorance and barbarism on the part of the Persians. About a century and a half after this time, they used to drive a nail into the wall of the temple of Minerva at Rome every year, and by these nails the lapse of time was calculated.<sup>4</sup>

Darius reckoned on conquering Scythia in two months; but it should seem that he was engaged in this object for at least five, without succeeding at last.

\* Homeri Iliad. lib. xvi. vers. 850.

iii. cap. vi. § ix. p. 160.

<sup>2</sup> Lactant. Epit. Instit. Div. cap. xxvi.

<sup>4</sup> Tit. Livius, lib. vii. § iii. See also

<sup>3</sup> Xenoph. Memorab. Socrat. dicta, lib.

Festus, voc. Clavis analis, p. 43.



XCIX. Τῆς δὲ Σκυθικῆς γῆς] *That part of Scythia.* The construction, I think, is, ἡ Ὀρητικὴ πρὸκειται τῇ Σκυθικῇ γῇ κατὰ τὸ ἐς θάλασσαν· οἱ δὲ Ὀρητικὴ κατὰ τὸ ἐς θάλασσαν πρὸκειται κ. τ. λ.: which might also signify, that part of Thrace which borders on the sea is before Scythia: but it comes to the same thing.

Ἐρχομαι σημάτων] *I am about to point out, &c.* I follow the punctuation of M. Wesseling. Τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἰστροῦ ἔρχομαι σημάτων· τὸ πρὸς θάλασσαν αὐτῇ τῇ Σκυθικῇ χώρῃ ἐς μέτροισιν ἀπὸ Ἰστροῦ· αὕτη ἡδὴ . . . M. Borheck has also admitted this punctuation into his edition.

Μέχρι Χερσονήσου τῆς Τρηχίνης] *As far as the city of Chersonesus-Trachea.* This does not refer to a peninsula, but to a Greek town, which was so called. Stephanus of Byzantium positively asserts this, and cites the passage of Herodotus. I have added the word 'city,' to do away with the ambiguity.

C. Ἠπὸς θαλάσσης τῆς ἑστῆς] *Towards the sea which is on the east.* This description of Scythia involves a wonderful degree of difficulty. 1. It is not always easy to lay hold of the true meaning of Herodotus. 2. I do not think that this description conforms in all particulars to the real situation of the places. I am, however, astonished that it should, in general, be so exact as it is, when I consider how very little, at that time, the country was known. Our historian must have bestowed infinite pains in acquiring the information which he possessed.

M. Bellanger, by 'the sea which is on the east,' understands the Palus Mæotis. But this can scarcely be, for that sea is named in the same sentence. I am myself convinced, that Herodotus, in this description, means only, by the sea on the south, and the sea on the east, different parts of the Euxine sea. And this I think is sufficiently proved by what he says of the sea on the east. He says, § XCIX. that the Tauric nation extends as far as the city of Chersonesus, which from its situation was called Trachea. This city, adds he, is on the borders of the sea which is towards the east. Now we know, that the city of Chersonesus is within the isthmus and on the borders of the Euxine sea. The city was towards the east as respects Scythia, which began on this side the Ister.

CI. Ἔστι δὲ τῆς Σκυθικῆς, ὡς ἰούσης τετραγώνου] *Scythia forming a tetragon.* I do not think that Herodotus supposed Scythia to form a perfect square. He always gives to it four sides, however; and of these four, the Euxine sea and the Palus Mæotis form two. But he is evidently wrong in this particular. The maritime part of Scythia extends from the mouth of the Ister to that of the Tanais in a north-east direction, and, with the exception of some inflexions, forms a pa-

rallelogram. But the error of our historian may have been occasioned by the circumstance of the Tauric Chersonesus terminating in a point towards the south-west, which may have led him to suppose that the Euxine sea had two coasts in the European part of it.

This is also the opinion of Major Rennel, who explains\* with great ingenuity the causes of the error into which Herodotus has fallen. The same writer speaks with great accuracy of the extent of Scythia; and of the present countries which answer to it, in the 4th section of his excellent work, and especially in p. 61, to which I refer the reader.

Ἡ δὲ ὁδοὺς ἡ ἡμερησίῃ ἀνὰ δεκάσια στάδια συμβέβηται μοι] *I reckon 200 stadia for each day.* The different writers are at variance with each other, and even with themselves, as to the extent of a day's journey. Herodotus here allows 200 stadia, and in Book v. § v. he computes it at 150. Strabo and Pliny reckon the Arabian gulf to be 1000 stadia in length; and the first of these authors calls that a three or four days' voyage,<sup>d</sup> which would give 333 stadia for a third, or 250 for a day. What Livy, Book xxi, calls a day's journey, Polybius, Book iii, calls 200 stadia; and in this agrees with the first number mentioned by Herodotus. The Roman lawyers allowed but 20 miles for each day, which is 160 stadia.

I borrow this note from Casaubon on Strabo, p. 61 of the edition of Amsterdam, or p. 23, col. 1, A, of the edition of Paris.

CII. Οἱ δὲ Σκῆθαι δόντες ὅπλοι λόγον] *The Scythians having reflected.* The Latin translation is inaccurate. The Latin translator has almost always mistaken this expression, which is of very frequent occurrence in Herodotus. For example, Book ii. § cxxii, he has translated the words, οὐδένα λόγον αὐτῷ δόντα, "nullo verbo edito," 'without uttering a single word,' whereas it should have been, 'without giving himself the time to reflect.'

This turn of expression is not peculiar to our author: it is often found in the Attic writers. "Α οὔτοι γνόντες, ἔδοσαν ὅπλων αὐτοῖς λόγον. . . . 'Which having come to know, they said amongst each other, they reflected amongst themselves.' Plutarch likewise, 'καὶ διδόντες ἑαυτοῖς λόγον, εἴτε ποιῆσαι βέλτερον εἴη, &c. 'They discussed amongst themselves, if it would not be more advantageous to make, &c.' 'Καὶ διδόντες λόγον, εὗρισκον αὐτοῖς, ὅλιγον δεῖν μανέντας ὑπὸ ζήλο-  
τυκίας καὶ ὀργῆς. 'They discovered, by communicating their thoughts to each other, that jealousy and anger had rendered them almost mad.'

\* The Geographical System, &c. p. 58 and following.

<sup>d</sup> Strab. lib. i. p. 61. A.

• Andocid. de Mysterior, p. 17, lin. 32.

<sup>d</sup> Plutarch. Delect. Oraculor. p. 410. C.

• Idem in Alexandro, p. 704. G.

The correction of Dacier,\* who reads διαδέρνεις, is therefore useless; we need only understand ταυτοῖς.

CIII. Νόμοισι χρεῖνται] *Have customs.* Νόμοισι. . . χρεῖνται, we must read χρεῖσθαι, with the Ms. A of the Royal Library, which always preserves this Ionism. I shall not for the future notice it.

Τῇ Παρθένῳ] *To Iphigenia.* In the Greek, 'to the virgin.' But the ambiguity of this term would have rendered it improper in the translation. This virgin was Iphigenia, as Herodotus says at the end of the same paragraph. Thus, according to the Tauri, Iphigenia was not the priestess who sacrificed † the strangers that landed on their coast, but the goddess to whom these inhuman sacrifices were offered.

Τοῖς Ἑλλήνων ἐπιναχθέντας] *The Greeks who land there.* "I sacrifice," says Iphigenia in Euripides, † "according to the law which existed in this city before me, all the Greeks who land here."

Καραζήμενοι] *After the accustomed ceremonies.* It should seem from the verse of Iphigenia in Tauris, which I have quoted in the preceding note, and by the following one from the same piece, ἡ δὲ τῶν ξένων κατήχετο, that in Tauris, as well as in Greece, preparatory ceremonies were performed before sacrificing the victim. But on this expression, see note 1. on § XLV. of Book II.; and note 4. on § CLX. of Book I. In the Mss. A and B of the Royal Library, we have κατ' ἀρ' εὐχόμενοι. In the margin of the Ms. D in the same library, we have κατευχόμενοι.

CIV. Ἀβρόταροι ἄνδρες] *The most effeminate of all men.* This does not appear consistent with the conduct they pursued, when the Scythians were preparing to make a forcible entry into their territory. But an effeminate people will sometimes recall their former virtue, when the defence of their country requires it. See § CIV. CXXV.

CV. Ἐς δ, πιεζόμενοι, τὴν ὁντιῶν ἐκλιπόντες] *They were so infested by them, that they expatriated themselves.* There is nothing surprising in this. The town of Amyclæ, between Caieta and Tarracina in Italy, was, according to Marcus Varro, † destroyed by serpents. But if any doubt attaches to that circumstance, as M. Heyne † proves to be the case, we may rely on the testimony of M. Cetti, who, in his descrip-

\* Plutarque traduit par Dacier, tom. vi. p. 162, note.

† The priestess performed the preparatory ceremonies, which consisted in sprinkling the victim with the lustral water, cutting the hair from his head, which was burned, and scattering on his forehead the sacred barley mixed with salt. Others were appointed to sacrifice the victim. Κανόχομαι μὲν, σφάζει δ' ἄλλοισιν μέλει. Iphig. in

Tauris, vers. 40. But on these ceremonies, see note 2. on § IX. of this Book, and note 4. on § CLX. of Book I.

† Euripid. Iphig. in Tauris, vers. 38.

‡ Id. ibid. vers. 1154.

§ Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. viii. cap. xxix. Vol. I. p. 455.

§ Heynius ad lib. 2. Æneid. vers. 564. et in Eusebii ii. ad eundem librum.

tion of Sardinia, printed in 1744, affirms that in 1736 a little colony was sent from Sardinia to San Pietro, an adjacent island, but they were obliged to return home from the prodigious number of rabbits with which the island was infested. It became habitable only after they were extirpated.

Οἰκῆται μετὰ Βουδίνων] *Retired amongst the Budini.* It is difficult to conceive how the Neuri, who were situated to the south-west of the Androphagi, and to the north-east of the Agathyrsi, could traverse so immense an extent of country without meeting any opposition, either from the Royal Scythians or the Melanchlæni.

The Budini in all probability occupied the country now called 'Woronez,' or, according to De l'Isle, 'Veronecz.'

Κερδυνεὸς οὖν εἰναι] *It appears that.* This expression is very usual both with Plato and Xenophon. \*Κερδυνεὺς σοφὸς τὸ εἶναι: he appears to be a wise man.

Γόγρες] *Enchanters.* "Herodotus," says M. Pelloutier,† "was right in not giving credit to this fable: but it is strange that he did not perceive that these Greeks, established in Scythia, were practising on his credulity, in representing to him as a miracle, the most natural and ordinary occurrence in the world. The Neuri were Scythians, who, in the extreme cold, covered themselves with a garment made of wolves' skins, and who left off this furry dress when the weather became milder. This was the mystery which puzzled Herodotus, and all those who have copied him."

M. Pelloutier is mistaken. 1. If the Greeks of all countries and all ages have been excessively credulous, as it would be very easy to prove, those who lived in Scythia would naturally be more so than any other, as their minds were less cultivated. They did not impose on the simplicity of Herodotus; they themselves believed the absurd tales of the Neuri and the Scythians, related them to Herodotus, and endeavoured to persuade him of the truth of them.

2. If M. Pelloutier's reasoning be just, these Greeks might have told Herodotus that the Neuri changed not only into wolves, but into foxes, into bears, &c. because in winter they clothed themselves in the skins of all those animals. 3. The Neuri not being the only people of the north who clothed themselves in the same manner, why did the Scytho-Greeks attribute this kind of metamorphosis to them alone?

4. This people, according to M. Pelloutier, must have covered themselves with this fur during the whole winter; but, according to

\* Plato in *Eutyprom.* Vol. I. p. 2. C.    † *Histoire des Celtes*, tom. I. p. 305. et passim.

the Scythians, they were changed into wolves only once a year, and then only for a few days. This proves that the Scythians and the Scytho-Greeks believed the reality of this metamorphosis, and were not playing on the credulity of our historian. Besides, have we not all heard of were-wolves ('loups-garou'), and other similar fables, by which numbers of the country people are still deluded? These tales, to which the peasants of the north still give credit, must have been much more readily believed at a time when they were in a state of semi-barbarism.

Evanthus,\* an author of some consideration amongst the Greeks, says, that the Arcadians write, that the family of Anthus drew lots amongst themselves, which of them should repair to a certain pond, undress himself at the edge of it, hang his clothes on an oak, swim across the pond, go into the deserts, be changed into a wolf, and live with that species for nine years. If in the course of that time he did not devour a man, he returned to the same pond, re-crossed it, resumed his original form, but was nine years older. Pliny, from whom I borrow the story, adds very properly, "Mirum est quod procedat Græca credulitas! Nullum tam impudens mendacium est, ut teste careat."

CVI. *Nomâdes*] *Nomades*. The Nomade people had no fixed residence. They perpetually changed their abode for the convenience of pasturage. They lived in their chariots, like the Scythians, or in tents, like some of the Libyans. <sup>†</sup> *Nomâdes δὲ καλεῦνται, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν οἰκήματα, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀμάξαις οἰκεῖσιν. . . . ἐν ταύταις μὲν οὖν ταῖς ἀμάξαις αἱ γυναῖκες διατεῦνται· αὐτοὶ δ' ἐκ ἵππων ὀχεύονται οἱ ἄνδρες. ἔπονται δὲ αὐτέων καὶ τὰ πρόβατα ἐόντα καὶ αἱ βουε, καὶ οἱ ἵπποι. μένουσι δ' ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ τοσοῦτον χρόνον, ὅσον ἂν ἀπόχη αὐτέων τοῖσι κτήνεσιν ὁ χῆρος· ὁρόταν δὲ μηκέτι, εἰς ἑτέραν χώραν ἐρχονται.* <sup>‡</sup> They are called Nomades, because they have no houses, but dwell in their chariots. . . . Their women pass their lives in the chariots; the men ride on horseback, and are followed by their flocks of sheep, oxen, and horses. They remain in the same place as long as there is pasture enough for their cattle; when that fails, they remove elsewhere.

*Μοῦροι τοῦτων*] *The only people, &c.* This, by a manifest transposition, stood at the end of what Herodotus had said of the Melanchlœni. I considered that a translator might be allowed a greater latitude than an editor, who is permitted to make no other changes in his author than those sanctioned by Mss., unless they are supported by incontestable evidence. This transposition must be of very an-

\* Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. viii. cap. xxii. cia, § xlii. Vol. i. p. 252.  
Vol. i. p. 450.

† Hippocrates de Acribus, Aquis et Lo-

‡ Id. ibid. p. 253.



cient date, as Eustathius quotes the passage\* in the order in which it is found in our editions. It was this which led Major Rennel to attribute to the Melanchlæni the custom of eating human flesh, though that horrible practice was confined to the Androphagi.

CVII. Εἰματα μὲν μέλαρα φοροῦσι πάντες] *They all wear black clothes.* Major Rennel observes† in a note, “that Tamerlane found in the mountains of Kawuck, which form a part of the Indian Caucasus, a tribe, which Sherefeddin, the historian of the country, calls Siphonian, that is to say, dressed in black. The Geims, who dwelt beyond the Iaxartes, had black standards.—History of Timur, by Sherefeddin, Book III. chap. vi.”

CVIII. Γλαυρόν τε πᾶν ἰσχυρῶς ἐστὶ] *Paint their bodies blue.* Some persons, says Salmasius,‡ refer this only to the colour of the eyes; but I interpret it of the whole body. Hence Virgil, in his Georgics, calls them ‘picti Geloni.’§ See upon this verse M. Heyne’s interesting note.

Hippocrates\* says that the Scythians are red by reason of the cold, because in their country the sun has very little power. The whiteness being inflamed by the cold becomes red: πυρρὸν δὲ τὸ γένος ἐστὶ τὸ Σαυθικὸν διὰ τὸ ψύχος, οὐκ ἐπιγιγνομένου ἄλλος τοῦ ἡλίου· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ψύχους ἡ λευκότης ἐπικατερεῖ καὶ γίγνεται πυρρή.

It is evident that this passage applies to a natural colour of the Scythians, occasioned by the intensity of the cold. But why does not this happen with the Budini? It cannot be the case with respect to these latter: 1. Because the air affecting equally all parts of their bodies, its action would be uniform, and they would be red all over like the Scythians, and there would be no admixture of red and sea-green. 2. If it be said that the Budini were πυρροί, ‘red,’ from the effect of the climate, and γλαυροί, ‘sea-green,’ from art, I think that Herodotus would certainly have so expressed it. 3. The Budini are not Scythians; they are a numerous nation, whose manners and customs are very different from those of the Scythians: and it is therefore very likely that they might paint their bodies, whilst the Scythians left theirs of a natural colour. 4. It is certain that the Geloni painted their bodies. All the authors affirm it. But from what people did they borrow this custom? It could be from no other than the Budini. The Geloni, of Grecian origin, driven from the city of Borysthenes, and from the other commercial cities established on the borders of the Euxine sea, had taken refuge in the

\* In Dionys. Perieg. vers. 309. p. 55. lin. p. 122. col. 2. D, E. col. L.

† Virgil. Georg. lib. ii. vers. 115.

‡ The Geographical System of Herodotus, p. 87.

§ Hippocrat. de Aëre, Aquis et Locis, § xlviii. Vol. i. pp. 353, 350.

§ Salmas. Plinianæ Exercitation. in So-

country of the Budini. Enclosed within this country, they had long forgotten the customs of Greece, and had by degrees adopted those of the people amongst whom they dwelt. It is beyond a doubt, as I have before said, that the Geloni painted their bodies; but this custom was not original with them, as they were Greeks. They must therefore have borrowed it from some neighbouring people. Now they had no neighbours but the Budini, by whom they were surrounded. They had therefore taken this custom from the Budini, though they did not use the same colour, as Herodotus remarks a little further on.

*Ἐξ αὐτοῖσι]* *There is in their country.* Though I have not undertaken to point out all the misconstructions of the Latin translations, or of those into modern tongues, I cannot here refrain from noticing an error which occurs in them all. They make Herodotus to say, that the city of the Budini is called 'Gelonus.' How could he suppose, that a people who had nothing in common with the Geloni, should have named their city after those who differed essentially from them in language and in customs? Further, how can it be imagined that the Budini, who were Nomades, as Herodotus remarks in the succeeding paragraph, should have had any city at all? Our historian does not say that this city belonged to the Budini, but that it was amongst them, i. e. in their country.

*Τριετηρίδας ἀνέγονσι]* *Every three years they celebrate.* "It is said" that the Greeks celebrate the Trieterica (triennial festivals) because Bacchus employed three years in his expedition. . . . Bacchus 'having passed three years in his expedition to India, returned to Bœotia with rich spoils, and was the first who triumphed on an Indian elephant. The Bœotians, and the rest of the Greeks, as well as the Thracians, have instituted triennial festivals in honour of this god, for the purpose of perpetuating the memory of his expedition to India."

CIX. *Γελωνοί]* *The Geloni.* In the Greek, *Βουδινοὶ δὲ οὐ τῇ αὐτῇ γλώσσῃ χρέωνται καὶ Γελωνοί.* MM. Valckenner and Wesseling would have us read *Γελωνοῖσι*, or *τῇ καὶ Γελωνοί.* This correction is unnecessary; the turn of expression is familiar to the Greeks. *Ἐὰ δὲ ἀνθρώπων οὐχ ἥμισυ τὸ πρόθυμον ἢ πεπρωμένη κατὰ ταυτὰ ἐπικρύπτει, καὶ ἡ ψυχή ἐπιλαβοῦσα ἰλὺς ποταμοῦ.* 'Destiny covers the glory of human actions, as the mud of a river covers the shells which are in its bed.'

*Φθειροφάγοι]* *Who eat vermin.* The Phthirophagi, or vermin-eaters, of Strabo<sup>d</sup> and Pliny<sup>e</sup> are a different people from the Budini.

<sup>a</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. iii. § lxxv. Vol. i. p. 11. p. 302.

<sup>b</sup> Id. lib. iv. § iii. Vol. i. p. 246. <sup>d</sup> Strab. lib. vi. p. 754. A.

<sup>c</sup> Id. lib. iv. § iii. Vol. i. p. 246. <sup>e</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. vi. cap. iv. Vol.

<sup>f</sup> Pausan. Mæssenic. ante lib. iv. cap. i. p. 305.

*Ἰδέειν ὁμοίαι*] *Nor in the look of the face.* Thomas Magister boldly pronounces that no approved author has made use of this term, in speaking of men, but that they use the terms εἶδος and ὄψις: οὐδεὶς τῶν δοκιμωτάτων ἰδέειν ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπου λέγει, ἀλλὰ εἶδος καὶ ὄψιν. Independently of this passage of our historian, we find the term in Plato, and in other authors no less remarkable for the purity of their style: which shows with how much caution we should receive the precepts of the ancient grammarians. <sup>a</sup> *Εἰς Διονυσίου τοῦ Γραμματικῶς εἰσῆλθον καὶ εἶδον αὐτόθι τῶν τε νέων τοὺς ἐπικεικιστάτους δοκοῦντας εἶναι τὴν ἰδέαν.* 'Having entered the house of the grammarian Dionysius, I saw there some young people of a decent and modest demeanour.'

*Τῶν τὰ δέπματα περὶ τὰς σισύρας παραρράπτεται*] *To make borders.* Παραρράψασθαι signifies 'adsuere.' Παραράμματα are borders affixed to garments. Hesychius explains παραρήματα by παραρήματα ἱματίων. Thucydides has used this word in a manner which leaves no doubt as to its signification. See Thucyd. Book iv. § XLVIII. p. 267. and the note of his commentators.

CX. *Σαυροματῶν*] *The Sauromatæ.* Herodotus relates the origin of the Sauromatæ in this and the succeeding paragraphs up to the 117th inclusive. Diodorus Siculus gives a somewhat different account of it. The Scythians,<sup>c</sup> according to this author, having subdued a part of Asia, drove from it several tribes of people, amongst others, a tribe of the Medes, who retreated towards the Tanais, and there formed the nation of the Sauromatæ.

*Ἀμαζόνες*] *Against the Amazons.* These women have been, and still are, ranked amongst the number of those fables with which Herodotus endeavoured to amuse the Greeks. The story was renewed in the time of Alexander, and it is affirmed that Atropates, satrap of Media, presented to that conqueror ten Amazons, armed after the fashion of their country. But Arrian,<sup>d</sup> not finding this circumstance mentioned by Ptolemy or Aristobulus, nor in any other authors worthy of credit, imagines that Atropates merely presented to Alexander a hundred barbarous women who had been taught to ride on horseback, and armed in the manner in which the Amazons were said to be. On this occasion he speaks of the Amazons as follows:

"It does not appear that the nation of the Amazons endured till that time. Xenophon, who lived before Alexander, makes no mention of them. He speaks, however, of the Phasiani, of the Colchi, and of all the nations whom the Greeks encountered on their march, whether on proceeding to Trapezus, or on their return from that

<sup>a</sup> Thomas Magister, voc. *Ἰδέα*, p. 464. 166.

<sup>b</sup> Plat. *Amator*, Vol. i. p. 122. A.

<sup>c</sup> Diodor. *Sic. lib. ii. § xliii.* Vol. i. p. 506. et seq.

<sup>d</sup> *Arriani Exped. Alex. lib. vii. § xii.*

city. Had they existed at that time, he would have met them in his way. I do not, however, think it probable that this nation never did exist, as a great number of celebrated writers affirm that Hercules made an expedition against them, and that he took from Hippolyta, their queen, her belt, which he carried to Greece; and that the Athenians, under the command of Theseus, conquered these women, who had invaded Europe, and drove them back again. This history was written by Cimon with as much care as that bestowed on the battles of the Athenians against the Persians."

If to this be added what I have said of these women, Book ix. § xxvii. note 3, it will scarcely, I think, be doubted that this nation really did exist; but their manner of living being very precarious, they soon became extinct.

CXI. Ἐδόκεον δ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι ἄνδρας τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν ἔχοντας] *Deceived by the uniformity of their height.* "I here take ἡλικίη in the sense of 'statura,' and even of 'forma,' indeed all the peculiarity of figure; and such indeed were the Amazons, ἀντιάνεραι, having the height and figure of men. I therefore translate, 'deceived by their height, or figure, &c.' We must understand in the same sense the word ἡλικίη, in Book iii. § xvi. ἔχων τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν Ἀμάσει. So does the word φῶς signify both the form and the height of the body. Φῶς, says Hesychius, φέσει σώματος, ἡλικία. Pindar has used both terms indifferently, in Olymp. i. 109. εὐανθεμον φῶν, which the scholiast explains by ἡλικίαν and εὐανθέα ἄλικίαν, lathm. vii. 47. A very familiar expression of Homer's renders this meaning still more clear: θεῶ ἀλίγκιος or ἐναλίγκιος is just the same as θεῶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν ἔχων, or, as the same poet says elsewhere, θεοειδής. For according to the ingenious etymology of M. Van Lennep, p. 108, this word ἀλίγκιος is in fact derived from ἡλικία, which signifies not only the height, but the form and peculiarity of the body, as expressed by Pliny in the term 'quadratus staturæ,' lib. xxxiv. cap. viii. Vol. ii. p. 663. I therefore think that τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν ἔχειν in the two passages of Herodotus signify the same thing as ταῦτα μορφῆς μέτρα ἔχειν, in the Alcestis of Euripides, verse 1065."—CORAY.

I will add to this note of M. Coray, that in St. Matthew, chap. vi. verse 27, the word ἡλικία is taken in the same sense: τίς δὲ ἐξ ὑμῶν μεμινῶν δύναται προσθεῖναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ πῆχυν ἓνα; which is rendered by the Vulgate, "quis autem vestrum cogitans potest adjicere ad staturam suam cubitum unum;" and in St. Luke, chap. xix. verse 3, καὶ ἐζήτει ἰδεῖν τὸν Ἰησοῦν τίς ἐστι· καὶ οὐκ ἠδύνατο ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου, ὅτι τῇ ἡλικίᾳ μικρὸς ἦν. "Et quærebat videre Jesum, quis esset: et non poterat præ turbâ, quia staturâ pusillus erat." Lucian has used the same expression, in Imagin. § vi. Vol. ii. p. 464. τῆς ἡλικίας

δέ τὸ μέτρον, ἥλικον ἂν γένοιτο, κατὰ τὴν ἐν Κνίδῳ ἐκείνην μάλισθα . . . μεμετρήσθω. On this passage, see the note of Lambert Bos.

CXIV. Ἐπιλώσαντο] *Tamed*. In the Greek, ἐπιλώσαντο. This word comes from ἐπῖλος, a ram. As that animal was usually accustomed to the hand of the shepherd, and was tamed, the word ἐπῖλος was used adjectively to signify any tame animal: and hence the word ἐπιλώω.

Μένουσαι ἐν τῇσι ἀμάξῃσι] *They do not quit their chariots*. As their chariots served them for houses. It is generally known, that the Grecian women very seldom went out from theirs; but I am apprehensive that Herodotus may have attributed to the Scythian women the manners of the Greeks.

CXV. Τὴν κτημάτων τὸ ἐπιβάλλον] *That portion of their patrimony which fell to their share*. The word μέρος is understood. Herodotus, Book VII. § CXIII. says, ἀπολαχόντες γὰρ μέρος ὅσον αὐτοῖσι ἐπέβαλε, ἔδυσσαν. We find in Demosthenes, "τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων τύχης τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς μέρος μετεληφέναι νομίζω τὴν πόλιν." 'I think our city has had as large a portion of the good fortune that falls to the lot of man, as can come to its share.' We find the same phrase in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, τούτων ἐκέρξει τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐκάστου λόχος. 'Every one shall have the share which falls to him by lot, the share which fate shall assign to him.' M. Gottleber\* therefore might have upheld this expression of Dionysius of Halicarnassus by better authorities than that of St. Luke and the scholiast of Aristophanes.

Ἡμέας ἔχει φόβος καὶ δέος] *We should fear the consequences of it*. I have endeavoured to express the two Greek terms. Φόβος is a sudden terror, δέος a permanent fear of a coming evil. See Ammonius.<sup>4</sup>

CXVII. Πρὶν ἂν τῶν πολεμίων ἄνδρα ἀποκτείνῃ] *Till she had killed an enemy*. "The women" of the Sauromatæ ride on horseback, draw the bow, throw the javelin from on horseback, and go to the wars, so long as they are unmarried. They do not marry till they have killed three enemies, and do not live with their husbands till they have fulfilled the sacred ceremonies prescribed by the law. The married women cease to mount on horseback, unless it becomes necessary to make a general expedition."

CXVIII. Ὁ Πέρσης] *That Darius*. In the Greek we find 'the Persian' for the king of Persia, and in § CXIX. the Gelonus, the Budinian, the Sauromatan, the Agathyrus, the Neurus, the Androphagus, for the

\* Demosthen. de Corona, p. 182. segm. 435.

† Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. lib. viii. § LXIV. p. 320.

\* Act. Erudit. An. 1771, p. 221.

† Περὶ διαφορῶν λήξεων, p. 30.

\* Hippocrati de Acribus, Aquis et Locis, § alia. tom. i. p. 352.



kings of the Geloni, of the Budini, the Sauromatæ, &c. Such is the phraseology of Herodotus and of most of the good writers. I think, therefore, that it is thus we must understand the following passage of Plutarch: \* τὸ δὲ καὶ ὁ Θεσσαλὸς ἐρωτηθεὶς, τίνας εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπιώτατοι τῶν Θεσσαλῶν, ἔφη, οἱ παύμενοι πολεμεῖν. 'Some one having asked the king of Thessaly which were the mildest of the Thessalians, the latter answered, those who have ceased to make war.' For though there had ceased to be a king in Thessaly long before the time of Plutarch, the word may be an ancient one, and of the time when there were kings.

Τὶ γὰρ πάθωμεν] *For what can we do in this case?* ('Quo faire à cela?') In the Greek, 'what could we do in it there?' This expression is generally a stumbling-block for the translators. The translation, 'quid enim cladem subiamus,' is bad; it should be, 'quid enim facere possimus?' \* πλὴν ἄλλὰ τί ἂν πάθωμι; ἐμμενερτον γὰρ οἷς ἀπαξ προειλόμην. 'But what should I do in it? I must adhere to the choice which I have once made.' \* Τὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ πάθῃς τις ὅποτε φίλος τις ἂν βιάζοιτο; 'For what can you do, when pressed by a friend?' \* Τὶ πάθω; οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ αἰτίας τούτων. ἃ φύσις δέ μου βεῖ. 'What would you have me to do in it?' (as has been very well rendered by M. Dacier, perpetual Secretary to the Academy of Belles Lettres,) 'it is not my fault; I have a soft brain; it is my temperament.'

CXIX. Καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν παυσόμεθα] *We shall be able to repel them.* I read with M. Vulckenaer, καὶ ἡμεῖς σὺν τισόμεθα.

CXXII. Οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπιδιωξύντες ἐδίωκον] *The Persians having passed it after them, continued to pursue them.* There must have been a ford at this place; otherwise I can scarcely conceive how an army so numerous as that of the Persians, which must have been greatly encumbered with baggage, could have passed a river like the Tanais quickly enough to pursue the Scythians.

M. Wesseling remarks that it was twenty days' march (see § CI.) from the Ister to the Palus Mæotis; it must have required a much longer time for so immense an army.

\* Ἀνικόουτο ἐς τὴν τῶν Βουδίνων] *Arrived at that (the country) of the Budini.* The Scythians having crossed the Tanais, and the Persians immediately after them, passed into the territory of the Sauromatæ, and without stopping there, they returned through the country of the Budini, which was to the north of the Euxine sea and to the south of the Thyragetæ. Though Herodotus does not again

\* Plutarch. de Libertate educandis, Vol. II. p. 2. P.

\* Lucian. ad eum qui dixerat Prometheus es, § vii. Vol. I. p. 20.

\* Lucian. in Contemplat. § xi. Vol. I. p. 91.

\* Eliani Var. Hist. lib. ix. cap. xxvii. p. 618.

mention the passage of the Tanais by the Scythians and the Persians, it must necessarily have occurred. As soon as Darius had passed the Ister, the Scythians, and the Persians after them, directed their march towards the east. When they had reached the country of the Sauromatæ, they turned to the north-west. Both armies in their retrograde march recrossed the Syrgis, which is to the east of the Tanais, then the Tanais, which is to the east of the Oarus, and finally the Oarus. Having passed this river, and having lost sight of the Scythians, who were greatly a-head of them, the Persians erected eight fortresses on the western bank of this river.

The Budini, therefore, are doubtless to the west of the Tanais; and M. de Guignes\* has placed them on the east of that river, only because he did not understand the direction taken by these two armies. It is a pity that this writer, whose loss cannot be too deeply regretted, and who had acquired so admirable a proficiency in the oriental languages and history, should have neglected the study of the Greek.

CXXIII. *Ἐλελειπόρων*] *Desert*. In the Greek, 'the Budini having abandoned it;' but I think we should read the 'Geloni,' *ἐλελειπόρων τῶν Γελωνῶν*. See note to § CVIII. *supra*.

CXXIV. *Ὅκτώ τεῖχεα ἐτείχεε μεγάλα*] *He built eight great castles*. These were really castles, as has been well expressed by the Latin translator, and not merely walls, as Du Ryer, and some authors after him, have rendered it. Du Ryer, however, is a very indifferent authority, as I have previously had occasion to point out. It is true, that this first signification is not found in the *Thesaurus Linguae Græcæ* of Stephens, nor in any other lexicon, if we except that of Portus; but a person must have a very superficial acquaintance with the Greek language, and never have read either Herodotus, Thucydides, or Xenophon, to be ignorant that the word is taken in this acceptation. Herodotus had just said, speaking of the city of the Geloni, which the Persians had reached, *ἐντυχόντες τῇ ξυλινῇ τείχει*, 'having encountered in their march the wooden city of the Geloni.' *Κεκενωμένου τοῦ τεύχεος πάντων*, 'the Geloni having carried away all their effects from their city.'

The same historian, Book VII. § CVIII, speaking of the places belonging to the Samothracians, says, *Σαμοθράκισια τεῖχεα*; and that no doubt may remain as to the signification of *τεῖχεα*, he adds, whose last city is called Mesambria. What he had just called *τεῖχεα*, he immediately afterwards calls *πόλις*; and in Book VII. § CXII, he says that Xerxes passed near certain places of the Pieræ, *τεῖχεα τὰ Πιερῶν*, and he immediately afterwards names them; they were Niphagres and

\* *Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres*, tom. XXIV. p. 543.

Pergamos, small towns or castles, which we hear of elsewhere. There were also many towns named 'Neon-tichos,' or 'new wall,' answering to the French 'Villeneuve,' and to the English, 'New town,' or 'Newton.' Herodotus speaks of one of these towns, Book 1. § CXLIX. There was likewise in Achaia a castle, *Φρούριον*, which was called *Τείχος*,<sup>a</sup> 'Tichos.'

Gobryas<sup>b</sup> the Assyrian told Cyrus, that he was master of a strong castle and a considerable country: *εἰμι τὸ μὲν γένος Ἀσσύριος, ἔχω δὲ καὶ τεῖχος ἰσχυρὸν καὶ χώρας ἐπάρχω πολλῆς.*

Plutarch thus calls the citadel of Sardis. The Athenians, says he,<sup>c</sup> took all Sardis, except the citadel. *Χωρὶς τοῦ τεύχους τοῦ βασιλεῖος.*

The learned M. De Valois, in his notes on Harpocration,<sup>d</sup> remarks, that *τεῖχος* signifies a fort or castle. His note is as follows: "*Τείχος non est simpliciter murus, ut interpretes acceperit in fine hujus annotationis, sed castrum potius. Sic Σέρβιον τεῖχος apud Demosthenem pro Coronâ: et quod Ἡραίων τεῖχος hic dicitur, Herodoto Ἡραίων πόλις παρὰ Ἡέκτορα. Sic apud Xenophontem, lib. 1 et 11. ubi de Alcibiade, τὰ τεῖχη σῆπε sic usurpat, et Herodotus lib. vi. Videtur propriè de Thraciæ locis id usurpari, teste Demosthene in Philipp. et περὶ Παρπεσβέδας. Livius, lib. xxx1. p. 573, Doriscon et Serrium Castella vocat, id est τεῖχη. et Scylax in Thraciæ situ.*" See also Book 111. note 3. to § XC1.

M. De Guignes would therefore have done better<sup>e</sup> to follow the English authors of the Universal History than to blame them, and not to have deviated from Bayer/<sup>f</sup> whom he usually takes for his guide.

CXXV. *Ἀπεικνῆναι*] *Forbade them.* Gronovius has here fallen into a most palpable misconception, in translating 'jam non recusantes societatem.' Stephens has very properly rendered it: 'At Scythæ non jam ad Agathyrsos, quippe qui ingressu regionis interdixissent, tendebant, sed ex Neuride regione'. . . the construction is, *οἱ μὲν Σκύθαι οὐκ ἐρὶ ἀπικνέοντο ἐς τοὺς Ἀγαθύρσους ἀπεικνῆναι.*

If we are surprised at the pusillanimity of the Budini, the Melanchlæni, the Androphagi, and the Neuri, we are not less so at the courage and firmness displayed by the Agathyrsi, although Herodotus (§ CIV.) has represented them as an effeminate people. But we must consider that the former people occupied an open champaign country, which could easily be overrun; whereas the country of the Aga-

<sup>a</sup> Polyb. lib. iv. § 122xiii. Vol. i. p. 481. Mauesaci ad calcem Harpocrationis, p. 268.

<sup>b</sup> Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. iv. cap. vi.

<sup>c</sup> li.

<sup>d</sup> Plutarch. de Herodoti Malignitate, p. tom. xxiv. p. 347.

<sup>e</sup> 861. D.

<sup>f</sup> Commentar. Academ. Petropol. Vol. iii. p. 363.

<sup>g</sup> Hear. Valerii Animadvers. in Notas

thyrsi, strong by nature, was defended on the east by the chain of mountains anciently called 'Alpes Bastarnicæ' and 'Carpates,' and which are now called the Carpathian Mountains. It should seem that the Agathyrsi occupied Transylvania and the north-east part of Hungary.

CXXVI. *Ἐπὶ τῇ καὶ ὕδασι*] *Earth and water.* Amongst the ancient western nations, it was customary to gather grass and present it to the conqueror in token of submission; and by this action was implied the absolute and unconditional surrender of all right to the country. In Pliny's time, the Germans still observed this custom. "Summum apud antiquos signum victoriæ erat herbam porrigere victos, hoc est terrâ et altrice ipsâ humo, et humatione etiam cedere: quem morem etiam nunc durare apud Germanos scio." Festus<sup>a</sup> and Servius on verse 128. of the 8th Book of the *Æneid*,

*Ex vitâ comptos voluit prætereare ramos,*

say that 'herbam do' means the same thing as 'victum me fateor,' and 'cedo victoriam.' The same ceremony, or something akin to it, was observed in transferring any kind of landed property, either by sale or otherwise, to any individual: he was invested with the ownership of the soil, by being presented with grass or turf. See Ducange's Glossary, under the word 'Investitura.' In the east, and in other countries, it was by the presentation of earth and water that the prince was put in possession of the country. By this act he was acknowledged absolute master, for earth and water comprehend every thing. "To give earth and water," says Aristotle, "is to renounce liberty."

CXXVII. *Τοῦτό ἐστιν ἡ ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν φησίς*] *Such is the answer of the Scythians.* The preceding expression, "As for thee, who boastest of being my master, it is for thee to lament thy doom," may have passed into a proverb: but I can scarcely think that the words, "such is the answer of the Scythians," can have been proverbial, and that Ctesias has used it in speaking of the death of Cyrus, as M. Wesseling pretends. Demetrius, in his Treatise on Elocution, chap. cxxxiii. says, "The messenger did not immediately announce to Parysatis that Cyrus was dead, 'such a message could not have come from the Scythians;' but he first told her that Cyrus was victorious. The princess abandoned herself to joy, her heart was moved, &c." I repeat, there does not appear in this the slightest trace of a proverb.

<sup>a</sup> Plin. lib. xii. cap. iv. Vol. ii. p. 207.

<sup>b</sup> Aristot. Rhetor. lib. ii. cap. xiii.

<sup>c</sup> Fœstes de Verb. Significat. lib. viii. p. 577. F.  
p. 179.

CXXVIII. *Σίτα δὲ . . . ἀναπαύμενοι*] *When they were taking their repast.* Gronovius has made three mistakes in this passage, which have been noticed by M. Wesseling. 1. *Πλατῶν* is a verb active, and cannot signify 'errare.' 2. *Εἰτα ἀναπαύμενοι* are persons taking a repast, as we have seen, Book III. § XXVI., and as we shall find again, Book VII. § CXX. 3. *Νεμῶν* here signifies 'observare.' The examples are referred to in M. Wesseling's note.

CXXIX. *Οὐδὲ ἐστὶ . . . ὄρε ὄνοι, ὄρε ἡμίονοι*] *Not a single ass or mule.* And yet the Scythians sacrificed asses, if we may rely on Clement of Alexandria;\* but it is probable he confounded this people with the Hyperboreans, for he cites as an authority a verse of Callimachus, which alludes to the latter only. We learn likewise from Pindar,<sup>a</sup> that the Hyperboreans sacrificed to Apollo hecatombs of asses.

CXXX. *Ὅπως τῶν προβάτων τῶν σφετέρων αὐτῶν καταλίποιεν*] *They abandoned to them some of their flocks.* This appears to M. Wesseling directly contrary to the intention and object of the Scythians, which was to cut off all supplies from the Persians. He would therefore wish us to read *ὅπως . . . μὴ καταλάβοιεν, μετὰ τῶν νομτῶν ἀποῖναι . . .* 'and retired into another province, that they might not be able to seize upon, &c.' In this instance I must differ from the learned commentator. The Scythians, as Herodotus says, wished to detain the Persians longer in Scythia. If they had driven all their flocks away, the Persians, finding the country wholly destitute, would have immediately retired, to save themselves from famine. What, then, do the Scythians? They abandon to them a small part of their flocks; for the genitive *τῶν προβάτων τῶν σφετέρων* is a genitive of partition. The Persians, elated by this success, ἐπαρμένοι τῷ πεποιμένῳ,<sup>c</sup> hoped for a continuance of it, and flattered themselves they should find out the place where the Scythians had concealed the rest of their flocks. This feeble succour, though no cure for the famine which had begun to be felt in the Persian camp, yet held out to them a hope of future abundance. This hope induced them to prolong their stay in Scythia; and the longer they remained, the more their misery increased, as the Scythians desired it should.

The flocks which the Scythians abandoned to the Persians, probably formed a part of those allotted for their own daily subsistence; the rest had retired further northwards, with the women and children, as we have read in § CXXI.

CXXXII. *Ὅπως δὲ μάλιστα δοικε ἱππῷ*] *That the bird has considerable analogy.* In the Greek, 'that the bird bore a considerable re-

\* Clement. Alexandr. Cohortatio ad Gentes, p. 25. lin. 11.

<sup>a</sup> Pindar. Pyth. Od. 3. vers. 51.

<sup>c</sup> Thus the correction of the same critic, who reads *ἐπαρμένοι* instead of *ἐπιπρόν- το*, is superfluous.



semblance to the horse.' I do not see what comparison can be instituted between a bird and a horse, except with reference to the rapidity of their motion, and that is very far-fetched. But supposing the comparison to be just, it is not easy to see how it bears upon the explanation given by Darius. Cornelius De Pauw appears to me to have obviated this difficulty, by reading ὄρνις δὲ μάλιστα τοῦτε τῇ ἰσχύϊ τὸν τοῦτε τε διοικεῖς, &c. &c. We must then translate, 'the bird has considerable analogy with the horse, which they deliver to us with their arrows, as constituting their force.' See Wesseling's note.

CXXXV. Σὺν τῇ καθαρῇ τοῦ στρατοῦ] *With the flower of his troops.* Τὸ καθαρὸν is susceptible of various explanations, according to the context. In the passage of Thucydides quoted by Wesseling, it signifies the citizens of Athens, in opposition to the allies and troops assembled from other parts; but what has immediately gone before, viz. that Darius left in the camp the invalids and his worst troops, clearly determines its signification in this passage to be the best troops of his army. See also Book I. note 1. to § CXCI.

CXXXVI. Αἱ τε δύο μοῖραι τῶν Σκυθῶν] *The two bodies of the Scythians.* There were two armies of them which moved always together, and another which accompanied the Sauromatæ, as is clearly expressed in paragraphs CXX. CXXVIII. and CXXXIII. It is of the last body that we must understand the words καὶ ἡ μὴ.

CXXXVII. Τυραννεύοντες Χερσωνησίῳ] *And tyrant of the Chersonesus.* On the word tyrant, see Book III. note 2. to § I. All these petty princes had loaded their people with fetters, and were upheld in their usurpations only by the power of the Persians, whose interest led them to prefer the despotic to the democratic form of government, which latter would have been less tractable and less prompt to execute its pleasure. It was therefore neither generosity nor commiseration for the Persians that prompted their conduct on this occasion, but ambition.

CXXXVIII. Ὅσων δὲ οὗτοι οἱ διαφέροντες τε τῇ ψήφῳ] *Those who were of this opinion.* Διαφέρειν τὴν ψήφῳ is taken for φέρειν, as in the Orestes of Euripides,\* κυρία δ' ἡδ' ἡμέρα, ἐν ᾗ διοίσει ψήφῳ Ἀργεῖων πόλις, 'this is the day fixed for the city of Argos to give its vote.'

The preposition, in this instance, adds nothing to the meaning, as we have seen in other examples.

CXLI. Τῷ πρώτῳ κέλευσμα] *At the first cries.* Κέλευσμα or κέλευμα strictly signifies the cry used to animate the sailors to row

\* Euripid. Orest. vers. 48.

vigorously. It is also applied to the song which they sing whilst rowing. The Latins, in imitation of the Greeks, said, 'Celeusma.' Hygini Fab. xiv. p. 55. cum notis Munckeri et Van Staveren.

CXLIII. *Αείρει δὲ σπαργὸν . . . Μεγάβαζον*] *He named Megabyzes.* Generally in the Greek it is written Megabazus; but, as Herodotus in other places has written this name Megabyzus, I have thought it best to preserve uniformity, and the rather, as the Ms. B in the Royal Library, and Eustathius in his Commentary on the Iliad, have it as I write it. I have also wished to distinguish it from Megabazus, son of Megabates, mentioned in Book vii. § xcvi.

CXLIV. *Εἰ μὴ ἦσαν τυφλοί*] *That they were then undoubtedly blind.* This sally of Megabyzes has given occasion to the President Montesquieu to make an ingenious application of it to Harrington, on the subject of his Oceana. See *L'Esprit des Loix*, liv. xi. chap. vi. tom. i. p. 222. 4to. edit. 1758; but the remark appears to me to have obtained more celebrity than it merits. To judge of this, we must be well aware of the relative situation of Chalcedon and Byzantium. This is detailed at length in the Geographical Table, at the word CHALCEDON.

*Μηδίζοντες*] *Friendly to the Medes.* Herodotus, and most of the ancient writers, generally comprehend the Persians under the denomination of Medes. Claudian<sup>b</sup> says, "remige Medo sollicitatus Athos," alluding to the foot of mount Athos being excavated and traversed by the fleet of the Persians.

CXLV. *Πελασγῶν τῶν ἐκ Βραυρωνος ἀπισμένων*] *By the Pelasgi, who had carried away from Brauron.* Plutarch relates this circumstance with some variations and some additions. "The Tyrrheni," says he, "formerly occupied the islands of Lemnos and Imbros. They carried off from Brauron the wives of the Athenians, and had children by them, whom the Athenians drove from those islands as mongrels and semi-barbarians. These young people, having put to sea, reached the promontory of Tænarus, and rendered essential services to the Spartans in their war with the Helotes. In return for these services, they were admitted to the rights of citizenship, and permitted to marry Spartan wives, without however being admitted into the magistracy or into the senate. They were at length suspected of a desire to disturb the public peace, and of being engaged in conspiracies against the state. Upon this they were put in prison, and kept under a strict guard, in the expectation of convicting them, on undeniable evidence, of the crime of which they were accused. Their wives repaired to the prison, and

<sup>a</sup> Eustath. Comment. in Iliad. p. 240.

<sup>b</sup> Claudian. in Rufin. lib. i. vers. 335.

<sup>c</sup> Plutarch. de Virtut. Mulierum, p.

accosted the gaolers with such pressing entreaties, that they were admitted into the prison to speak with their husbands. On their obtaining access to their husbands, they urged them to change clothes with them, and immediately to attempt their escape, carefully concealing their faces. This was immediately effected. The husbands presented themselves at the gate thus disguised, and the gaolers taking them for the women, suffered them to pass, the wives remaining in their place, prepared to meet the consequences. The Tyrrhenians then repaired to mount Taygetus, excited the Helotes to revolt, and concluded with them a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive. The Spartans, alarmed by the escape of the one party and the revolt of the other, sent a herald to them, and concluded a treaty of peace, by which it was agreed—that their wives should be restored to them, that a sum of money and certain vessels should be furnished, that they should set sail, and that when they had found elsewhere a country and a town, they should be considered as a colony of Lacedæmon. This treaty concluded, the Pelasgi chose for their chiefs and conductors, Pollis, Adelphus, and Cratais, who were Lacedæmonians. One party of them established themselves in the island of Melos; but a more numerous division sailed under the guidance of Pollis to Crete, in the hope of witnessing the accomplishment of the oracle, which had predicted to them, that when they had lost their goddess and their anchor, the first country they reached should be the end of their voyage, and that there they should build a city. Having therefore landed at the place called Chersonesus,\* during the night, they were seized with a panic, rushed to their vessels without any order, and left behind them the statue of Diana, which their ancestors had brought from Brauron to Lemnos, which had been preserved from generation to generation, and which from Lemnos they had carried every where with them. Their fears at length abated, and order was restored. They were then out in the open sea, when they first perceived that they had lost their statue; and Pollis at the same time discovered, that the anchor of his vessel was without the flukes. It had been hastily and violently torn up, and the flukes had been broken against the rocks. Upon this, exclaiming that the oracle was accomplished, he gave the signal to return to Crete. They regained that island, and Pollis took possession of the country. His advance was opposed; but he defeated all those who disputed the field with him; took Lyctus and several other towns, and established himself in them. For this reason they still call themselves relations of the Athenians on their mothers' side, and a colony of Spartans."

\* *Peninsula.*

1. Plutarch calls Tyrrheni those who had carried off from Brauron the wives of the Athenians; he afterwards calls the same people Pelasgi: Herodotus does the same. The Tyrrheni having conquered the country occupied by the Pelasgi in Ombria, the latter were called by the name of their conquerors, to distinguish them from the other Pelasgi. Amyot says, in his translation, that they carried off some of the Athenian women from the town of Lauria; but the text of Plutarch has *Βραυρωνίδων*, from Brauron.

2. According to Herodotus, it was the Minyæ who came to mount Taygetus, having been driven from Lemnos by the Pelasgi. According to Plutarch, it was the children of the Tyrrheni or Pelasgi who repaired to that mountain, after having been driven out by the Athenians.

3. According to Plutarch, the Lacedæmonians did not admit them to the offices nor honours of the magistracy. Herodotus, on the contrary, says, that they begged of the Lacedæmonians to be admitted to those trusts, and that the latter granted their request.

4. According to Plutarch, they arrived at Cape Tænarus; according to Herodotus, they advanced thence as far as mount Taygetus.

5. The Tyrrheni or Pelasgi of Plutarch retired to Melos and to Crete, whereas the Minyæ of Herodotus\* went partly to Thera or Calliste, and partly to the country of the Paroræi and Cauconæa.

Plutarch has confounded the Minyæ with the Pelasgi. The latter had come from Tyrrhenia, and established themselves in Attica. Driven from Attica, they invaded the island of Lemnos, from which they expelled the Minyæ. These last were the descendants of the Argonauts. I take this opportunity of correcting a passage of Pausanias,<sup>b</sup> where we find, *Μινύαι τοὺς ἐκβληθέντας ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν ἐκ Ἀθήνων*; which should read *ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν*.

CXLVI. *Μετ' ἡμέρην*] *By day*. The Athenians say *μετ' ἡμέρην*, and not *ἐν ἡμέρῃ*, as we learn from the scholiast of Aristophanes, on verse 931 of the *Plutus*. *Μετ' ἡμέραν*, says he, ἀπὲρ τοῦ ἐν ἡμέρῃ, Ἀττικὸν τὸ σχῆμα· μετ' ἡμέραν γὰρ φασιν, οὐκ ἐν ἡμέρῃ. We find numerous examples of this mode of speaking, especially in Plato.

*Ἐσθλθεῖν τε ἐς τὴν ἑρετήν*] *To enter into the prison*. Gronovius has admitted into his edition *ἐς δ' ἔλθεῖν*, on the authority of the Florentine Ms. This reading is supported by the Mss. B and D of the Royal Library; but it makes downright nonsense. M. Weaseling changes the *ἐς δ'* of the Mss. into *ἐς δὲ ἔλθεῖν*, after the manner of the Ionians, which appears to me the true reading. The Ms. A of the

\* Infra, §§ cxlii. and cxlviii.; and Pausan. lib. viii. p. 524.

<sup>b</sup> Pausan. Achaic. sive lib. vii. cap. ii. p. 524.

Royal Library has *ἐκελθεῖν τε &c.* Two lines lower down I read *ἔδωκεν* instead of *λόγον*, with the Mss. B and D.

CXLVII. 'Ο *Αὐρεσίανος*] *Son of Autesion.* Theras was the sixth descendant of Œdipus, the tenth from Cadmus. "The sixth descendant of Œdipus led a colony from Sparta to Thera."\* The scholiast of Callimachus supposes that Theras was the son of Tisamenes, and grandson of Autesion. But the contrary is the fact. His genealogy is as follows.

	Julian Period.	B. C.
Cadmus arrived in Bœotia . . . . .	3165	1549
Polydorus, son of Cadmus . . . . .	3217	1497
Labdacus, son of Polydorus . . . . .	3264	1450
Laius, son of Labdacus, being only a year old, is deposed by Lycus . . . . .	3298	1416
Laius re-ascends the throne . . . . .	3324	1390
Œdipus, son of Laius . . . . .	3360	1354
Polynices, son of Œdipus, leagues with the Argians against the Thebans . . . . .	3396	1318
Thersander, son of Polynices . . . . .	3415	1299
Thersander, having preceded the fleet of the Greeks which was going to Troy, is killed in Mysia . . . . .	3433	1281
Tisamenes, son of Thersander, a minor . . . . .	3434	1280
He assumes the government . . . . .	3445	1269
His son Autesion driven out by Damasichthon . . . . .	3465	1249
Birth of Theras, son of Autesion . . . . .	3500	1214
Theras, guardian of Procles and of Eurysthene, kings of Lacedæmon . . . . .	3536	1178

*Τῆς μητρὸς ἀδελφεὸς . . . Εὐρυσθένης*] *Maternal uncle of Eurysthene.* He was brother of Argia, their mother.†

*Προκλῆς*] *Procles.* I am inclined to think that Procles is an abbreviation of the copyists for Patrocles. We find in Plato,‡ *Βασιλεὺς μὲν Ἀργεὺς Τήμενος ἐγένετο· Μεσσηνὴς δὲ, Κρεσφόντης· Λακεδαιμόνων δὲ, Πατροκλῆς καὶ Εὐρυσθένης.* 'Temenus became king of Argos, Cresphontes of Messenia, Patrocles and Eurysthene of Lacedæmon.' We read also in Suidas, under the word *Λυκούργος*: *Λυκούργος, Σπαρτιάτης, Πατροκλέους ἀπόγονος.* 'Lycurgus of Sparta, a descendant of Patrocles.'

This name is written in the same manner by Strabo§ and by Plutarch.¶ Mr. Davies opposes‡ to these authorities those of Herodo-

\* Callimach. Hymn. in Apollin. vers.

74.

† Pausan. Laced. lib. iii. cap. i. p. 305.

‡ Plato de Legibus, lib. iii. Vol. ii. p. 216.

§ Strab. Geograph. lib. x. p. 737. C.

¶ Plutarch. in Lycurgo, p. 40. B.

‡ Ad Cic. de Divinat. lib. ii. § xiiij.



tas, of Pausanias, Apollodorus, and Porphyrius. But this is only relying on the first editors of those authors, who, not knowing how to read the abbreviation, have been followed in their error by subsequent editors. We know that the copyists wrote *ἄνδρ* and *ὀνδρ*, for *ἄνθρωπος* and *οἰκιστής*, and that the erroneous reading of these words has given rise to a thousand fruitless conjectures.

Τὸν αὐτοῦ συγγενὲς Μελβλίαν] *Membliares, one of his relations.* Pausanias<sup>a</sup> says, on the contrary, that Membliares was a man of the lower order. He adds, that Theras felt assured that the descendants of Membliares would yield to him the sovereignty of the island, and that they would the more willingly do so, as Theras traced his descent from Cadmus, whereas they were descended from Membliares, a man of low extraction.

Herodotus says, that before Theras came to Calliste, the family of Membliares had reigned there for eight generations. But as Theras was the tenth descendant from Cadmus, there should have been the same number of generations from Membliares to the prince who was sovereign of Calliste at the time Theras landed there. This difficulty has not been perceived either by the commentators or the translators; I have endeavoured to clear it up in my Essay on the Chronology of Herodotus, chap. xi. p. 335 and following.

CXLIX. "Οἷν ἐν λύκοις] *Like a sheep among the wolves.* Theras had probably experienced but little gratitude from his nephews, though he had brought them up with the greatest care, and had wisely governed the state during their minority. He did not choose to expose himself to the caprice of these young princes, and this motive weighed with him perhaps more than his ambition in founding a colony. The fears which he entertained for himself, he felt also for his son. He apprehended that the desire of possessing the share of the conquered territories which had fallen to him, might induce these princes to put him to death. And this appears to me to be the meaning of the expression which Herodotus puts into the mouth of Theras.

Τίσι δὲ τοῖς] *A similar circumstance, &c.* I read with M. Valckenaer, οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἐμαίον τὰ τέκνα ἰδρύσθην, κ. τ. λ. instead of οὐ γὰρ ἐπείμουν τὰ τέκνα. A little further on, I read also καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ ἐμαίον. And afterwards, with M. Reiske,<sup>b</sup> τοῦτο τοῖτο συνέβη καὶ ἐν ᾧ] . . .

CL. Γένος Εὐφημέδου] *Of the race of Euphemus.* In all the editions, and in most of the Mss., there is 'Euthymedes' or 'Euthy-

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Laconic. lib. iii. cap. i. pp. 204, 205.

<sup>b</sup> Miscellanea Lipsiensia nova, Vol. viii. p. 111.

mides; that is to say, of the race of Euthymes. Notwithstanding these authorities, I have thought proper to substitute 'Euphemides,' that is, of the race of Euphemus.

1. In no catalogue of the Argonauts do we find the name of Euthymes, whereas there is that of Euphemus.

2. This Euphemus was, according to the scholiast of Pindar,<sup>a</sup> of the town of Tunnarus, at which place he reigned, and son of Neptune and Europa, daughter of Tityus. But the same scholiast writes in another place,<sup>b</sup> that he was the son of Neptune and Merionice, daughter of the Eurotas; which shows that the grandees of former times, like those of our own, mixed up a considerable proportion of fable with their genealogies, by way of rendering them more respectable. He married Laonoe,<sup>c</sup> daughter of Alcmena, and sister of Hercules, from whom Battus, founder of Cyrene, was descended in the seventeenth generation. Pindar himself informs us of this in the 15th verse of the 4th Pythic Ode, on which line the scholiast also may be consulted. The same scholiast says, that Euphemus had<sup>d</sup> a son by a Lemnian woman, whose posterity having been obliged to quit Lemnos, went to Lacedæmon, and thence to the island of Caliste, otherwise called Thera. When Pindar praises the posterity of Bacchus, he calls them 'the race of Euphemus.'

Edward Simson,<sup>e</sup> who discovered that the text was corrupt, has corrected it in his Chronology. He has been followed by Paulmier de Grentemesnil, and the late President Boublier.<sup>f</sup>

Τὸν Μινυῶν.] *Of the Minyæ.* This Battus<sup>g</sup> was not a descendant of Minyas; but Minyas having given his name to certain people of Thessaly, who followed Jason in search of the golden fleece, all the Argonauts were called by that name. Jason himself was descended from Minyas, by his mother Alcimedæ. Herodotus, therefore, means to say merely, that he was one of the Argonauts.

Βαπὺς ἀειπρόσβας.] *How'd down by the weight of years.* This is the true signification of the words βαπὺς ἀειπρόσβας: 'too heavy to be able to rise;' 'pressed down by the weight of years.' The Latin translators, who have rendered it 'gravis ad molendum,' do not appear to me to have hit the true meaning of the author.

CLI. Προέειπε . . . ἀνομιῶν.] *Reproached them with not having*

<sup>a</sup> Schol. Pindari ad Pyth. Od. iv. vers. 77. p. 217. col. 2. lin. penultim.

<sup>b</sup> Id. Schol. ad vers. 39. p. 214. col. 2. lin. 4. ante Enem. et ad vers. 16. p. 213.

<sup>c</sup> Id. Schol. ad Pyth. Od. iv. vers. 15. p. 213. col. 1.

<sup>d</sup> I think we should read the twenty-first generation. See note to § cxlii.

<sup>e</sup> Schol. Pindari ad Pyth. Od. iv. vers.

455. p. 243. col. 2.

<sup>f</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>g</sup> Chronicon Histor. Cathol. complectens ad annum 3389. p. 567.

<sup>h</sup> Recherches et Dissertations sur Hérodote, chap. xii. p. 135.

<sup>i</sup> Palmyreni Exercitaz. ad optimas Auctores Græcos, p. 23.

sent. I had translated, 'proposed to them to send;' but the Pytho-ness had already made to them that proposal. She here reproaches them with not having fulfilled her commands. Hesychius explains Πρόφερε, in the Iliad, Book III. verse 64, by Ὀρειδίζε. This note was communicated to me by the learned Coray.

CLII. Τὸ δὲ ἐμπόριον τοῦτο ἦν ἀκῆσαντες τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον] *As this port had not, up to that time, been frequented.* This seems to contradict what our historian had advanced, Book I. § CLXIII., that the Phocians were the first who made Tartessus known to the Greeks. But if we examine more closely, we shall find that Herodotus is in perfect accordance with himself. The Samians having first discovered Tartessus, did not communicate their discovery to the rest of the Greeks, but kept to themselves the commerce of that city. The Phocians having become acquainted with it nearly a century afterwards, more generous than the Samians, communicated their good fortune to the Greeks at large.

Ἑλλήνων πάντων, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἀπασίνην ἴδμεν] *Than any Greek whom we know.* In the Greek ἴσμεν; but I suspect that we should read ἴδμεν. Gregory, archbishop of Corinth, in his treatise on the Dialects, says, the Ionians change the sigma to delta, τὸ σ εἰς δ ᾤκονοι. He then gives this example of it. In all other places in Herodotus we find ἴδμεν; which gives us reason to suspect that ἴσμεν is an error of the copyists. M. Borheck, in his edition, reads with me.

Πρόσπαστοι] *One opposite to the other.* Οἱ πρόσπαστοι εἰσι. See πρόσπαστος in the Ionian Lexicon of Æmiliius Portus.

CLIV. Ἀναγνώσθεις ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικὶς] *Persuaded by this woman.* All the versions, as well in Latin as those in modern languages, interpret ἀναγνώσθεις by 'deceptus,' deceived. But this word signifies 'persuaded,' as has been clearly explained by Suidas,\* who cites this very passage of Herodotus. Thomas Magister also remarks,† that in our historian, ἀναγνώσκω signifies 'I persuade.' Εἰρηται δὲ παρ' Ἡροδότῃ ἀναγνώσκω τὸ ἀναπείθω. It is a term peculiar to the Ionians, as the Archbishop of Corinth† informs us.

Ἥ μὲν οἱ διηγορήσεν] *To lend him his assistance.* So in the Greek text. We must necessarily read ἥ μὲν, which is the form commonly used by Herodotus, when he would affirm any thing with an oath, and μὴ μὲν when he denies. The Ionians, according to the Archbishop of Corinth,‡ employ μὲν for μὴν. Suidas contends\* that ἥ μὲν is preferable to ἥ μὲν: but he is certainly in error. Herodotus always uses ἥ μὲν, and Homer frequently. This reading is supported,

\* Under the word ἀναγνώσθεις.

† Under the word ἀναγνώσκω.

‡ Gregorius de Dialectis, p. 239.

\* Ibid. p. 223.

† Suidas, voc. ἥ μὲν, Vol. ii. p. 58.

moreover, by a Ms. of Dr. Askew's, and by the Mss. A and B in the Royal Library.

CLV. Πολύμνηστος] *Polymnestes*. Polymnestes, a man of distinction in the island of Thera, married Phronima, daughter of Etearchus, king of the city of Oaxus, in the island of Crete. Pindar speaks of him in his 4th Pythia Ode, verse 104.

Mention is made of a certain Polymnestes of Colophon in Plutarch's *Treatise of Music*, who, according to this same Plutarch, is spoken of by Pindar.<sup>a</sup> M. Burette, who has translated this treatise into French, and who has accompanied his translation with excellent notes, remarks, that in the works of Pindar, Polymnestes of Thera, father of Battus, is alone alluded to, and he proceeds to say, "Plutarch is mistaken, unless we suppose<sup>c</sup> that in some work of Pindar's which has not reached us, but which existed in Plutarch's time, that poet has spoken of another Polymnestes."

Nothing can be more just than this observation of M. Burette; I cannot therefore conceive what could induce M. Schneider to say, "Respiciebat hunc locum Pindari Plutarch. de Musica, ubi ridiculum errorem Buretti meritis mireris." M. Burette has made no mistake at all; and even if he had, it could not be a ridiculous one, as he supposes that such a passage of Pindar might be found in some work of that poet not now extant. The only fault that can with any justice be found with him, is, his not being acquainted with the fragment which we find in Strabo, Book XIV. p. 952. C; but this is very excusable. M. Burette had no intention, as M. Schneider had, of collecting the scattered fragments of Pindar. If he had made it his business to seek for all those passages of different authors, to which Plutarch alludes in his *Treatise on Music*, that single treatise would have furnished occupation for his whole life. And what advantage would have been procured to the public? Not the slightest; whilst they would have been deprived of several excellent memoirs, for which they would have been compensated only by the frivolous discovery of a passage conveying no information.

Ἰσχνόφωνος καὶ τραυλός] *Who stammered and lisped*. Ἰσχνόφωνος is usually translated 'sono vocis gracili,' who has a shrill voice. But this was not the defect of Battus. Aristotle gives a very exact definition of this defect, as well as of the following: 'ἡ μὲν οὖν τραυλότης, τῷ γράμματός τινος μὴ ἀρετεῖν, καὶ οὐ τοῦ τυχόντος . . . ἡ δὲ

<sup>a</sup> Plutarch. de Musica, p. 1132. C.

<sup>b</sup> Id. ibid. p. 1133. A.

<sup>c</sup> Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom. x. p. 228.

<sup>d</sup> Schneider ad Pindar. Fragm. p. 89.

<sup>e</sup> Aristot. Problem. sect. xi. § xxx. p. 740. B.

<sup>f</sup> Ex conjectura Sylburgii; antea legabatur, τοῦτο οὐ τὸ τυχόν.

ἰσχοφονία, ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι ταχὺ συνάψαι τὴν ἑτέραν συλλαβὴν πρὸς τὴν ἑτέραν. 'The τραυλοτης consists in the inability to pronounce a certain letter, and not the first that occurs . . . The ἰσχοφονία is the inability to join one syllable rapidly to another.' Budæus, in his Commentaries on the Greek language,<sup>4</sup> expresses an opinion that we should write ἰσχοφονία and ἰσχοφῶνος, because Cicero calls this defect 'hæstantia linguæ.' This correction is authorised by the Glossary of St. Germain-des-Près, in which we read Ἡρόδοτος ἰσχοφῶνον.

\* Ἄλλο τι] *Another name.* His true name was Aristotle, according<sup>5</sup> to Callimachus and his scholiast. See also the scholiast of Pindar, on the 4th of the Pythic Odes, p. 211. col. 1. Book xxviii.

Ἀπὸ τῆς τιμῆς] *To his dignity.* Βάττος signifies 'king' with the Libyans. See Hesychius on that word.

CLVI. Συνεφέρετο παλικοῦτος] *Many misfortunes befel him.* Herodotus gives us no further information, and leaves us to conjecture what these misfortunes were; but Menæces supplies this deficiency. "There were commotions in the isle of Thera," says he, "and the citizens were divided into two factions. Battus having placed himself at the head of one of these factions, had the worst in an encounter, and was obliged to quit his country. As he had lost all hope of returning to it, he resolved to establish himself elsewhere, together with those who had accompanied him in his flight. Having repaired to Delphi, he questioned the god whether he should fight to obtain readmission into his own country, or whether he should seek an establishment elsewhere. The god answered him: 'Battus, the first measure is bad, the second is good. Go, quit a country surrounded by water; the continent is better. Renounce the east, where your first home was. Obey my orders, and inhabit the terra-firma, according to the will of the gods. Have a care of undertaking an unjust voyage, by returning to your country; and remember that as a man's works are, so will be his success.'"

A sufficient number of errors, most probably those of copyists, have crept into this oracle, to make it perfectly unintelligible. I have not only adopted the corrections of the President Bouhier,<sup>6</sup> but have also copied his translation. M. Heyne<sup>7</sup> has inserted in a note one of the corrections of the President, but has made no use of the others; and consequently the oracle remains as obscure in his edition as it was before.

<sup>4</sup> Commentarii Lingue Græcæ, p. 345.

<sup>5</sup> Callimach. Hymn. in Apoll. vers. 76.

See also the Remarks of Spanheim.

<sup>6</sup> Scholiast. Pindari ad Pyth. iv. vers. 10. p. 212. col. 2. hæ. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Recherches et Dissertat. sur Hérodote, chap. xiii. p. 136.

<sup>8</sup> Pindari ex Editione Heynii 1708, Vol. ii. p. 246.



CLVII. Ἀγαμέ σοφίην σε] *I admire your cleverness.* The Greek has, "If having never been in Libya, you are better acquainted with the country than I, who have been there, I greatly admire your cleverness." MM. Wesseling and Valckenaer have properly changed *ἀστυ*, which gave no meaning, to *αἶστυ*. Gronovius had found the same reading in his Ms., but he gives it a ridiculous interpretation. In a Ms. of the Royal Library, we find *αἶρε*. *Αἶ* is a Dorism, signifying 'if.'

Ἀζίρις] *Aziris.* I have restored this name upon the authority of several well-informed persons. Herein I have but followed Wesseling, to whose note the reader may refer, and also to what the President Bouchier\* has written on the subject.

CLVIII. Καὶ . . . ἵνα διεξιόντες . . . μὴ] *And for fear lest in passing.* The faulty punctuation of most of the editions has occasioned many absurd translations. The Libyans, jealous, to all appearance, on seeing the Greeks established at Aziris, and not daring to attempt to expel them by force, promised to conduct them to a finer country. It is contrary to all probability that they should voluntarily surrender to strangers the finest province of Libya. That province was called Irasa. Now in the following paragraph we find, that the Cyrenians went forth from the city of Cyrene to meet the troops of Apries, and that they gave them battle at a place called Irasa. Irasa, therefore, cannot be the province to which the Libyans conducted the Greeks to found a city there. We must punctuate, then, with the Ms. A in the Royal Library: ἤγον δὲ σφραγίσαντες οἱ Αἰθίορες ἀναστήσαντες πρὸς δασύρην\* καὶ τὸν κάλλιστον τῶν χώρων ἵνα διεξιόντες οἱ Ἕλληνες μὴ ἴδωιεν, συμμετρησάμενοι τὴν ὥρην τῆς ἡμέρας, νεκρὸς παρεξῆγον. This punctuation obviates all difficulties, and I have therefore followed it. M. Borheck had no doubt met with it in some Ms., as he adopts it in his edition.

Κρήνην] *A fountain.* This is probably the fountain of Cyre,<sup>†</sup> from which the city of Cyrene took its name, as is remarked by Eustathius on Dionysius Periegetes, p. 38. col. l. line 13; but we must read in this passage *ἐνὶ Κυρῆς*, after Callimachus.

It may, however, be the same fountain which Herodotus, in the following paragraph, calls Thestis. If the fountain of Thestis flowed near Irasa, it might also water Cyrenica. And though this country was well watered, it may still happen that Cyre and Thestis were two different names for the same rivulet; that Thestis was the Libyan, and Cyre the Greek name. M. Hennicke\* accuses me of

\* Recherches et Dissertat. sur Hérodote, pp. 127, 128.

† Callimach. Hymn. in Apoll. vers. 69.

\* Jo. Frid. Hennicke Geograph. Afri-cæ, Herodot. p. 16.

having confounded these two fountains. But I have not confounded them; I have merely expressed a doubt, and this doubt appears to me to be authorised by the way in which Herodotus has expressed himself. Perhaps I did not explain myself with sufficient clearness in my first edition: still I suggested the doubt, which appears to me still to exist.

Ἐρθαῦρα γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς τέτρηται] *The heaven there is open.* In the Greek, 'here the sky is pierced:' but as this expression would not have been understood, I have thought it better to paraphrase it. Eustathius\* has interpreted the passage as I have done, and so has the President Boubier.†

M. Valckenaer, in his note, has proposed another conjecture.

CLIX. Ἐνὶ μὲν νῦν Βάρτεω . . . τῆς Ζώνης] *Under Battus.* The Greek has, 'during the life.' Ζώνη is an Ionism for Ζώνη. Gronovius, who very often does great injustice to Laurentius Valla, ought to have corrected his version, and not have suffered the name of a city that never existed to stand there. M. Bellanger perceived the mistake of Gronovius. The President Boubier has also noticed it in his *Recherches sur Hérodote*, p. 139; and Paul Leopard, more than a century before them,‡ had observed that Ζώνη was not the name of a town.

CLX. Τοῖσι ἐντοῦ ἀδελφεοῖσι] *With his brothers.* They were named Perseus, Zacynthus, Aristomedon, and Lycus.‡

Δόλη] *Stratagem.* According to Plutarch,§ Learchus was the friend and not the brother of Arcestilus, whose death he caused by administering poison to him, which brought on a consumptive disorder. He afterwards wished to marry Eryxo his widow. This discreet and chaste princess testified no repugnance, but, desirous of avenging her husband, told her criminal suitor he had only to obtain the consent of her brothers. Her brothers purposely delaying to give him an answer, Eryxo sent to him to say, that if he would come and meet her, she would grant him her favours, and that after that her brothers could not oppose her marriage. Learchus accordingly came, unattended by his guards. Eryxo had introduced into her bed, in her place, Polyarchus her eldest brother, accompanied by two young men armed with swords, who put Learchus to death as soon as he appeared.

CLXI. Μαντινέης] *Of Mantinea.* The Mantineans had the reputation of possessing excellent laws.‡ This man of Mantinea, whom

\* Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. vers. 213. p. 38. col. 1. et ad Hom. II. p. 742. lin. 22.

† Recherches et Dissertat. sur Hérodote, p. 138.

‡ Pauli Leopardi Emendat. lib. iii. cap.

xi. p. 55.

§ Stephanus Byzant. voc. Βάρτεω.

• Plutarch. de Virtutibus Mulierum, p. 260. D, E, F; 261. A, B.

‡ Elian. Var. Hist. lib. ii. cap. xii. p. 124.

Herodotus omits to name, was Demonax, \* who had become celebrated for his prudence and his love of justice. He had no sooner reached Cyrene than the reins of government were confided to him. He made use of this authority to establish peace and union amongst the different towns.

CLXII. Βάττυ τεμέρεα ἐξέλων] *Certain portions of land were set apart for Battus.* Τέμερος was a portion of land dedicated to the gods, and which served for the support of the altars or the maintenance of the priests. We always find the word used in this sense, and especially in the Iliad. But similar portions were also sometimes assigned to princes and persons who had distinguished themselves, and which were designated by the same name. "The Lycians gave to Bellerophon a portion † of land, (οἱ Λύκιοι τέμερος τόμον.) They have with justice reserved for her (Minerva) the citadels, as a symbol of her birth: they have chosen the strongest places for the goddess who governs all things, as they have set apart portions of land for the kings and the generals." \*Ταῖς δὲ ἀεροπόκεις ἐξέλων αὐτῇ δικαίως ἄμα μὲν σύμβολον τῆς γενέσεως ἄμα δὲ ὥσπερ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καὶ ἡγεμόσι τεμένη καὶ χώρους ἐξαιροῦσι, οὕτω τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡγησαμένη θεῇ τὰ ἐπικαιρότατα ἐξέλων.

CLXIII. Τέσσερας Βάττους, καὶ Ἀρκεσίλειος τέσσερας] *For four Battuses and four Arcesilauses.* The dynasty of Battus reigned at Cyrene two hundred years, according to the scholiast of Pindar on the 1st Pythic Ode. The eight generations spoken of by the Pythoness are as follows:

	Julian Period.	B. C.
Battus I. surnamed Οἰκιστὴρ, that is to say, the founder, began to reign, according to Eusebius,		
in . . . . .	4083	631
Arcesilaus I. . . . .	4123	591
Battus II. surnamed 'the fortunate,' . . . . .	4139	575
Arcesilaus II. surnamed Χαλεπός, 'the difficult,' or 'the bad' . . . . .	4160	554
Battus III. surnamed Καλός, 'the lame' . . . . .	4170	544
Arcesilaus III. . . . .	4185	529
Battus IV. surnamed Καλός, or 'the handsome' . . . . .	4196	518
Arcesilaus IV. . . . .	4250	464
Who was killed . . . . .	4282	432

Battus, the son of this last-named prince, wished to ascend the

\* Excerpta Valeriana ex Diodor. Sic. p. 234.

\* Aristid. Orat. in Minerv. p. 70. in avernâ parte, lin. 15.

\* Homer. Iliad. lib. vi. vers. 194.

throne; but the Cyreneans having driven him away, he retired to the country of the Hesperides, where he ended his days.

I have borrowed these dates from chap. xii. of the *Dissertations on Herodotus* by the President Bouhier. But we must not believe with that learned writer that Battus I. was only the seventeenth descendant from Euphemus the Argonaut. I know that he relies on the authority of a passage from the scholiast of Pindar; but that passage is certainly corrupt. Supposing that Battus, who founded Cyrene in the year 4083 of the Julian period, was thirty years old in 4075, which is the year in which, together with the Thereans, he founded the island of Platœa, he must have been born in the year 4045 of the Julian period. The expedition of the Argonauts having taken place in the year 3364, and the birth of Battus in the year 4045, it follows that between the birth of Euphemus, the first ascertained ancestor of Battus, and that of Battus, there was a period of 711 years, which makes a little more than twenty-one generations, instead of seventeen, as the scholiast of Pindar would have it.

CLXIV. 'Ἡ Πυθὴν οὐκ ἔα] *Which had forbidden him.* 'Ἡ Πυθὴν οὐκ ἔα. 'The Pythoness forbids.' M. Valckenaer must have forgotten this passage, and several others, when he observed that οὐκ ἔα was never found in this sense in Herodotus. See Book ii. § xxx. note 5. I have some recollection, however, that this critic has somewhere retracted this assertion.

CLXVI. Δαρπῖος . . . νόμισμα ἐκὺψατο] *Darius had caused money to be struck.* These pieces of gold were called Darics. The Daric was worth 20 drachmæ, and the drachma 18 sous of our money. The Daric was therefore worth 20 francs (16s. 8d.). Harpocration, Suidas, and the scholiast of Aristophanes,\* contend that this coin did not derive its name from Darius, the father of Xerxes, but from another king of the same name. But Herodotus appears to me an authority preferable to these three grammarians. M. Venema justifies them, as we learn from M. Wesseling's note, and endeavours to reconcile them with Herodotus, by supposing that Darius the Mede had first coined Darics in Media, and that Darius, son of Hytaspes, had after his example first coined them in Persia. But what proof does he bring of this? We shall do better to conclude with M. Wesseling,<sup>†</sup> that the authority of these three grammarians is not of sufficient weight to counterbalance that of our historian. As this prince had employed the purest gold in the manufacture of this money, the expression of the 'gold of Darius,' became usual to signify gold of exceeding fineness. See Plotarch. in Pactolo, p. 1152. A.

\* Schol. Aristoph. ad *Comionatrics*,  
vert. 500.

† Wesselingii *Observat.* Var. lib. ii.  
cap. xxi.

Ἀρυανδικόν] *Aryandics*. Hesychius calls this Aryandes 'Aroandes.' But this error is attributable to the copyists. Ἀροάνδικον νόμισμα, ᾧ χρῶνται Αἰγυπτίαι ἀπὸ Ἀροάνδου. We should read Ἀρυανδικόν and Ἀρυάνδου. M. Alberti might have adopted this without hesitation.

CLXVIII. Ψάλλον . . . χαλκῶν] *A ring of copper*. This custom is still in use amongst most of the African nations, as we find from the accounts of modern travellers. In the kingdom of Angola,\* the women wear below their knees bands of copper which reach to the calf of the leg.

Τοὺς φθειράς . . . ἀρτιδάειν] *If they are bitten by a louse*. This custom is so filthy and disgusting as to lead us to doubt it. But the most celebrated travellers assure us that "the filthiness" of the Hottentots exposes them to all kinds of vermin, and especially to lice, which are of an extraordinary size. But if they are devoured by them, they devour them in their turn; and if any one asks them how they can swallow so revolting a species of food, they plead the law of retaliation, and contend that there can be no harm in devouring animals who devour them."

Τῇ πόλει Πλευνός ἐστι] *Called Pleunos*. In the editions of Herodotus, the name of this port is written 'Pleunos.' But we find 'Plunos' in that of Valla, in the margin of that of Stephens, in one of the Royal Mss., and in those of Sancroft and of Vienna. Lycophron,† speaking of this city, calls it Plunos: (see the edition of that author by Meursius, and the same reprinted in the 5th vol. of the works of that writer.) M. Brunck also informs me that it is the reading of the editions of Aldus and of Oporinus. In that of Potter we find Πληροῦ; but that is a typographical error, which has occurred the more easily, as the ligature *lw* bears considerable resemblance to a lambda (λ), followed by an upslon (υ) and a nu (ν). The note of Tzetzes proves that we should read Plunos.

CLXIX. Τὸ σιλπίον ἀρχεται, ἀπὸ τούτου] *Begin to find the Silphium*. This would be the proper place for describing this plant; but it is scarcely possible to add any thing to the learned researches of the Abbé Belley, who, in a memoir upon an amethyst in the cabinet of the Duke of Orleans, has collected with his usual erudition and judgment all the information to be obtained on the subject from the ancients. This memoir, read at the public sitting on Martinmas-day, 1768, is to be found in Vol. xxxvi. of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles-Lettres, p. 18.

\* Histoire des Voyages, tom. v. p. 26.  
† Ibid. p. 132.

† Lycophron. Cammadr. vers. 149.



Arrian<sup>a</sup> observes, that sheep are particularly partial to the silphium; that they smell it a long way off, run towards it, eat the flower, uncover the root, and devour that. It is for this reason, adds he, that at Cyrene they keep the flocks of sheep from the places where the silphium grows, and surround the fields which contain it with very thick hedges, to render it impossible for them to approach it; for the Cyreneans hold this plant in great estimation.

Τὸ ὄστρον τῆς Σύρτις] *The mouth of the Syrtis.* This refers to the greater Syrtis, the mouth of which is not far distant from Barcé, and is much nearer to Egypt than the lesser one.

CLXX. Ἀσβύσιοι] *The Asbystæ.* I have stated in my Geographical Table, article ΑΛΛΥΣΤÆ, that these people were adjacent to the Ammonians; and I have done so on the authority of Nonnus, who, being of Panopolis, may be considered adequately informed on the subject. There is between them, however, an immense tract of country, the eastern part of the desert of Barcé, considerable mountains, the country of the Augilæ on the south-east, and still more to the south-east, the plain of Gegabib, which borders on the Oasis of Ammon.

CLXXII. Τὸ θέρος] *In summer.* "It is not probable," says Vossius,<sup>b</sup> "that these people gather their crop of dates in summer, as Herodotus says, since this fruit never ripens any where till autumn. But if we read ἀπὲρ τὸ θέρος, 'after summer,' the difficulty disappears."

The correction of Vossius appears to me superfluous. Our historian does not say that the Nasamones gathered the dates in summer; but that they set off at that season, without saying whether it was in the middle or at the end of it, to gather the dates in autumn. For ὄσπερ signifies not only the autumn, but also the fruits of autumn; and ὀσπεύουρες is the Ionian future participle of the verb ὀσπεῖν, which means, I gather the fruits of autumn.

Ἀνάβαινονσι ἐς Αὐγίλα χώραν] *Repair to a certain district called Augila.* In the text 'ascend,' &c. All places distant from the sea are on a gradual rise. Hence the expedition of Cyrus into Upper Asia, is called Ἀνάβασις.

I have spoken of Augila in my Geographical Table; but as that article had been already printed when Major Rennel's work reached me, I take this opportunity of making some additions which may supply my former omissions.

The western extremity of Augila is ten days' journey from the

<sup>a</sup> Arriani Exposit. Alex. lib. iii. § 211.  
p. 248.

<sup>b</sup> Annotat. in Scylacem, p. 53.

eastern extremity of the Garamantes. Hadjac Abdalla reckons it twenty-six days' journey of a caravan from Fezzan to Augila, probably from the western extremity of Fezzan, which is in the country of the Garamantes, to the commencement of Augila. The same writer reckons it twenty-seven days' journey from Augila to Cairo. The geographer of Nubia, Kiltisi, reckons it ten days' journey from Barcé in Cyrenaica to Augila. Proceeding from these data, Major Rennel<sup>a</sup> discusses with much perspicacity the respective distances of these places.

Herodotus adds that the Nasamones go into that country in autumn to gather dates. Mr. Rennel says,<sup>b</sup> that we learn from modern travellers that the people of the coast of Derna, a town of Cyrenaica, still go to gather the dates of Gegabib, which is five days' journey to the east of Augila.

Γυναῖκας δὲ πολλὰς ἔχειν ἕκαστος] *Each to have several wives.* After these words, M. Valckenaer suppresses ἐπικούρου αἰτίων τὴν μῆνιν ποιῆνται, 'they are common amongst them.' If, in fact, this were the custom, why should Herodotus mention as a peculiar circumstance, that on the night of the marriage, the bride grants her favours to every male guest? Herodotus alluded only to the singular custom of the Massagetæ,<sup>c</sup> of having intercourse with their wives in public after affixing their quivers to their chariots.

"I am persuaded," says M. Coray, "that we should retain these words, but reading ἐπὶ κοινῷ, instead of ἐπικούρου. They then signify the same thing as ποιῶντας τὴν μῆνιν ἐμφανέα καὶ ὅτε τὰ πρόβατα, as Herodotus has expressed himself, Book i. § CCIII.; and Book iii. § CI. 'they have commerce with their women publicly like the brute beasts.' These immoral customs obtained equally among the Tyrrhenians, as is observed by Athenæus, Book xii. chap. iii. p. 517. D, F. Κοινὰς ἐν ἄρχῃ τὰς γυναῖκας. . . ἀρραβισιάζουσι δὲ καὶ ποιῶνται τὰς συνουσίας, ὅτε μὲν ὁρῶντες ἀλλήλους, ὡς δὲ τὰ πολλὰ καλεῖσθαι περιβάλλοντες περὶ τὰς εἰρίδας. 'Amongst the Tyrrhenians, community of women is established by law . . . and when they have intercourse with them, sometimes they do it in the sight of one another, and sometimes they surround their beds with a screen or hardle.'"—CORAY.

Τρόπῳ παραληπτῇ τῇ καὶ Μασσαγέται] *Like the Massagetæ.* The Massagetæ publicly enjoy their women, after having fastened their quivers to their chariots. See Book i. § CCXVI.

This identity of custom between people so remote from each other as the Massagetæ, the Nasamones, and the Tyrrhenians, mentioned

<sup>a</sup> The Geographical System of Herodotus, pages 266 and following.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 412.

<sup>c</sup> Herodot. lib. i. § CCXVI.

in the preceding note, ought to caution us against inferring that nations have the same origin from their having similar customs. I wish to impress this observation upon those who contend that the Massagetae are Scythians.

*Ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων φοιτῶντες τὰ σήματα*] *They go to the tombs of their ancestors.* "Nasamonas" propria oracula apud parentum sepulchra mansitando captare, ut Heraclides scribit, vel Nymphodorus, vel Herodotus."

*Ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς . . . καὶ αἱρεῖς ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἑτέρου*] *Out of each other's hands.* "The ancient<sup>1</sup> custom of the Nasamones, of plighting their troth by drinking out of each other's hands, is at this time the only ceremony which the Algerines use in marriage."

*Ἐντὸς τῆς Σύρτιος*] *Within the Syrtis.* By which we are to understand the greater Syrtis. The territory of the Paylli extended from the country of the Nasamones to that of the Macæ; it was therefore bounded on the north by the greater Syrtis, which Herodotus means by being 'within the Syrtis.'

CLXXIII. *Ἐσπερεύοντο ἐπὶ τὸν νότον*] *Make war against the south wind.* Such a project would have been highly extravagant, and is not probable. Neither does Herodotus give credit to it. 'I repeat,' says he, 'the discourse of the Libyans.' Such is the form of expression invariably used by our historian when he relates a fable, or a history of doubtful character. There is every appearance that the Nasamones destroyed the Paylli with the view of taking possession of their territory, and that they circulated this fable amongst the neighbouring people. "Hæc<sup>2</sup> gens ipsa quidem propè internecione sublata est à Nasamonibus, qui nunc eas tenent sedes: genus tamen hominum ex his qui profugerant, aut cùm pugnatum est, absuerant, hodièque remanet in paucis."

It may have happened, however, as the Abbé Souchay<sup>3</sup> observes, that the Paylli having gone to seek water for themselves and their flocks at the river Cyniphus, an impetuous wind arose, which buried them all under the sand. But this writer is wrong in making Herodotus say, that the Paylli were indignant at finding their springs dried up. Their country had no springs, *χώρη σφί πάσα . . . ἦν ἀνέδρος*, but reservoirs or cisterns for the rain water, *ἀντρά τῶν ὑδάτων*.

The Paylli had the art<sup>4</sup> of charming serpents. This art did not perish with them, and in the sequel the name of 'Paylli' was given to

<sup>1</sup> Tertullian. de Anima, § lvii. p. 306.

<sup>2</sup> Shaw's Travels, p. 239. 2nd edit. 4to.

<sup>3</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. vii. cap. ii. Vol. i. p. 371. lin. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Mémoires de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, tom. vii. p. 276.

<sup>5</sup> Strab. lib. xvii. p. 1169. B. Ælian. de Natura Animal. lib. xvi. cap. xxviii. p. 901.

those jugglers who possessed it. Plutarch<sup>a</sup> gives this name to those whom Cato took with him when he traversed Libya. This secret was known likewise to the eastern nations. It is often mentioned in the Scriptures, and the learned Villoison has made some curious observations on it, in a memoir read to the Academy of Belles Lettres, but which has not been printed. This secret, however, was not infallible, as those who pretended to possess it were sometimes victims to the failure of it. It is to this that allusion is made in Ecclesiasticus chap. xii. verse 13: "Who pitieth the charmer whom the serpent hath bitten?"

CLXXIV. Γαράμαντες) *The Garamantes*. These people may be divided into the Nomadian or wandering Garamantes, and those who had fixed dwellings. It is the latter that are here alluded to. Herodotus, in § CLXXIII. speaks of those who were Nomadian. See the Geographical Table, Art. GARAMANTES.

CLXXV. Στρουθῶν προβλήματα] *Skins of ostriches*. This is not more surprising than the skins of cranes, which served the Ethiopians for bucklers.<sup>d</sup>

Herodotus calls the ostrich στρουθὸς κατάγαιος; Ælian<sup>e</sup> στρουθὸς χερσαῖος, and in another place,<sup>f</sup> στρουθὸς μεγάλη; and Aristotle,<sup>g</sup> στρουθὸς λιβυκός. The Athenians called it simply στρουθός. Hezychius<sup>h</sup> says, στρουθός ὁ καταφερός καὶ λάγνος. Ἀπτικοὶ δὲ τὰς στρουθοκαμήλους. This is confirmed by Aristophanes, who, in his comedy of the Aves, verse 874, says

Καὶ στρουθῶ, Μεγάλη  
Μητρὶ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων·

and in that of the Acharnenses, verse 1105,

Καλὸν γε καὶ λευκὸν τὸ τῆς στρουθοῦ πτερόν.

Eustathius,<sup>i</sup> on the Odyssey of Homer, says, that the poets knew another sort of στρουθοὶ (sparrows), not that small kind, but another quite large, as the words 'great strouthoi' convey, and with which the comic poet (Aristophanes) was acquainted. But Eustathius is mistaken in asserting that Aristophanes calls the ostrich μέγας στρουθός; on reference to the verse of the Aves, above quoted, we shall find that μεγάλη relates to Μητρὶ. They were also called 'strouthoi of Libya,'

<sup>a</sup> Plutarch, in Catone Minore, p. 787.  
A.

<sup>b</sup> Herodot. lib. vii. § lxx.

<sup>c</sup> Ælian. de Nat. Animal. lib. xiv. cap.

xiii. p. 782.

<sup>d</sup> Id. ibid. lib. ii. cap. xxvii. p. 99.

<sup>e</sup> Aristot. de Partibus Animal. lib. iv. cap. xiv. p. 1046.

<sup>f</sup> Hezychius, voc. στρουθός.

<sup>g</sup> Eustath. ad Odyss. A. p. 1411. lin. 11.

11.

or simply 'strouthoi.' This bird<sup>a</sup> copulates like the camel, because it is similarly formed. On the conformation of the latter, see our historian, Book III. § CIII.

CLXXVII. Τοῦ λωτοῦ] *Of the lotus.* Polybius,<sup>b</sup> who had seen the lotus, thus describes it, in the 12th Book of his History. "The lotus is a tree which does not grow high. It is rough and thorny; its leaf is green, and resembles that of the rhamnus; but it is somewhat larger and thicker. At first the fruit resembles, both in size and colour, the berry of the myrtle, which is white; but as it grows, its colour becomes red, and of the size of a round olive. Its kernel is very small; it is gathered when ripe . . . In taste, it resembles the fig and the date; but its smell is much more pleasant. By steeping it in water, and afterwards pressing it, a very agreeable wine is produced, much like the sweet wine. It is drunk without water. It will not keep more than ten days; and very little is therefore made at a time, as occasion requires." This description agrees, in general, with that given by Theophrastus. See his History of Plants, lib. IV. p. 46, verso.

Sherard's 'Specimen of the Garden,' preserved at Oxford, thus speaks of it: "It is the seedra of the Arabs. It resembles the buckthorn, and its flowers are like those of the zizyphus or jujube-tree; but its fruit is sweeter, rounder, smaller, and of the size of the sloe. The kernel it encloses is not larger than that of the zizyphus. The fruit of the seedra grows here and there on the branches, like gooseberries; whereas the jujubes grow on little twigs of a foot long, which the branches every year put forth near their extremities. The zizyphus rises to the height of twenty feet or more; its stem is proportionably large, and full of crevices; its branches twisted and full of knots towards their extremities; its leaves oblong and tolerably large. The seedra, on the contrary, rarely rises higher than three or four cubits; its root usually puts forth several little white and straight stems all at once, whose leaves are small, round, and rough. This shrub grows naturally throughout the kingdom of Tunis, but principally in the country called Jereed, which was formerly part of the territory of the Lotophagi."

The reader will not perhaps be displeased to see Dr. Shaw's account of it.<sup>c</sup>

"After the palm, we are to describe the lotus, whose fruit is frequently mentioned in history; the Lotophagi also, a considerable people of Sahara and the adjacent deserts, received their name from the eating of it. Herodotus informs us, that the fruit was sweet like

<sup>a</sup> Oppim. de Venet. lib. iii. vers. 500. p. 351. D, E, F.

501.

<sup>c</sup> Shaw's Travels, p. 143. 2nd edit. 4to.

<sup>b</sup> Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. xiv. cap. xviii. 1757.



the date; Pliny, that it was of the bigness of the bean, and of a saffron colour; and Theophrastus, that it grew thick like the fruit of the myrtle-tree. From which circumstances, the 'lotus arbor' of the ancients appears to be the same plant with the seedra of the Arabs. This shrub, which is very common in the Jereede and other parts of Barbary, has the leaves, prickles, flower, and fruit of the zizyphus or jujube; only with this difference, that the fruit is here round, smaller and more luscious; at the same time the branches, like those of the paliurus, are neither so much jointed nor crooked. This fruit is still in great repute, tastes something like gingerbread, and is sold in the markets all over the southern districts of these kingdoms. The Arabs call it 'Aneb enta el seedra,' or the jujube of the seedra."

Mr. Bruce\* contradicts the account of Dr. Shaw; but it seems that these travellers are speaking of different countries.

Mr. Park, who has lately traversed a part of the interior of Africa, confirms<sup>b</sup> what the historians and naturalists, both ancient and modern, have written on the lotus. "It is rather," says this enterprising traveller, "a thorny shrub than a tree. Its fruit is a farinaceous berry of the size of an olive, which is piled up, and dried in the sun, to make cakes, which are of an agreeable taste." See also Major Rennel, in the Geographical System of Herodotus, pp. 625 and following.

CLXXIX. 'H 'Αργὸς] *The ship Argo*. There are four different opinions amongst the ancients, as to the name of Argo given to this ship. The first is that of those writers who pretend, according to Diodorus Siculus,<sup>c</sup> that it took its name from Argus, who constructed it. The second is that of authors who affirm, according to the same historian,<sup>d</sup> that this name was given to it on account of its swift sailing, ἀργός amongst the Greeks signifying rapid.

Bochart<sup>e</sup> appears to me to be nearer the mark. "The Greeks," says this learned writer, "had learned the arts of navigation and ship-building from the Phœnicians who came with Cadmus into Boeotia. This people had two sorts of vessels, round ones, which were called 'Gauli,' and long ones, named 'Arca' or 'Arco.' The Greeks, according to their custom, changed the C into G, and made of it Argo. But in the sequel, forgetting this etymology, they invented, as is usual with them, a variety of fables, to account for this denomination."

Ἐν τοῖς βράχυσι γὰρτόθαι λίμνῃ τῇ Τρωϊδίῳ] *They found them-*

\* Travels to discover the source of the Nile, &c. Vol. i. Introd.

<sup>b</sup> Proceedings of the African Association to encourage the discovery of the inner parts of Africa, by Mr. Park, London, 1798, &c.

Her. No.

<sup>c</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. iv. § 44. Vol. i. p. 285.

<sup>d</sup> Id. ibid. p. 286.

<sup>e</sup> Bochart Geograph. Sacr. Pars posterior. sive Chanaan. lib. ii. cap. xi. pp. 738, 739.

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*arises in the shallows.* Apollonius Rhodius\* asserts, that it was on his return from the conquest of the Golden Fleece. It is very probable that there were various traditions as to the voyage of the Argonauts: perhaps, too, the poet, for the sake of embellishing his poem, has thought fit to connect this adventure with the return of the Argonauts, though it happened in a special voyage made by Jason to Delphi, for the purpose of consulting the oracle on the expedition which he meditated to Colchis.

*Διευκλῶν]* *The means of working out.* Διευκλῶν is here taken in its ordinary signification, for the action of a vessel in working out from any place, and passing between other objects, as between two other vessels, two shores, two points of a harbour, &c. It has the same signification in Book vii. § xxxv. : but we shall also find it, farther on, employed to describe the evolutions of ships of war. See Book vi. § xii. note 11. Διευκλῶν is also sometimes used in the former sense, and sometimes in the latter.

Apollonius Rhodius has made some variations from the account given by Herodotus. I shall not stop to point them out; but refer the curious reader to the 4th Book of his Argonautics, from verse 1551 to verse 1617.

[Cl. XXX. Ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸ κράνος ἀνιχθαι] *The buckler and the helmet came from Egypt.* Plato in his *Timæus*† makes the priests of Egypt hold nearly the same language.

[Τῆς Τριτωνίδος] *And of the nymph of the lake Tritonis.* In the Greek, only, ‘and of the lake Tritonis.’ This may read very well in that language, because the Greek terms are feminine; but as in French the words are masculine, the expression would be ridiculous. I have therefore substituted, the nymph who presided over the lake.

[Ποιήσασθαι θυγατέρα] *Adopted her for his daughter.* This adoption perhaps gave rise to the idea of that goddess having sprung forth ready armed from the brain of Jupiter. Though there were many traditions amongst the Greeks on this subject, it was generally allowed that Jupiter was her father. “Jupiter” had commerce with Metis. But she having told him that she should first bring forth a daughter, and afterwards a son who would rule the heavens, Jupiter devoured her. When the time for her parturition was arrived, Prometheus, or, as others say, Vulcan, split open the head of Jupiter with a hatchet. Minerva immediately sprang forth, ready armed, on the borders of the lake Tritonis.” In all the editions of Apollodorus, we find *μινυρεται δὲ Ζεὺς Θέτιδι*. I have no doubt, however, that we should read *Μήτιδι*, and I have translated accordingly. I have done

\* Apollon. Rhod. lib. iv. vers. 1232 et seq.

† Plat. Vol. iii. p. 24. B.

‡ Apollodor. lib. i. cap. iii. § vi. pp. 9, 10.

so, on the authority of Hesiod, who says the same thing.\* But as that poet might have adopted some other tradition, I rely more fully on a passage of the scholiast of Homer, which authorizes this conjecture: for, after relating the same fable as Apollodorus, he adds, ‘Ἀπολλόδοτος ἱστορεῖ, ‘Apollodorus relates it.’ Apollonius Rhodius has followed the same fable, when he says that ‘the heroines, protectresses of Libya, washed in the waters of Tritonis the goddess Minerva, when she sprang, ready armed, from the head of Jupiter.’ The scholiast of this poet says, on this passage, that Stesichorus is the first who advanced that Minerva came forth armed from the head of Jupiter. If we may rely on this scholiast, the 27th hymn, attributed to Homer, is not from the pen of that poet.

The error of Θέτις for Μηριότις has not escaped the sagacity of Heyne, who has inserted the correction into the text, and supports it by the same reasons. See his notes, p. 38. of his edition of Apollodorus.

CLXXXI. Ἀνακοντίζει ἐκ μέσων τοῦ ἁλὸς ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν καὶ γλυκὺ] *Springing up in the midst of the salt, a fresh and sweet water.* If this water springs up in the middle of the salt, it must melt the salt and become salt itself. It is very probable that the dew melts a part of this salt, which being afterwards evaporated by the heat of the sun, chrystallizes afresh. It is not at all surprising that habitations should be found around these springs of sweet water: there were streams of water in all these Oases, but they did not issue from the salt-hills.

Τογγάνει δὲ καὶ ἄλλο σφεῖ ὕδωρ κρηναῖον ἰόν] *Among other fountains they have one.* “Near the second temple of Jupiter Ammon,” says Diodorus Siculus, “is a fountain called the Fountain of the Sun, from what happens to it. Its water varies (in temperature) with the hour of the day, in a most wonderful manner. It is tepid at the beginning of the day, and gradually cools as the day advances.”

As this historian agrees perfectly with Herodotus, I shall copy no farther. See also Pliny, Hist. Nat. lib. ii. cap. iiii. p. 120. and Quint. Curt. lib. iv. cap. vii. p. 125.

Ζέει ἀμβολάδην] *It boils in large bubbles.* Ζέει ἀμβολάδην is explained by Suidas, καθ’ ὑπερβολήν, ‘excessively:’ it comes from ἀναβάλλειν, ‘in altum ejicere.’ Hence Xenophon, in his Cyropædia, Book vii. p. 190. C. (edition of the Louvre), ἀνίστη δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς πύργους ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμβολάδος γῆς. For so we must read, instead of ἀμφολάδος γῆς, which appears to me the less likely to be a typographical error, as it is repeated in the Oxford edition of 1703,

\* Hesiodi Theogon. vers. 885. et seq.

† Apollon. Rhod. lib. iv. vers. 1309.

‡ Schol. Homeri ad Iliad. lib. i. vers.

§ Diodor. Sic. lib. xvii. § 1. Vol. ii. p. 199.

lxx. p. 436. I have since ascertained, however, that it is a typographical error, as ἀμβολάδος γῆς appears in the edition of Castalio, and in that of Hutchinson, Oxford, 1727, 4to.

CLXXXIII. Γαράμαντες] *The Garamantes.* These are the wandering Garamantes. Herodotus had before spoken of those who had a fixed abode. See note to § CLXXIV., and the Geographical Table.

Ὀπισθοπόροι] *Who feed walking backwards.* Athenæus<sup>a</sup> says that Alexander of Myndus, in the 2d Book of his History of Beasts of burthen, has spoken of these oxen that feed walking backwards; but that what he says of them is not credible, and that no other historian has spoken of them. He did not remember this passage of Herodotus.

Pliny<sup>b</sup> relates, that in Scandinavia there is an animal called 'achlis,' whose upper lip is so large, that it is obliged to go backwards as it feeds, lest the lip should fold over. But in another place he says,<sup>c</sup> that oxen are the only animals that feed going backwards, and that they never feed otherwise in the country of the Garamantes. We cannot, however, conclude from this, that the achlis and the ox of the Garamantes are the same animal, as the former<sup>d</sup> can neither bend its knee nor lie down; whereas no such peculiarity is mentioned of the Garamantic ox. The only inference, therefore, is, that Pliny has contradicted himself.

Ἐσχατίζεσθαι καὶ τριψῆν] *More supple.* This the Latin translator has ill rendered, 'crassitudinem pellis atque duritiem.'

M. Wesseling has very well observed, that τριψῆς signifies 'attritus,' 'frictio,' and that it has never been employed in the sense of hardness. But what sense shall we give to 'frictio?' I imagine that τριψῆς is here used to signify the softness or suppleness which the skin of these oxen acquires when it is prepared. That a thin skin, such as that used in the manufacture of the Inspruck gloves, should be supple, is not at all wonderful; but that a very thick skin should acquire this suppleness, is more remarkable. Such is the skin of the elk, which, though more than a line in thickness, is extremely supple. Τριψῆς signifies rubbing. Now from rubbing to suppleness is not so very remote, as the one is commonly produced by the other.

CLXXXIV. Ἀράαντες] *Atarantes.* In the Greek, Atlantes; but it should seem from what Rhianus says, that we must read Atarantes. "Rhianus" speaks of the Atarantes; and beyond this people he

<sup>a</sup> Athen. lib. v. cap. xx. p. 221. E. F.

<sup>d</sup> Id. ibid. cap. xv. p. 442.

<sup>b</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. viii. cap. xv. Vol. i. p. 412.

<sup>c</sup> Eustach. ad Dionys. Perieg. vers. 66. p. 14. col. 1. lin. 11.

<sup>c</sup> Id. ibid. cap. xv. p. 471.

places the Atlantes, who are said to have no dreams." This people were ten days' journey distant from the Atlantes, and therefore cannot be the same. In the text of Eustathius, we have Arrian, instead of Rhianus; but I have followed the correction of Holstenius in his notes on Stephanus of Byzantium, under the word Ἀρλάρρες.

Nicolaus of Damascus<sup>a</sup> relates the same thing of the Apherantes. But we must certainly read Atarantes. See M. Valckenaer's note. M. Borheck has Atarantes in his edition.

Ἐστὶ δὲ ἐκάστη αἰρέτων οὐδὲν ἑτέρα] *Have no names by which to distinguish one another.* This seems particularly strange; and perhaps many readers may conceive it to be a fable, with which the credulity of the father of history was abused. Johannes Leo Africanus, however, in his description of Africa, says,<sup>d</sup> that there is in the kingdom of Bornou a people who profess neither the Jewish nor the Mahometan religion, who live like wild beasts, having their women and children in common, and that the individuals among them have no proper names. I am aware that Libya is very distant from the kingdom of Bornou; but both countries are in Africa; and if what Leo Africanus says of one be true, we may with the less scruple believe what Herodotus asserts of the other.

Ἄλλος κολῶνός ἄλς] *Another hill of salt.* Dr. Shaw,<sup>e</sup> who has been in this country, says that it abounds in salt: he speaks of the salt-mines of Arzen, which are six miles in circumference, of Jibel Had-Deffa, which is an entire mountain of salt, situated at the eastern extremity of the Lake of Marks, &c.

Οὔτε ἐνύπνια ἰσχύ] *That they have no dreams.* Pliny<sup>f</sup> has confounded the Atarantes with the Atlantes.

He attributes to one and the same people what Herodotus relates of two different people. Which proves that in his time there was an error in the Mss. of our historian.

Pomponius Mela<sup>g</sup> also asserts the same thing.

Charles Blunt, in his notes on chap. viii. of Book i. of the Life of Apollonius by Philostratus, says that they are the inhabitants of the Atlantic islands, though Herodotus has never named these islands.

CLXXXV. Τὰ δὲ οἰκία τοῖσιν αἰσὶ ἐκδομέαρα] *The houses of all these people are built.* Oerrha,<sup>h</sup> a city on the Persian gulf, inhabited by the exiled Chaldeans, was built of salt. The salt of the mountain Had-Deffa,<sup>i</sup> near the Lake of Marks, is hard and solid as a stone.

<sup>a</sup> Nicolaus Damascen. p. 521.

<sup>b</sup> Joan. Lecl. African. Africae Descriptio, lib. vii. p. 255.

<sup>c</sup> Shaw's Travels, pp. 147, 148.

<sup>d</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. v. cap. viii. Vol.

<sup>e</sup> p. 252.

<sup>f</sup> Mela, lib. i. cap. viii. § xxix. &c.

<sup>g</sup> Strab. lib. xvi. p. 1110. C.

<sup>h</sup> Shaw's Travels, pp. 147, 148.



Πορφύρεος τὸ εἶδος] *Of a purple colour.* Had-Deffa is an entire mountain of salt, situated at the eastern extremity of the Lake of Marks,<sup>a</sup> the lake Tritonis of the ancients. Its salt<sup>c</sup> is in every respect different from that of the salt-pits, being hard and solid as a stone, and of a red or purple colour; but the salt which the dew detaches from the mountain, changes its colour, and becomes as white as snow: it also loses the usual bitterness of rock-salt.

CLXXXVI. Βοῶν μὲν νῦν θηλῶν . . . παρῆσθαι] *To eat of the cow.* In M. Wesseling's edition we have δικαιεῖν παρῆσθαι, as well as in several Mss., and amongst others in those of the Royal Library: ἀπαρῆσθαι is supported by three Mss., and gives the same meaning. If παρῆσθαι is peculiar to the Ionians, Herodotus also uses ἀπαρῆσθαι, which embarrasses us in our choice. But as this perplexity concerns rather an editor than a translator, I shall not trouble myself further with it. See Book II. § XXXII. note 2.

We have seen, Book II. § XLII., the ceremonies practised at the festival of Isis: to this I will only add, that cakes and young fawns were offered to that goddess, as we find by an epigram in the Anthologia of Constantine Cephalas, which is as follows:

"Goddess clothed in linen, who rulest over the fertile soil of Egypt, honour our offerings with thy presence. This cake, this couple of geese, this spikenard, these wild figs, these grapes dried in the sun, this incense, are already on the pile. You have preserved Damis from the dangers of the sea; if you would also deliver him from poverty, he would offer you a fawn with gilded horns." I have translated this epigram according to the version given by Kuster on Suidas, under the word Κεγχρηταίη. It is found in the Anthologia of M. Reiske, p. 34; but he makes alterations in it which do not seem to me to be necessary. For example, he substitutes for Βῆθι, which gives a very intelligible meaning, Θῆθι, which is not even Greek. Brunck's *Analecta* had not appeared when I first wrote this note. I have since discovered that he is perfectly in accordance with me on this point.<sup>d</sup> See also M. Toup, *Epist. Crit.* p. 72. vel ex secunda editione, tom. II. p. 488.

CLXXXVII. Τὸ δὲ πρὸς δαυτέρῃ τῇς Τριτωνίδος λίμνῃ οὐκ ἐστὶ νομάδες εἰσὶ Λίβυες] *The people to the west of the lake Tritonis are not Nomadian.* Herodotus here speaks in a general way: for farther on, § CXCi. he reckons the Auses amongst the Nomadian people. Now it is certain that they are beyond the lake Tritonis, and the first people we meet with on the western border of that lake.

<sup>a</sup> Shaw's *Travels*, pp. 147, 148.

<sup>b</sup> Id. *ibid.*

<sup>c</sup> Id. *ibid.*

<sup>d</sup> *Analect. Vet. Poet. Græc.* Vol. II. p. 214. X.

Οἷον προβαρῶν] *Of wool which has not been scoured.* On the word οἷον, see Foesius Œconom. Hippocr. p. 449. Arctæus\* has used a periphrasis, ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς αἰῆς εἶναι τοὺς λόμους. And hence Peter the Little, in his Commentary, takes occasion to reproach the Ionians with using a loose and diffuse style, as though Herodotus and Hippocrates had not employed the proper word, and as if Arctæus, who lived in the fifth century, were to be considered as a model for style.

Ὡς μὴ σφας εἰς τὸν πάντα χρόνον καταρρέον φλέγμα ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς δηλῆται] *Prevents them from being incommoded by phlegm proceeding from the head.* "The Scythians<sup>b</sup> applied fire to their shoulders, their arms, the palms of their hands, their breasts, &c. on account of the moisture and softness of their temperament. . . . This operation dries up the superfluous moisture which is in the joints, and gives them a freer action. They become stronger, and their bodies receive more nourishment."

M. Wesseling remarks, after Scaliger, lib. vii. de Emendat. tempor. p. 682, that this custom still subsists amongst the Ethiopians, Christians, Mahometans, and Pagans. See also Job. Ludolph. Hist. Æthiop. lib. iii. cap. vi. No. 42.

Ἐξέπνται σφεῖς] *It is a specific remedy.* In the Greek only, 'they have devised this remedy.' This remedy is excellent; its volatile alkali produces the same effect as the hartshorn in use with us.

CLXXXVIII. Τῷ Ποσειδῶνι] *Neptune.* Neptune was a god originally of Libya, and the Greeks had taken him from the people of that country, as Herodotus informs us, Book ii. § l. The horse was consecrated to this god, and the mythologists assure us that it was first tamed by him. Ἰππων δαμνηρ is the epithet given by Homer<sup>c</sup> to this divinity. In Pindar, the title εὐίππος, 'famed for its horses,' with which that poet honours the city of Cyrene, is not an unmeaning epithet, as the scholiast remarks;<sup>d</sup> but is founded on the circumstance of Neptune having taught the Libyans to attach horses to a chariot. It is also said, continues the same scholiast, that Minerva Equestris was born in Libya, and that the art of managing horses was invented in that country. The mythologists say also, "that the earth, having imbibed the seminal liquor shed by this god whilst sleeping, produced the first horse, which was called 'Scyphius.'" It appears to me very probable, that the Phœniciana formerly landed in Africa, and were the first who tamed horses; that the savage inha-

\* Arctæ: Cappadocia de Morborum Curatione, lib. ii. cap. v. p. 131. C.

<sup>b</sup> Hippocrati, de Aëribus, Aquis, &c. p. 255.

<sup>c</sup> Homer. Hymn. in Neptunum, vers. 5.

<sup>d</sup> Schol. Pindar. ad Pyth. iv. vers. 2. p. 213. col. 2. lin. 15.

<sup>e</sup> Id. ibid. vers. 246. p. 229. col. 1. lin. 7.

bitants observing their power over an element so dreaded as the sea, and over an animal so proud and fiery as the horse, looked on them as divinities. And perhaps the Greeks have intended, under the cloak of their fables, to convey this very idea.

CLXXXIX. Αἰγέας ψιλᾶς] *Goat-skins*. This is not at all surprising. Hippocrates remarks, speaking of the Libyans of the interior, "that" they sleep upon the skins of goats, and eat the flesh of that animal. They have no covering, nor clothes," adds he, "nor shoes, but what are of the same skin; for they have no other cattle than goats and oxen." Apollonius Rhodius, a very exact observer of costume, thus describes the three Libyan heroines who appeared to Jason: "Whilst I was<sup>a</sup> plunged in affliction, three goddesses appeared to me: they were clothed in goat-skins, which from their necks hung over their backs and loins."

Αἰγίδας] *Their shields*. From αἶξ αἰγός, a goat, the Greeks have made Αἰγίς αἰγίδος, both a goat's skin and the *Ægis* of Minerva.

Ἡ ὀλοεγγὴ] *Piercing cries*. These cries were seldom uttered but in honour of Minerva, as is remarked by the scholiast of *Æschylus*.<sup>c</sup> Accordingly, Homer makes use of this expression, in describing the prayers offered by the Trojans to Minerva.

<sup>a</sup> Αἱ δ' ὀλοεγγὴ πᾶσαι Ἀθήνη χεῖρας ἀνέσχοι.

<sup>b</sup> They all stretched out their hands to Minerva, uttering loud cries.

It is in imitation of this poet, that Virgil, *Æneid*. iv. 168., has said, 'Summoque ulularunt vertice Nymphæ,' which does not mean howlings, as the Abbé Des Fontaines has ridiculously translated, but the chanting of the Epithalamium of Dido by her nymphs.

CXCI. Ἀρκτοί] *Bears*. Pliny<sup>a</sup> says that there are no bears in Africa, though he quotes the Annals of Rome, which attest, that under the consulate of Marcus Piso and Marcus Messala, Domitius Ænobarbus, in the course of his edileship, gave games, in which were exhibited a hundred Numidian bears.

Justus Lipsius contends that they were lions that appeared in the games of Domitius Ænobarbus, and that this animal must be understood even by the 'Libystis Ursa' of Virgil. "When any thing extraordinary was brought to Rome," says he, "the people, astonished at the novelty, called it, not by its proper name, but by the first that occurred to them, and which was usually suggested by some

<sup>a</sup> Hippocr. de Morb. Sacr. Vol. ii. p. 226.

<sup>b</sup> Apoll. Rhod. lib. iv. vers. 1347.

<sup>c</sup> Schol. Æsch. ad Septem contra Thebas, vers. 274.

<sup>d</sup> *Iliad*. lib. vi. vers. 201.

<sup>e</sup> *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. viii. cap. xxi.* Vol. i. p. 461. lin. 5.

<sup>f</sup> *Elect. lib. ii. cap. iv.*

object found within their own territory. . . . The first time that they saw lions, they did not call them lions, but bears, because that name was more familiar to them." The Abbé Des Fontaines renders 'Libystis ursa' by panther.

Granting to Justus Lipsius that, at a time when bears were well known and lions very little so, lions should have been called the bears of Africa, how can we suppose that they were so called, when they became as well known as bears themselves? It is true, that the Romans called the elephant 'bos luca,' and the ostrich 'passer marinus;' but it is from themselves that we learn this. Let a single Latin author be quoted who calls lions, bears. Pliny, in the chapter in question, speaks of bears; and if he mentions it as a remarkable circumstance that Domitius Ænobarbus should have exhibited to the people a hundred bears, it is because they were bears of Africa; and had it not been for that peculiarity, in all probability he would not have mentioned it. Virgil, in a hundred places, names the lion; we cannot therefore suppose that, when he says a bear, he means the same animal.

There are many other authors who, with Herodotus, think that bears have been found in Africa; but see Salmasius.\* Dr. Shaw also † mentions the bear amongst the animals indigenous to Africa.

[Ὅροι οἱ τὰ κέρα ἔχοντες] *Asses with horns.* Aristotle speaks of asses with one horn: this refers to the ass of India. But as he speaks of it only on the authority of others, it is probable that he has borrowed his account from the History of India by Ctesias. See that work, § xxv., with my notes. This ass of Ctesias appears to me fabulous, and that of Herodotus no less so.

[Οἱ κυνοκέφαλοι, καὶ οἱ ἀκέφαλοι] *The Cynocephali and the Acephali.* All these fables are not to be imputed to Herodotus. He merely reports what the Libyans said, as he himself remarks, and by no means guaranties the truth of it. These Cynocephali, whom the Africans conceived to be men with dogs' heads, were a species of ape, ‡ stronger and more ferocious than the common ape. They were brought to Alexandria § from Ethiopia and the country of the Troglodytes. See the History of India, by Ctesias, § xx., with my notes, in which I defend St. Augustine from the reproach of having believed the existence of the Cynocephali.

On the subject of the Acephali, M. De Pauw ¶ has taken occasion to turn into ridicule St. Augustine, one of the most learned fathers

\* Plinianæ Exercitationes in Solini Po- p. 783.  
lyhist. p. 220. col. 2.

† Shaw's Travels, p. 177.

‡ Aristot. Hist. Animal, lib. ii. cap. viii.

§ Agatharch. de Rubro Mari, p. 50.

¶ Recherches Philosophiques sur les Américains, Vol. i. p. 152.

of the church. This saint is made to say, in a sermon\* addressed to the brethren in the desert, "Ecce ego jam Episcopus Hipponensis eram, et cum quibusdam servis Christi ad Æthiopiam perrexi ut eis sanctum Christi Evangelium prædicarem, et vidimus ibi multos homines ac mulieres capita non habentes, sed oculos grossos in pectore, cætera membra equalia habentes."

On this, M. De Pauw says in a note, that Lupus contended this sermon was not the composition of St. Augustine. "But," adds he, "do we not find an infinite number of passages which prove that he was but too capable of writing the discourse in question?"

Let M. De Pauw produce but one such passage; I will require no more; and to do this I challenge him. Cardinal Baronius is of the same opinion with Lupus, and thus expresses himself in his *Annalia Ecclesiastica*, anno 482: "Illorum sermonum nonnisi impostor dicendus, cum multorum mendaciorum sanctissimum ac docussimum virum constituerit assertorem."

But perhaps M. De Pauw may answer, that Baronius, being a cardinal, may have an interest in defending St. Augustine; let us hear therefore what Erasmus, one of the most learned and discerning writers of the sixteenth century, says. In his preface to the works of St. Augustine, addressed to Fonseca, archbishop of Toledo, he thus expresses himself: "In omnibus quæ illi falso sunt inscripta, nihil insulsius, aut impudentius Sermonibus ad Eremitas, in quibus nec verba, nec sententiæ, nec pectus, nec umquidquam est Augustino dignum." And the same, in his 3d Book, de Ratione Concionandi, has, "Omnia barbariem crepant, exceptis eis quæ ex aliis auctoribus assuta sunt."

M. De Pauw, truly, has shown himself very sagacious in contradicting Lupus! Had Cardinal Baronius no reason to stigmatize as an impostor the author of these sermons? In fact, none but the most impudent liar could make St. Augustine say that he had preached the gospel in Ethiopia, whilst it is notorious that he never set foot in that country. What good could have resulted from his preaching? How could he have made himself understood by the people of that country, who knew no language but their own, whilst St. Augustine spoke only Latin? He was not even acquainted with the Punic language, which was that of his country. A proof of this is found in his 242d letter, which in the Benedictine edition is the 84th: in this he writes to the Bishop Novatius, that he should wish to retain with him the Deacon Lucilius, because he was skilled in the Punic language. Had

\* S. August. Sermon. 227vii. ad Fratres in Eremo, Vol. vi. p. 345. ex edit. Paris.



he been himself acquainted with that tongue, the removal of Lucilius would not have distressed him.

But here is something more positive. St. Augustine, after having made, in his '*Civitas Dei*,' the enumeration of men who have but one eye in the middle of their forehead—of others who have no mouth, and live by respiration through the nose—of the *Sciapodes*, who are so called, because in summer they shelter themselves from the heat of the sun under the shadow of their feet, who have feet without legs, and without any knee-joint, and who yet run with surprising swiftness—of men who have no heads, and whose eyes are placed in their shoulders: after having made this enumeration, the illustrious father of the church adds: "These we see represented in mosaic in the square of the port of Carthage. Then what shall we say," continues he, "of the *Cynocephali*, whose heads and barking show that they are rather beasts than men? But we are not obliged to believe that such beings ever existed."—"Et cætera hominum, vel quasi hominum genera, quæ in maritimâ plateâ Carthaginis musivo picta sunt . . . Quid dicam de *Cynocephalis*, quorum capita canina atque ipse latratus magis bestias quam homines confitetur? Sed omnia genera hominum quæ dicuntur esse, credere non est necesse."

Had St. Augustine himself seen this kind of men, would he have thus expressed himself? The sermon, therefore, which M. De Pauw attributes to him, is the work of an impostor, as Lupus, Cardinal Baronius, and Erasmus assure us.

The *Acephali* were called also *Blemmyes*. "*Blemmyia*<sup>4</sup> traduntur capita abesse, ore et oculis pectore affixis." The Emperor Probus conquered them, and transported some of them to Rome, by which the Romans were very much astonished; but Flavius Vopiscus, who relates this fact, does not say what excited their astonishment. "*Blemmyas*<sup>5</sup> etiam subegit, quorum captivos Romam transmisit, qui mirabilem sui visum, stupente populo Romano, præbuerunt."

Mr. Bryant decomposes this word *Acephali*, which is purely Greek, and makes it come 'from the Egyptian AC-Caph-El, which he interprets 'the sacred rock of the sun.' The same author also pretends, with as little reason, that the *Cynocephali* come from *Cahen-Caph-El*, to which he gives the same signification, and which he affirms to be a royal seminary in Upper Egypt, from which were taken the priests who occupied the temples and colleges throughout Egypt. This appears to me much learning used to little purpose.

<sup>4</sup> S. Auguat. de *Civit. Dei*, lib. xvi. cap. viii. p. 122

<sup>5</sup> Plin. *Hist. Nat.* lib. v. cap. viii. Vol. i. p. 202. l. 19.

<sup>4</sup> *Hist. Auguat. Scriptores*, Vol. ii. p. 667.

<sup>5</sup> A New System, or an Analysis of Ancient Mythology, p. 340.

*Ἀκαράψευστα*] *Who really exist.* This is put in opposition to the Cynocephali and Acephali, of whom he had spoken, and in whose existence he did not believe. If Montfaucon\* and M. D'Orville† had paid attention to this, they would doubtless have preferred the reading *ἀκαράψευστα*, adopted by Gronovius. One scruple, however, yet remains. I suspect that, the words not being separated from each other in several of the Mss., a negligent copyist may have joined the final letter of *Θηρία* to *κατάψευστα*. If this conjecture be well founded, we should translate, 'and other ferocious animals, of which they relate fables,' or, 'which have no existence.'

"You translate, 'who really exist,' after the reading *ἀκαράψευστα*, which is found in some Mss. But this reading appears to me erroneous; it may lead us, however, to the true one, *ἀκαράψανστα*, 'which cannot be touched' (with the hand, as one touches the animals called *χειροθήρα*; see Herodotus, Book i. § LXIX.), 'which cannot be approached;' which Sophocles has expressed, in *Trachin.* 1093. *λέοντ' ἀπλάτον θρέμμα*; and Pindar, *Pyth.* xii. verse 16. *ἀπλάτοις ὄφιν κεφαλαῖς*. Hesychius explains *ἄφανστον* by *ἀπροσέλαστον*. But what confirms me in the idea that *ἀκαράψανστα* is correct, is a passage of Strabo, Book v. p. 329. B. *προσμυθεύουσι δὲ ὡς εἰκὸς τὸ ἐν τοῖς ἄλσσι τοῖσις ἡμεροῦσθαι τὰ θηρία . . . προσιόντων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ καταψυόντων ἀνέχεσθαι*. It appears even, that when animals are in question, the word *ψαύειν* is more frequently used than *ἄπτειν*. Moschus, *Idyll.* ii. verse 90.

Πᾶσσι δ' ἔρως γένετ' ἐγγὺς ἵκισθαι  
Ψαῦσαι θ' ἡμεροῖο βοός."

M. Coray's correction, *ἀκαράψανστα*, is not a mere conjecture; it is a reading found by Don Montfaucon in the Royal Mss. (see *Palaographia Græc.* p. 343.), and which I recollect to have seen myself in these same Mss. M. Coray supports this reading by stronger proofs than had been adduced by any preceding critics; and these proofs, I confess, have somewhat unsettled my opinion. They would perhaps have had the same effect on M. Wesseling, had he been apprised of them. I do not however think that the reading *ἀκαράψευστα*, which is that of the editions of Aldus, of Stephens, of Thomas Gale, of Gronovius, and of Wesseling, can be wrong; and I have given my reason for it in the beginning of this note. If, however, the preference should be given to *ἀκαράψανστα*, we must translate, 'and many other ferocious beasts which cannot be tamed.'

\* *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres*, Vol. xii. p. 170.

† *Animadversion.* in *Charitonem*, pp. 241, 242.

*Θηρία* very often signifies venomous animals, and especially serpents. Hence *θηριόδηκος* is said, in a hundred passages of Dioscorides, of a man who is bitten by a serpent. St. Luke, in the Acts of the Apostles, chap. xxviii. verse 4, terms the viper which bit St. Paul in the island of Malta, *θηρίον*. *Θηριακά* are remedies applied to cure the bite of serpents. I have nevertheless translated 'ferocious animals,' because Herodotus not having before spoken of serpents, he could not well say *καὶ ἄλλα πλῆθει θηρία*, 'and a multitude of other serpents.'

CXCH. Πύγαργοι] *Pygargi*. Aristotle\* reckons the pygargus amongst the birds of prey; it is a species of eagle. But as Herodotus is here speaking only of quadrupeds, it is most likely an animal of that description. Pliny† also mentions it, in a chapter which relates only to quadrupeds. "Sunt et damæ, et pygargi, et strepsicevotes, multaque alia haud dissimilia." Hardouin makes it a species of roebuck. This appears to be confirmed by the place assigned to it in the Scriptures: "cervum et capream, tragelaphum, pygargum." Dr. Shaw thinks,‡ with Bochart, that it is the 'addax' or 'adduce' of Pliny, and the 'Idmee' of the Africans.

The *zorcas* appears to be the same animal as the *δάρκος* of Oppian, which is our roebuck. Zor, says Hexychius, is the *δάρκος*. Oppian gives a description of the *δάρκος*,§ which may be consulted. But see the translation of Aristotle's History of Animals, by M. Camus, Vol. II. art. CHEVREUIL (Roebuck), p. 212.

Βουβάλις] *Bubalis*. The bubalis seems to be the feminine of the bubalos, which is described by Oppian.¶ Buffon\* thinks, after Aldrovandinus, that this is the animal which we call the Barbary cow. M. Belin de Ballu argues, in his notes on this verse of Oppian, p. 291, that it is not the Barbary cow, because the horns of the bubalis are composed of several branches, like those of the stag. He infers this from the term *ἀκρέμονες*, by which Oppian designates them. But the poet so calls them, because they are two in number; for *ἀκρόμων* in the singular number signifies but one branch.

Ὀρξες] *The oryxes*. Pliny asserts that this animal has but one horn, "unicorne et bisulcum oryx." But Oppian, who had seen it, says the contrary. Aristotle‡ classes the oryx amongst the animals which have but one horn; but this philosopher spoke, probably,

\* Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. vi. cap. vi. p. 864. C, lib. ix. cap. xxxii. p. 937. D.

† Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. viii. cap. liii. Vol. I. p. 482. lin. 4.

‡ Deuteronomy, chap. xiv. verse 5.

§ Shaw's Travels, p. 171.

¶ Oppian. Cyngetic. lib. ii. vers. 315.

§ Id. ibid. vers. 300.

\* Histoire Naturelle, tom. xi. p. 297.

† Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xi. cap. xlii. Vol. I. p. 640.

‡ Oppian. Cyngetic. lib. ii. vers. 450.

§ Aristot. de Partibus Animal. lib. iii. cap. ii. p. 1001. B.

only from the report of others. Bochart\* did not think that the oryx was the same with the antelope (gazelle). But in another place he expresses the opposite opinion, and on the authority of Damis, an Arabian author, asserts that it is the *Aram*, which is a kind of antelope. But amongst all the different species described by Buffon, it is difficult to fix on any one. The oryx of Oppian is a formidable animal; which leads me to doubt whether it can belong to the antelope species.

*Toloi polutēi*] (*Of the Cithara*. For thus I interpret *τοιοῖς πολυτέ*, with Salmasius† and Bochart,‡ who imagine that this name was given to the instrument, because the Greeks had the horns of the oryx from the Carthaginians, who were called *Pœni*. Athenæus§ reckons the *polutres* amongst the instruments of music; but he says only, “that the *Phœnix* is an instrument of music which takes its name from the Phœnicians, who were the inventors of it, as we learn from Ephorus and Scammon, in their respective works on Inventions.”

It has been advanced, note 2. to § XXIII. Book 1., that the Cithara was different from the Lyre; but no proof was given of it. A passage in the Republic of Plato renders this difference very perceptible. That philosopher thus expresses himself: ‘*Ἄρα δὲ σοί, ἢν δ’ ἐγὼ, καὶ κίθάρα λεγεται, καὶ κατὰ πόλιν χρησίμα.*’ ‘There remain to you, answered I, the lyre and the cithara, which are useful in the city.’ The following passage, from the Oratio of *Æschines* against *Timarchus*, is not less decisive: / ‘*Αὐτὸς εἶχεν ἐπιθῆς περὶ αὐτὸν κίθαρρδους ἢ κίθαριδας.*’ ‘He was accustomed to have always about him players on the cithara, or on the lyre;’ for *κίθαρις* is the lyre. *Julius Pollux*¶ enters into some details on the different parts of the cithara. As this instrument is very little known, I shall copy his description.

The superior extremities of the two sides forming the body of the instrument, were called *κέρατα*, the horns, because, as they bent outwards, they had the form of a bull’s horns. The inferior extremities, bending inwards, were called *ἄγκυραι*, the elbows. The parts comprised between these superior and inferior curvatures were called *πρῆξες*, the arms. These two sides were fixed to a hollow base, called *ἄχειρ*, ‘*vas quo sonus editur*,’ because this rendered the sound melodious. The extremities of these arms were joined at top and at bottom by cross-pieces, named *ἀλάμοι* and *δόρυκες*, because they had originally been made of reeds. The cross-pieces at top, called *ἐσγύς* and *ἐσγύριον*, was pierced with several holes, which received pegs,

\* Bochart. Hierozotic. pars 1. lib. iii. cap. xxvii. p. 946. lin. 29.

† Philonæ Exercit. in Solin. p. 137.

‡ Hierozotic. p. 946.

§ Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. xiv. cap. 12. p. 637. B.

¶ Plato de Republ. lib. iii. Vol. ii. p. 309. D.

‡ Æschin. contra Timarchum, p. 6. lin.

¶ Jul. Pollucis Onomast. lib. iv. cogan. 62.

κόλλωντες or κόλλαβοι, to which the cords were fastened. These cords were tightened by means of a key, χορδύρονον. Pollux calls the lower cross-piece ὑπολύριον, and Lucian\* μαγάδιον. But see the note of Hemsterhuis on this word of Lucian, from which I have borrowed the greater part of mine. I am only sorry that that learned critic should have applied it to the lyre. It had, doubtless, at the moment escaped him that the lyre was invented by Apollo, and the cithara by Mercury. Now in this Dialogue of Lucian, allusion is made only to the instrument invented by Mercury.

In consequence of this description, I ought to have translated πῆχερ, the arms; but the authority of Hesychius had greater weight with me. He says, under the word πῆχυς, κιθάρας δὲ πῆχυς, ὁ ἄγκων. 'The πῆχυς of the cithara is the elbow.' To this description of the cithara I may add, that it was struck with a small rod, πλῆκτρον. See Homer's Hymn to Mercury, 47th and following verses.

Philostratus† confounds the cithara with the lyre.

Βασσαρία] *Foxes*. Hesychius informs us, that the Cyreneans called the fox 'bassaris.' See his Lexicon, under the word Βασσαρίς.

M. Sonnini‡ says that there are no foxes in Africa. I am not at all disposed to dispute with this traveller what he has himself observed, but he must pardon me if I prefer the testimony of Herodotus and Prosper Alpinus. See note to § LXXIII. Book II.

Θῆες] *Thors*. Homer also speaks of the Thos. This animal appears to be the 'chacal,' which the English write 'jackall.' There was one in the Tower of London, when I was in England in 1752. It is of a somewhat darker colour than the fox, but about the same size. It yelps like that animal. The Arabs call it 'deebh' or 'chathal.' The English word jackall comes no doubt from this latter, and not because he is the lion's provider, as is the vulgar opinion in England. So little is he the provider for the lion, that if that animal§ comes upon him whilst he is devouring his prey, he flies immediately. "In the night," indeed, when all the beasts of the forest do move, these as well as others are prowling after their sustenance; and when the sun ariseth, and the lion getteth himself away to his den, both the black cat and the jackall have been often found gnawing such carcases as the lion is supposed to have fed upon the night before. This, and the promiscuous noise which I have heard the jackall make

\* Luciani Deor. Dialog. vii. pp. 322, 223.

† Philostrat. in Imaginib. lib. i. § 2. p. 777.

‡ Voyage dans la Haute et Basse Egypte, tom. i. p. 165.

§ Homer. Theod. lib. xi. vers. 481.

• Shaw's Travels, p. 170.



with the lion, are the only circumstances which I am acquainted with in favour of this opinion."

M. Camus admits, that there are some reasons for supposing the chacal to be the same with the thos; but yet he hesitates to adopt the opinion. His notions on this point may be seen under the article *Tyros*, in his translation of Aristotle's History of Animals, Vol. II. p. 805.

Στρουθοὶ καράγατοι] *Ostriches*. In the Greek, 'land strouthi.' This bird is called στρουθὸς μεγάλη, χαμαιπετής, Ἀραβικὸς, Λιβυκός, στρουθοκάμηλοι, for the purpose of distinguishing it from the sparrow, which is called simply στρουθός. The Latins also sometimes called it 'passer marinus,' because it was foreign to them, and came from countries beyond the sea. But I have before spoken of it, in a note on § CLXXV.

Υἱ ἄγριος] *Nor wild bear*. Aristotle is of the same opinion, which does not appear to M. Camus to be correct.<sup>a</sup> Dr. Shaw goes much further; and affirms<sup>b</sup> that "they are found in great numbers, that they are the chief prey and food of the lion, and have been sometimes known to defend themselves with so much bravery, that the victory has inclined to neither side: the carcasses of them both having been found lying one by the other, torn and mangled to pieces." This testimony of Dr. Shaw is confirmed by Mr. Bruce. We are however the less entitled to refuse credence to Herodotus, who asserts that Africa produces no such animal, as he is supported by Aristotle. For I do not think we ought to conclude with M. Camus,<sup>c</sup> that this philosopher borrowed his opinion from our historian, as if Africa were totally unknown to the Greeks. We must presume that since the time of Herodotus and Aristotle, wild bears have been carried thither.

Δίποδες] *Dipodas*. Which means, two-footed. There is every probability that this species of rat<sup>d</sup> is the jerboa of Shaw; it is not that the animal possesses only two feet, but that its fore legs are extremely short, and it usually stands upon its hinder ones.

M. Hennicke, in a note, (*Commentatio de Geographiâ Africæ Herodoteâ*, p. 17.) has quoted the passage from Dr. Shaw in English; but by the omission of a word has rendered it unintelligible. This omission does not occur in the original text, because the word is found in the preceding member of the sentence; but the learned German having thought proper to suppress that member, he ought to

<sup>a</sup> Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. viii. cap. xxviii. p. 910. li.

<sup>b</sup> Aristot. traduct par M. Camus, tom. ii. p. 741.

<sup>c</sup> Shaw's Travels, p. 178.

<sup>d</sup> Aristot. trad. par M. Camus, tom. ii. p. 741.

<sup>e</sup> Shaw's Travels, p. 176.

have supplied the word: 'the fore-feet of the Barbary jerboa are very short, and armed only with three toes.' It is this last word which he should have supplied from the commencement of the sentence, where we find, 'all the legs of the jird are nearly of the same length, with each of them five toes.' Sir J. Bruce has also given a description of it in his *Travels to the Sources of the Nile*, Vol. VII. p. 226, together with a plate which represents it to the life, and shows us at a glance how it came by the name of Dipode or Biped.

This traveller remarks that it is the rat, mentioned by Isaiah, (chap. LXVI. verse 17.) the eating of whose flesh was as strictly interdicted as the eating of pork. He observes that the Hebrew version terms it a rat, but that the Arabian version calls it jerboa. This is greatly in favour of his opinion; but I shall leave the point to be discussed by commentators on the sacred writings.

*Bovvot*] *Hills*. The Greek word signifies 'hills.' Was this animal so named because it delighted in elevated situations? Bochart\* changes this word to *Bovvōt*, which he derives from *Bovvōt*, which is a species of turnip, called in the Punic language 'zigar;' from 'zigar' has been made 'zegeri,' in the plural 'zegeries.' And he adds that this name has no doubt been given to the animal because it feeds on that plant. This conjecture appeared to me rather a happy one. M. Beckmann, in his notes on the Treatise attributed to Aristotle, de *Mirabilibus Auscultationibus*, (chap. XXVII. p. 62.) thinks, with M. Pallas, that it is the Cape rat. This rat, says M. Beckmann, digs itself a hole under ground, and in so doing, throws up the earth in the form of a hill. Hence the name *Bovvot*, which Bochart is wrong in changing to *Bovvōt*.

*Exvrtes*] *Hedge-hogs*. See the Treatise de *Mirabilibus Auscultationibus*, cap. XXVII. with M. Beckmann's note.

CXCV. *Αἰμυρῇ*] *A lake*. Achilles Tatius† describes, with his usual affectation, the method of drawing the gold from this lake.

*Ἐν Ζακύνθῳ ἐν Ἀλμυρῇ πύσσων*] *The pitch of a lake of Zacynthus*. Besides my Geographical Table, the reader may consult Spon, who observes, in the first volume of his *Travels*, p. 89, that there is in this island a fountain of pitch, which issues from the bowels of the earth with a beautiful clear water, and that the pitch from its weight remains at the bottom. This renders credible the assertion of Antigonus‡ after Eudoxus, that there are fish in this lake.

*Τῆς Πιερικῆς*] *Of Pieria*. This pitch was very highly esteemed. Didymus asserts§ that the ancients considered as the best that which came

\* Geograph. Sacr. lib. ii. cap. iii. col. Amor. lib. ii. p. 97.

714. lin. 12 et seq.

† Achill. Tat. Clitoph. et Leucippes

Her. No.

‡ Antigon. Hist. Mirab. cap. clix.

§ Geoponic. lib. vi. cap. v. p. 152.

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from mount Ida, and next to it that which was obtained from Pieria, a country of Macedonia. Pliny says also, "Asia" picem Idwam maximè probat, Græcia Piericam."

CXCVI. 'Ες τοὺς ἐρεῖν ἀπικνύσας καὶ ἐξέλυντας τὰ φορτία] *Whither they go to trade.* This method of trading is still practised in the same country. "However" it must be mentioned to the honour of the western Moors, that they still continue to carry on a trade with some barbarous nations, bordering upon the river Niger, without seeing the persons they trade with, or without having once broke through that original charter of commerce, which from time immemorial has been settled between them. The method is this. At a certain time of the year (in winter, if I am not mistaken,) they make this journey in a numerous caravan, carrying along with them coral and glass beads, bracelets of horn, knives, scissars, and such-like trinkets. When they arrive at the place appointed, which is on such a day of the moon, they find in the evening several different heaps of gold dust, lying at a small distance from each other, against which the Moors place so many of their trinkets as they judge will be taken in exchange for them. If the Nigritians, the next morning, approve of the bargain, they take up the trinkets, and leave the gold dust, or else make some deductions from the latter, &c. And in this manner transact their exchange without seeing each other, or without the least instance of dishonesty or perfidiousness on either side." Cada Mosto<sup>c</sup> relates also that the inhabitants of the kingdom of Melli exchange in a similar manner salt for gold.

CXCVIII. Ἰσοῦσα] *Saturate it.* (L'abreuver.) I read here *πιῶσα* with a Ms. of Dr. Askew's, and two of the Royal Library; a reading adopted by M. Wesseling. "Ὀμβροὶ πλέω are excessive rains, 'imbres nimios.'

Ἐνὶ τριπλόσια] *About three hundred for one.* "Even" some grains of the Murreanny wheat, which I brought with me to Oxford, and sowed in the physic garden, threw out each of them fifty (stalks). But Muzeratty, one of the late Kalafas or viceroys of the province of Hemsan, brought once with him to Algiers a root that yielded four-score; telling us that . . . . the Emir Hadge, or prince of the western pilgrims, sent once to the Bashaw of Cairo one that yielded six-score . . . . It likewise happens, that some of these stalks will likewise bear two ears; whilst each of these ears will as often shoot out into a number of lesser ones . . . ."

<sup>a</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xiv. cap. xx. Vol. tom. ii. p. 294.  
<sup>i</sup> p. 726. lin. 26. <sup>d</sup> Voyages de Shaw en Barbarie et au  
<sup>b</sup> Shaw's Travels, p. 239. Levant, tom. ii. pp. 285, 286.  
<sup>c</sup> Histoire des Voyages, liv. v. chap. ii.

CXCIX. Ὅρας] *Seasons*. I read *oras* with the Mss. of Florence, of Cardinal Passionei, and of Dr. Askew. We find this reading also in the Ms. A in the Royal Library. Stephens likewise was of opinion that this word should be substituted for *χώρας*.

Ὀπύῃ] *The harvest*. The Greek term indicates the time when the fruits approach maturity. See the learned note of Ruhken upon this word\* in the Lexicon of Timæus.

CC. Ἀνὴρ χαλκῆς] *An artificer in copper*. This proves that the art of constructing mines to effect the capture of fortified places is very ancient, and that that of countermining is no less so. This historical fact is valuable in the history of the art of attacking and defending places. Æneas has<sup>d</sup> done well to quote it. M. Wesseling in his notes cites the passage from that author with his corrections; to which I refer the reader.

CCI. Ταμώρες τὸ ὅρκιον] *Which they had sworn to observe*. Ταμώρες is taken absolutely for ταμώρες ὅρκια. See this latter expression in Book VII. § CXXXII. note 2.

CCII. Περίστειξε καὶ τοῦτοις τὸ τεῖχος] *Lined the wall with them*. Upon the word *περίστειξε*, see the 2d note to this Book.

CCIII. Διὸς Λυκαίου] *Lycæan Jupiter*. Lycaon<sup>e</sup> erected a temple to Jupiter in Parrhasia, and in honour of him instituted<sup>f</sup> certain games, which were called Lycæan, Λύκαια. No one<sup>g</sup> was permitted to enter this temple. Those who infringed this prohibition were stoned. Lycæan Jupiter being adored so near Cyrene, leads us to suppose that there must have been some Arcadians in that colony; and indeed we learn from Herodotus, (§ CLIX.) that there came thither Greeks from various countries. But I cannot venture to say, whether in giving to this hill the name of Jupiter, they erected a temple or an altar to that god, or observed the same customs which were practised in Arcadia.

The Greek expression is ἐπὶ Διὸς Λυκαίου ὄχθην. Gronovius and Wesseling have changed ὄχθην to ὄχθον, on the authority of several Mss., and because the ancient grammarians remark that the word ὄχθη is said of the borders of a river, and ὄχθος of a mountain. But the old editions, those of Aldus, Stephens, and Thomas Gale, have ὄχθην. As for the ancient grammarians, though their authority is of great weight, that of an approved author possesses still greater. And in Anacreon, Ode xx. versæ 2, I find—

Ἡ Ταντάλον ποτ' ἔστη  
Λίθος Φρυγῶν ἐν ὄχθαις.

\* Timæi Lexicon Vocabulæ Platonice, p. 140.

<sup>d</sup> Æneas Poliorcet. § xxvii. p. 1711.

<sup>e</sup> Scholiast, Euripidis in Orestem, versæ 1646.

<sup>f</sup> Pausan. Arcadic. sive lib. viii. cap. ii. p. 600. The Latins called these games Lupercales.

<sup>g</sup> Plutarch. Quæst. Græc. p. 300. A.

'The daughter of Tantalus (Niobe) was formerly changed into a stone on the Phrygian mountains.'

CCIII. *Θέβος ἐγένετο*] *Were nevertheless so much frightened.* The Greeks, by the term 'panic terror,' designated such fear as fell upon them without any assignable cause: and they gave to it this name, because,\* in the war of the Titans, Pan armed the allies with marine shells, the sound of which so frightened the Titans, that they took to flight. Plutarch relates† that the Fauns and Satyrs who inhabited the neighbourhood of Chemmis‡ were the first who gave notice of the death of Osiris, which spread terror over the country.

CCIV. *Οἱ τοι ὁ Περσέων στρατὸς ἀκατάρτω ἦλθε*] *This army of Persians penetrated no further.* Thus the Cyreneans and the Libyans to the east of Cyrenaica were not subjugated by the Persians. It was on the part of the latter an invasion, and not an established possession. In fact, the Persians kept a garrison§ at Marea, in order to secure Egypt against the incursions of the Libyans. Had Libya, together with Cyrenaica, been in the power of the Persians, their military station would most probably have been in the latter country. It is true that the Cyreneans and the Libyans sent¶ presents to Cambyses and to Darius,¶ or rather, perhaps, a tribute; but this step was the effect of fear, and was productive of no consequences.

*Τῶν Βαρκαίων*] *The Barcæi.* Before quitting the Barcæi, it may perhaps be as well to observe, that Kuhnus attributes to this people customs which appear to have been observed only by barbarous nations. Bochart§ perceived, that in the passage of § *Ælian* which he brings forward in proof, we should read *Baccaïoi*, the Vaccæi, who were a people of Spain.

CCV. *Τῆς Βάρρου*] *Wife of Battus.* Valla had translated 'Pheretimæ Batti filis;,' a gross error, which has escaped Gronovius. This Pheretima was the wife of Battus; see § CLXII. The late President Bouthier¶ was the first who corrected this error of the translators.

\* Eratosthenis Catasterismi, p. 10.

† Plutarch. de Isido et Osiride, p. 350.

D.

‡ For so we must read, and not *Xénis*.

§ Herodot. lib. ii. § xix.

¶ Id. lib. iii. § xiii.

¶ Id. lib. iii. § xci.

§ Bochart. Hierozoic. part. ii. lib. ii. cap. xxvii. p. 318.

¶ *Ælian*. Histor. Animal. lib. i. cap. xxii. p. 560.

¶ Recherches et Dissert. sur Hérodote, chap. xii. p. 146.



## NOTES ON HERODOTUS.

### TERPSICHORE. BOOK V.

I. Περινθίους] *The Perinthians.* Perinthus, otherwise called Heraclea, is on the borders of the Propontis. See the Geographical Table, articles ΠΕΡΙΝΤΗΥΣ and ΗΕΛΛΕΣΠΟΝΤ.

Ἐκ προσλήσιός σφι ἐγένετο] *Challenged them.* In the Greek, ἐκ προσλήσιός σφι ἐγένετο. I cannot conjecture why the more recent editors have deviated from the reading of the Ms. A in the Royal Library, and that of Sancroft, with which the Ms. of Laurentius Valla appears likewise to concur, ἐκ προσλήσιός σφιν ἐγένετο. It is an Ionism for σφίσι. Gregory, archbishop of Corinth, confirms it by a verse of Homer: \*Τὸ σφίσι, he says, σφιν λέγουσιν. "Ομηρος"

\*Οἱ σφιν εὐφρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν.

Ἐπαίμνιζον] *They sang the Pæon.* The Pæon, or Pæan, was a hymn, of which there were two kinds. The first<sup>a</sup> was sung before battle, in honour of Mars; the second after a victory, in honour of Apollo. This hymn began with the words 'Io Pæan.' The allusion of Pæon, the name of this hymn, to the Pæonians is obvious; and it is to keep that allusion in view, that I have translated 'Pæon.'

III. Ἐθνος μέγιστον] *The most numerous nation.* Thucydides<sup>b</sup> reckons it next to the Scythians, and Pausanias next to the Celtes.<sup>c</sup>

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀμήχαρον] *This union is impracticable.* In the editions which preceded that of Gronovius, we read, ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἀπαρὸν σφὶ καὶ ἀμήχαρον μήποτε ἐγγένηται.

Gronovius, in deference to the Florentine Ms., has changed this reading, which afforded an excellent meaning, to ἐν γένηται, which gives none at all. Τοῦτο necessarily relates to the words, ἕν' ἐνὸς ἀρχοῦτο, ἢ φάσκει κατὰ τοῦτό. Consequently the ἐν of Gronovius is absurd.

<sup>a</sup> Gregorius de Dialectis, p. 223.

<sup>b</sup> Scholiast. Mss. apud Barnesium ad Homer. Iliad. lib. xiii. vers. 391; Schol. Thucyd. ad lib. i. § 1. et ad lib. iv. § xlii.

<sup>c</sup> Thucyd. lib. ii. § xcvi.

<sup>d</sup> Pausan. Attic. sive lib. i. cap. ix. p. 28.

1. Because it is tautological: 2. Because it can relate only to the last member of the sentence, *φρονέει κατὰ τωυτό*, whereas *τοῦτο* relates to the sentence generally. M. Wesseling has restored the former reading, which M. Valckenaer has perfectly well explained. "Sed . . . impossibile ne unquam contingat, nempe, τὸ ὑπ' ἐνὸς ἀρχεσθαι, ἢ φρονέειν κατὰ τωυτό." 'But it is impossible that that should ever happen, that is to say, that they should be governed by one prince, or that they should all agree together or be united.' This also is the reading of the Mss. A and D of the Royal Library; but in the Ms. B we read, *ἀν γένηται*.

*Τραυσῶν*] *The Trausi*. Hesychius<sup>a</sup> considers them to be a Scythian nation; and yet it should seem, by the particulars which he relates, that it is of the Trausi of our historian that he meant to speak. Stephanus of Byzantium says that they are the same people as the<sup>b</sup> *Agathyrsi*; but in this he is widely mistaken. The *Agathyrsi* are very remote from them. Herodotus, who has spoken very distinctly of the latter, would not have failed to make the remark, had the opinion any foundation in truth.

IV. *Τὸν μὲν γενόμενον*] *When a child is born amongst them*. We find the same thing in the following fragment<sup>c</sup> of the *Cresphontes* of Euripides, which has been preserved in whole or in part by *Æschines* the pupil of Socrates, in *Axiocho*, § x. p. 142; by Strabo, lib. xi. p. 790; Plutarch, de audiendis Poetis, p. 36. F; Stobæus, Serm. cxix. p. 603. Clement of Alexandria, *Stomat.* lib. iiii. p. 517.

Ἔδει γὰρ ἡμᾶς σύλλογον ποιούμενους  
 Τὸν φύντα θρηνεῖν εἰς ὅς' ἔρχεται κακὰ  
 Τὸν δ' αὖ θανόντα καὶ πόνων πεπαιγμένον,  
 Χαίροντας εὐφημοῦντας ἐπὶ τέμνειν δόμων.

Which is thus translated by Cicero: <sup>d</sup>

Nam nos decebat cœtus celebrantes, domum  
 Lugere, ubi esset aliquis in lucem editus,  
 Hæmæm vitæ varia reputantes mala:  
 At, qui labores mortis finimet graves,  
 Hunc omni amicos laude et lætitiâ cœsequ.

V. *Γυναῖκας πολλὰς*] *To several women*. The *Pæonians* had also several, as we shall see, § xvi.

*Σφάζεται*] *Immediately sacrifices her*. This custom was also observed<sup>e</sup> by the *Getæ*. In India, the women burn themselves with the dead bodies of their husbands, even to the present day. The custom

<sup>a</sup> Hesych. voc. *Τραῦσος*.

<sup>b</sup> Steph. Byzant. voc. *Τραυσεῖ*.

<sup>c</sup> Euripid. *Fragm.* Vol. iii. p. 607. c1

edit. Musgrav.

<sup>d</sup> Cicer. *Tuscul.* lib. i. § xlviii.

<sup>e</sup> Steph. Byzant. in *Γερία*.

is of great antiquity in that country. Diodorus Siculus\* speaks of it in reference to a chief of the Indians named Cetens, who perished in the year 316 before our era, in the battle between Antigonos and Eumenes. Propertius also alludes to this custom in the following verses :

Et certamen habent leti, quæ viva sequatur  
Conjugium ; pudor est non licuisse mori.  
Ardent victrices, et flammæ pectora præbent  
Imponuntque suis ora petusta viris.

"Mulieres" verò in Indiâ, cùm est cujusvis earum vir mortuus, in certamen judiciumque veniunt, quam plurimùm ille dilexerit. Plures enim singulis solent esse nuptæ. Quæ est victrix, ea læta, prosequentibus suis, unâ cum viro in rogum imponitur : illæ victæ, mæstæ discedunt."

Though Herodotus does not say that the Thracians, like the Getæ, believed in the immortality of the soul, we may nevertheless presume that they did so. For what other motive could have induced the women to make this voluntary sacrifice ?

VI. Ἀνέονται παρὰ τῶν γονέων χρημάτων μεγάλων] *Buy them from their parents at a high price.* I have spoken of this custom in my notes on Xenophon's *Retreat of the Ten Thousand*, lib. vii. Vol. ii. p. 200, note 25.

Τὸ μὲν ἐστὶ χάσι] *Stigmata.* If we may rely on Plutarch,<sup>4</sup> the Thracians in his time still imprinted stigmata on their women, to avenge Orpheus, whom they had put to death. Phanocles agrees with Plutarch in a poem on Orpheus, of which Stobæus has preserved to us a fragment.<sup>5</sup>

If this reason for their so doing be the true one, it is remarkable that what was originally a punishment, should in the sequel have become a mark of distinction and honour.

Ἀργὸν] *As idleness.* Ἀργός opposed to γῆς ἐργάτης, signifies a man who does not occupy himself in agricultural labour.

VII. Διόνυσος] *Bacchus.* The worship of Bacchus by the Thracians is affirmed by several authors, and amongst others by Euripides. Thus we find, in the play of *Rhesus*, attributed to that poet, that the prince having been killed by Ulysses, was carried into the caverns of Thrace, by the nymph who had given him birth : that from a man, which he had been, having become a god, he there delivered the oracles of Bacchus. In the *Hecuba* of the same author, Bacchus is called the diviner of the Thracians. The *Bacchic fury*,<sup>6</sup> and

\* Diodor. Sic. lib. xis. § xxviii. xxiv.

† Propert. lib. iii. Eleg. xiii. Al. xi. vers. 19.

‡ Cicer. *Tuscul. lib. v. § xvii.*

§ Plutarch. de *Serâ Num.* Vind. p. 557.

⁴ Stob. *Serm. clxxxv. p. 624.*

⁵ Euripid. in *Rheso*, vers. 972.

⁶ Id. in *Hecub.* vers. 1267.

⁷ Schol. Euripid. ad vers. *supplices* latio datam.

madness in general, observes the scholiast of Euripides, have considerable affinity with divination. Some\* fix the place where the oracle of Bacchus was given on mount Pangæus, others near mount Hæmus.

VIII. *Ἐπειτα δὲ θάπρουσι*] *They then perform the rites of sepulture.* *Θάπρω*, with the Greeks, 'sepelio' with the Latins, and thence 'sepultura,' are generic terms, and include all the various manners in which the last offices were performed to the dead. When it alludes to the customs of the Greeks or Romans, it usually signifies 'com-buro.' *Ἐπαυμένῃ παύσθησαν.* 'They were present whilst he was burned,' speaking of the body of Gracchus. *Πυρ* is often added, which determines the meaning; as Herodotus has said, *θάπρουσι κα-καίσαντες*. Clitarchus remarks† that the Magi consider it an impiety to burn dead bodies, *ἀνόσιον ἡγεῖσθαι πυρὶ θάπτειν*. Philostratus has used the same expression in speaking of the body of Ajax,‡ which was put into the ground, because Calchas taught that it was contrary to religion to burn those who had killed themselves. *Ἐθαψαν δὲ αὐτὸν καταθέμενοι δὲ ἐς τὴν γῆν τὸ σῶμα, ἐξηγουμένου Κάλχαντος, ὡς οὐχ ὅσιον πυρὶ θάπτεσθαι οἱ ἑαυτοὺς ἀποκτείναντες.* *Θάπρω* is said also with reference to water. Statyllius§ has said of a child, which had drowned itself in the Hebrus, *Ἐθαψεν ἔδωρ*, 'water afforded him a burial-place.'

The Hyrcanians caused the bodies of their dead to be devoured by dogs, and called that giving them sepulture.¶ "In Hyrcaniâ plebs publicos alit canes; optimates domesticos: nobile autem canum genus scimus illud esse. Sed pro sua quisque facultate parat, à quibus lanietur, eamque optimam illi censent esse sepulturam." Pliny has remarked that this expression is generic, and this is what he wishes to convey when he says,¶ "Sepultus verò intelligatur quoquo modo conditus: humatus verò humo contextus." Euripides also, wishing to indicate that the Argian women desired to bury the bodies of such of their countrymen as had fallen before Thebes, says, *Ἄψαι χθονί*. See Gisberti Cuperi Observ. lib. 1. cap. iv. p. 44 et seq.; Dorvill. ad Charitonem, pp. 73, 74; Hemsterhusium, ad Xenoph. Ephesium, Observat. Miscellan. Vol. v. p. 21; Marklandum, ad Supplic. Euripidis, vers. 935.

*Χῶμα δὲ χέαντες*] *They afterwards throw up a mound of earth.*

\* Schol. Euripid. ad vers. superius laudatum.

† Plutarch. in Gracch. p. 820. E.

‡ Diogen. Laert. Proöm. segm. 7. p. 8.

§ Philostr. Heroic. § iii. p. 721.

¶ Antholog. Græc. lib. iii. cap. xxii. p.

250; Analecta Vet. Poët. Græc. Vol. ii. p. 264. xii.

‡ Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. i. § xiv. p. 271.

§ Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. vii. cap. liv. Vol. i. p. 410.

¶ Euripid. Supplic. vers. 17.

On the burial-place of distinguished persons was thrown up a mound of earth brought thither for the purpose, as is admirably expressed by Virgil,\* “*Ingens adgeritur tumulo tellus*,” which the Abbé Desfontaines, who has rather disfigured than translated Virgil, has rendered thus: “*Nous lui (à Polydore) élevâmes un tombeau de gazon*,” ‘We raised to him a grassy tomb.’

*Karà λόγον*] *On account of the esteem in which they hold them.* I think this is the true meaning of *karà λόγον*. We know, that in Herodotus, *λόγος* frequently signifies ‘pretium,’ ‘æstimatio,’ ‘honor,’ ‘auctoritas,’ as is remarked by Æschylus Portus, in his *Ionian Lexicon*.

IX. *Ἐρετῶν*] *The Veneti.* Herodotus, for the sake of softness, calls them *Eneti*, which has been followed by the Latin translators. But I have considered it proper to conform to the usage of the Latins, who called these people ‘Veneti,’ because of the digamma, which the ancients commonly placed before vowels, and which was pronounced sometimes like the diphthong ‘ou,’ and sometimes like ‘v.’ Hence the origin of ‘u’ vowel, and ‘u’ consonant (or rather ‘v,’ as the Latins write it). The Æolians say, *Ἐῤῥῶξ*, *Φοῖκος*, *Φοῖρος*, for ‘*Ἀραξ*, *Οἶκος*, *Οἶρος*, whence the Latins have ‘*vicus*,’ ‘*vinum*.’ The digamma was peculiarly affected by the Æolians, who, not liking the aspirate sound, substituted this character for it. They often placed it in the middle of words: for example, *Δῖφοι*, *Ἀρχεῖφοι*, *Νᾶφοι*, whence the Latins have taken ‘*Divus*,’ ‘*Archivum*,’ ‘*Navis*,’ &c. See also Book i. § CLXV. note 2.

*Μῆδων ἀποικίαν*] *A colony of Medes.* Strabo says that this people for the most part followed the customs of the Persians, τ’ ἄλλα *Περσίζουσιν*.<sup>c</sup> Thus the people whom Herodotus calls Medes we might be led to consider as real Persians, from his practice of applying to one people the name of another, were not the sense of the passage determined by Diodorus Siculus. See the next note.

*Τίποτο δ’ ἂν πᾶν*] *Every thing is possible.* “When the Scythians conquered a part of Asia, they drove from it several tribes of people; amongst others, one of Assyrians, who removed to Asia Minor, and one of Medes, who passed towards the Tanaïs, and formed the nation of the Sauromatæ.” Might not a branch of these same Sauromatæ have spread themselves in the course of time to the borders of the Danube, and the Sigynnæ have descended from them? This is not at all inconsistent with probability. It would be hazardous however for us to attempt to decide on the origin of a people which was unknown

\* Virgil. *Æneid.* lib. iii. vers. 63.

<sup>c</sup> Strab. lib. x. l. p. 790. B.

<sup>d</sup> Dionys. Halicarn. *Antiq. Rom.* lib. i.

<sup>d</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. ii. § xlii. p. 155.

§ xx. p. 16.



to Herodotus, who lived so many ages nearer to the time than ourselves. This has nevertheless been done by all those authors who with a very slight tincture of Greek literature have undertaken to write on the subject of the ancient people of the north. These rash, not to say ridiculous opinions, begin to spread in this country (France); and should the taste for sound literature decline, I doubt not that such opinions will become prevalent, and that positive barbarism, which the evils of the times have begun to bring back upon us, will gain such head that it will become impossible to extirpate it.

Χρόνῳ] *With time.* In the Greek, these words follow: "the Lygii, who live above Marseilles, call the merchants 'Sigynnae,' and the Cyprians give the same name to javelins." This appears like the observation of some grammarian, which has crept from the margin into the text, and which, so far from having any relation to what Herodotus says, only confuses the meaning. MM. Wesseling and Valckenaer are of the same opinion. Valla in his Ms. had *Αἰβύες*, as is remarked by Wesseling and Valckenaer, as he has translated 'Pœni.' We find *Αἰβύες* likewise in the Ms. B of the Royal Library.

The Abbé Bellanger\* has corrected a misconstruction of Du Ryer; but he did not perceive that the sentence was altogether an interpolation, which is the more important point of the two.

X. Οὐκ εἶναι] *Which prevent.* Instead of *ὑπὲρ*, I read *ὑπὸ*, with M. Wesseling and the Ms. A of the Royal Library. M. Botheck adopts the same reading.

XII. Ἀνικερό ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν] *Went to the river.* † Nicolas of Damascus relates a similar story of Alyattes, king of Sardis. Whilst that prince was sitting without the walls of the city, he saw a Thracian woman pass with an urn on her head, a spindle and a distuff in her hand, and behind her a horse, which she held by the bridle. The astonished king asked her who she was, and of what country. She answered, of Mysia, a small province of Thrace. Whereupon this prince, by his ambassadors, entreated Cotys, king of Thrace, to send him a colony of that people, men, women, and children.

XIII. Περὶ πολιάνην] *With its cities.* Appian\* says, that the Pœonians have no towns or cities, but that they live either dispersed over the country or in villages. This does not, however, contradict what Herodotus has just said; because the Pœonians of Appian, as M. Wesseling very justly remarks, are not those of Herodotus. Those of Appian are the same with the Pannonians of the Latins. They inhabited the right bank of the Danube, from the frontier of Noricum

\* Essai de Critique sur les Traductions 494. 497.

† Herodote, p. 157.

\* Appian. de rebus Illyricis, Vol. i. p.

‡ Excerptis à Nicolao Damasceno, pp. 859. et edit. Schweighauser.

to the mouth of the Saave. They received the Draave at the point where it passes Noricum, and occupied the greater part of the course of the Saave.

XIV. Ἠγεμόνας] *Guides*. M. Bellanger has very ingeniously cleared up an error into which the previous translators had fallen. See the Critical Essays on the translations of Herodotus, p. 159. and also M. Valckenaer's note.

XVI. Ἐπὶ σταυρῶν ἐψηλῶν ἐν μέσῃ ἔστηκε τῇ λίμνῃ] *Upon very lofty piles driven into the bed of the lake*. This manner of constructing their huts reminds me that Teherknsk, the capital of the Don Cossacks, is built in the same manner, with this difference only, that the waters of the lake Prasias are still, whilst those of the Tanais are very rapid; which renders the construction of these habitations the more wonderful.

Τοῖσι δὲ ἰκκίσι παρέχουσι χόρτον ἰχθύς] *Instead of hay, they give their horses fish*. Athenæus\* speaks of a certain people of Thrace who fed their cattle on fish. He designates them, 'those who live near Mosyna of Thrace.' As no place of that name in Thrace is known, I suspect he means the same people mentioned by Herodotus, and that he gives to this town the name of Mosyna because of their wooden houses. I am of opinion that the Mosynæci, mentioned by Xenophon in the retreat of the Ten Thousand, as well as by our historian, were so named only from their wooden houses.

Thorm. Torffæus† asserts, in his History of Norway, that in the cold and maritime countries of Europe cattle are fed on fish.

Τοὺς καλέουσι πάπρας τε καὶ τίλους] *The one of which are called Papraces, and the other Tilones*. I do not think that any author has spoken of the paprax: at least it is wholly unknown to me. As for the tilo, I imagine it to be the same that Aristotle‡ calls 'tillo.' He classes it with the Ballenus, another fish of which I am equally ignorant. "The Ballenus," says that able naturalist, "and the Tillo, are subject§ to a worm which forms in their bodies during the dog-days, and so weakens them that they are obliged to rise to the surface of the water, when they perish from exposure to the heat."

But Aristotle says too little of this fish to enable us to recognise it.

XVII. Ἐκ τῆς Πρασιῦδος λίμνης] *From the lake Prasias*. It is the more difficult to determine the situation of the lake PRASIAS and that of the mount Dysorum, as Herodotus is, I believe, the only ancient author that speaks of them. Opposite to the isle of Thasos and to the north of it is the town of Datis.¶ It was afterwards called Cre-

\* Athen. lib. viii. cap. vii. p. 345.

§ p. 915 B.

† Hist. Norv. Part. i. lib. ii. 24.

¶ Appian. Bell. Civil. lib. iv. p. 1040.

‡ Anstot. Hist. Animal. lib. viii. cap.

ides, and Philip having taken possession of it, it was named, after him, Philippi. There were upon the hill of Bacchus, near this town,<sup>a</sup> mines of gold, which yielded very abundantly; and to the south-west of it is a lake or marsh, which we must conclude to be the lake Prasias. The mount Dysorum is probably a branch of Pangæus, or else some insulated hill, of which there are many in that country; and it may perhaps be situated near the plain of Syleum. M. D'Anville thinks, but without mentioning any authority for his conjecture, that the lake Bolbe and the lake Prasias are one.

XVIII. *Διαξίνορες*] *Drank one against the other.* I have endeavoured by this phrase to express the force of the word *διαξίνορες*. See M. Valckenner's note.

*Ἀλγυδίας σφι ὀφθαλμῶν*] *The torment of their eyes.* Longinus<sup>b</sup> censures this expression, and most of the critics concur with him. The passages from those authors which have been cited in justification of it, are by no means parallel. Dr. Pearce, bishop of Bangor, who has commented on the above celebrated rhetorician, deems it a metonymy, or the placing of the effect for the cause, which has drawn on it the censure of Longinus, only from being rather strained and extravagant. He moreover pleads in excuse of our historian, that it is into the mouths of barbarians that he puts this expression, and at a time when they are heated by wine. But this excuse could apply only if the terms selected were characteristic of the persons who used them, and from that circumstance necessary.

If, after all that has been written on this subject by so much greater men, I might be allowed to express my opinion, I would suggest, that when we passionately desire the possession of any object, and that object is constantly exposed to our sight, in aggravation of the desire, and without the hope of attainment, it may with propriety be termed a torment to our eyes.

Plutarch was of an opposite opinion to Longinus, as he puts these very words into the mouth of Alexander. That prince,<sup>c</sup> remarking that the Persian women were very handsome and of very elegant figure, said jestingly, that they were the torment of the eyes.

Tannegui Lefebvre, after expressing his dissent<sup>d</sup> from the opinion pronounced by Longinus on the passage of Herodotus, adds, that every nation has its particular genius or taste. The Scythians, the Greeks, the Hebrews, the Persians, have each a manner of representing things peculiar to themselves. Saint-Marc, the commen-

<sup>a</sup> Appian. Bell. Civil. Zenob. Adag. p. 67.

<sup>b</sup> Longin. de Sublim. sect. iv. p. 18.

<sup>c</sup> Plutarch. in Alexandro, p. 676. F.

<sup>d</sup> In notis ad Longinum ex edit. Collu.

p. 38.

tator on Boileau,<sup>c</sup> thinks with Lefevre, "that Herodotus has very properly related this anecdote, and that Longinus was wrong in blaming him, but that the circumstance itself is a fit subject for censure." Saint-Marc, however, has either not paid attention to what Dacier has said on this subject, or at least has not thought proper to answer it. "The Persians," says this latter writer,<sup>d</sup> "did not in general term handsome women 'an evil to the eyes;' they spoke only of those women whom Amyntas had introduced into the banquet-room, and who were placed opposite to them, so that they could not but look on them. These barbarians, who were not a kind of people to be contented with such an indulgence, complained to Amyntas, that he should not have brought them there, or that having done so, he should have placed them by their sides, and not opposite to them, to torment their eyes. This puts the subject in a rather different point of view."

. Victorius approves the expression used by Herodotus, as does Jac. Gronovius; the first in his various readings,<sup>e</sup> and the second in his notes on this passage of our historian.

XIX. *Ὅτι νεώτερα πρήγματα πρήξιν μέλλει*] *That he was meditating some fatal project.* Which literally translated is, 'that he was about to do something new.' This expression is usually considered to have an evil meaning; which perhaps arises from the supposition that the existing state of things being desirable, any innovation must be bad. It is familiar not only to Herodotus, but to all the tragic writers.

<sup>a</sup> Ὅς φόβος. . . .

Μὴ μοι τι μήτηρ, ἣν μεταστρίχω πῶδι.

Χρονίαν ἀποῦσαν ἐκ δόμου, ἔχθ' ἔτιον.

'The long absence of my mother has urged me to come in search of her. I am apprehensive that something disastrous may have happened to her.'

XX. Πολλή ἐστι ὑμῖν εὐπερεῖη] *That I can afford you.* In Stephens's Greek edition, ἐν ὑμῖν εὐπερεῖη. But in the Ms. A of the Royal Library, we read ἐν ἡμῖν εὐπερεῖη; which I have preferred, and have translated accordingly.

Ἐπιδαψιλεύμεθα ὑμῖν] *She generously surrenders to you, &c.* Suidas, who under the word *ἐπιδαψιλεύμενος* quotes this passage of Herodotus, does not seem to have understood it; neither does Kuster,

<sup>c</sup> Œuvres de Boileau Despréaux, tom. iv. p. 297.

<sup>d</sup> In his notes to the translation of Boileau, edit. folio, p. 286.

<sup>e</sup> Petri Victorii Variarum Lectionum lib. ii. cap. v. p. 21.

<sup>f</sup> Euripid. Suppl. vers. 99.

who translates it, 'Matres et sorores vestras in vestram gratiam splendide tractamus.' See the note of the late M. T. Hemsterhuis, on Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead*, p. 452, where this learned critic has discussed with his usual erudition all the significations of the verb *ἐπιδαφλέσθαι*, on which Stephens says very little, contenting himself with quoting, in his *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, a single passage of Synesius in which it occurs.

XXI. Σφραϊ Ἀλέξανδρος κατέλαβε σοφίῃ] *Alexander stopped them by his prudence.* I explain *κατέλαβε δέ*, with M. Abresch,\* 'stopped their pursuit, or inquiries.' Suidas interprets *ἐπέλαβεν* by *ἐπέχε τῆς ὁρμῆς*.

Βουβάρῃ] *Bubares.* He was the son of Megabazus.†

Τῶν διζημένων τοὺς ἀπολομένους τῶν στρατηγῶν] *One of the commissioners appointed to make inquiries.* I have not ventured to follow the correction of M. Valckenaer, who reads *τῷ στρατηγῷ* instead of *τῶν στρατηγῶν*, though it is in some measure supported by the following passage of Justin: 'Interfectis omnibus, ignarus rei Megabazus, cum legati non redirent, mittit eò cum exercitûs parte Bubaren, ut in bellum facile et mediocre . . . sed Bubares . . . amore filiae Amyntæ captus, omisso bello, nuptias facit; depositisque hostilibus animis, in affinitatis jura succedit.'

Let us now examine the reasons of that learned critic. Bubares was the chief of those sent to inquire into the transaction. Of this I am satisfied; and indeed Herodotus clearly enough conveys it, when he informs us that Amyntas arrested the progress of the investigation by giving him his sister in marriage, together with large sums of money. If Bubares had not been the person of the greatest influence, the prince would not have addressed himself to him in preference to the others. But, says M. Valckenaer, these seven deputies are no where distinguished by the title of generals, nor indeed could they be so. I answer, that they are so in this place, which is sufficient for our purpose. This title certainly applied to them; but it must not be taken literally. They were general-officers: and at the present day, in England, the title of General is given by way of abbreviation to all general-officers: and how can M. Valckenaer satisfy us, that the same was not the case in Persia? We find, in the latter part of § xxxii., that Megabates is named General of the troops sent by Artaphernes against the island of Naxos. Aristagoras, however, held a superior command, since of his own authority he releases Scylax, whom Megabates had caused to be bound; and, when reproached by that Milesian for the little respect he had shown him, answers:

\* Dilucidationes Thucydidæ, p. 509.

† Herodot. lib. vii. § xxi.

\* Justin, lib. vii. cap. iii. p. 206.



Has not Artaphernes sent you hither to be obedient to me? Aristagoras, then, was the actual General. But, continues the same critic, Herodotus should here have spoken not only of the general-officers who had perished, but also of their suite, who perished with them. Herodotus names only the general-officers, as being the most distinguished persons, and because any investigation as to their fate must of necessity apply to that of their suite. And would not the same form of expression be used in the present day, if seven lords of the court and all their suite should be massacred in one of the provinces; would not an historian in all probability content himself with saying that an inquiry was made respecting the death of those seven noble-men?

XXII. Ἐν τοῖσι ὀπίσθε λόγοις] *In the sequel of this history.* See the Genealogy of Perdicas, and the manner in which he ascended the throne of Macedonia, Book VIII. § cxxxvii. and cxxxviii.

Οἱ δειπνοῦντες ἀγῶνα Ἑλλήνων} *The Hellanodici.* This title was given to the judges who presided over the Olympic games. Their number varied\* at different times. For a long time it continued at ten, sometimes more, sometimes less, according to the number of the tribes of the Elei; but it returned to the number ten in the 108th Olympiad, and remained so till the time of Pausanias, who flourished in the year 174 of our era. They did not all decide upon each kind of† contest; but only those commissioned for the express purpose. Their decision might be appealed from, and themselves accused‡ before the senate of Olympia, which sometimes reversed their judgments. Those who were elected to this office,§ lived ten consecutive months in a palace appropriated to their use at Olympia, and which was called Ἑλλανοδικαῖον, Hellanodicæon, for the purpose of informing themselves on the subjects on which they would have to decide when they entered into office.

Καταβάντες ἐκ' αὐτῶ τοῦτο] *And having entered the lists.* I had translated, 'and having come to Olympia,' because the literal Greek is, 'and having descended to the very place.' But after more mature reflection, I have thought proper to adopt the sense which I had proposed in my note. Lucian has said, Κατάβητον ἐς τὸ μέσον. The Latins also used the word 'descendere' in the same sense.

Ἐξίπρον μιν] *Wished to exclude him.* The Greek has been ill rendered 'arcebat eum;' for we find that, in fact, they did not succeed in excluding him. It should have been translated 'arcere nite-

\* Pausan. Eliac. i. sive lib. v. cap. ix. 458. p. 397.

† Id. ibid. p. 396.

‡ Id. Eliac. ii. sive lib. vi. cap. iiii. p.

§ Pausan. Eliac. ii. sive lib. vi. cap. xiii. p. 514.

¶ Lucian. Vit. Auct. § xiii. p. 563.

banter.' The imperfect and the second aorist mark the desire and the effort. From want of attention to this signification of those tenses, translators, in other respects intelligent, have either produced misconstructions, or proposed changes in the text which are by no means necessary. Examples of this form of speaking are frequent, as well in Herodotus as in other writers. I have already cited some of them; and I now give two from Euripides which occur to me:

“Ὁ πρόσθε τρωθεῖς στέρνα Πολυνεΐκου βίη  
Διήκε λόγχην . . . .

Those who have translated ‘*trajecit hastâ,*’ have not understood this verse. The point of the javelin broke, and it could not penetrate. ‘Ἀπὸ δ’ ἔθραυσ’ ἄκρον δόρυ.’ This passage should therefore be rendered ‘*trajicere conatus est,*’ and not ‘*transegit hastam per pectus Polynicis,*’ as Barnes has it. Etæcles, who had been wounded before, endeavoured to pierce Polynices with his javelin. The same Barnes has not been more correct in rendering another passage from the same piece,<sup>1</sup> ἐσκέλευέ νιν, ‘*spoliabat eum;*’ for it is certain that Etæcles did not despoil his brother. Statius has properly translated it,<sup>2</sup> ‘*arma etiam spoliare cupit.*’

Συμφέροντε τῇ πρώτῃ] *Came out of the urn with that of the first.* “The following mode” was practised at the Olympic games for matching the combatants. There was a silver urn consecrated to the god, into which were put little balls about the size of a bean, two marked A, two B, and so on, according to the number of competitors. The champions then advanced in succession, and offering their prayers to Jupiter, drew from the urn one of these balls. They were forbidden to look at the letter marked on it, by a herald who stood by, armed with a wand, and ready to strike any who attempted to do so. When they had all drawn, the Atytarchus, or one of the Hellenodici, took the ballot of each of the champions, as they were ranged in a circle, looked at it, and paired together those who had the same letter. If the number of the combatants was uneven, he who drew the single letter was matched against the conqueror; which was no trifling advantage, because he had to contend, quite fresh, against a man already exhausted.”—BELLANGER.

Ἐξέκρινε is the same with ἐκδ' ἔθρε in Homer's Iliad, Book vii. verses 182, 183. The following passage of Livy also comes to nearly the same thing with that of Herodotus: “*Ut*” primam ipsius et antagonistæ sortem exiisse optimus auctor significat.”

<sup>1</sup> Euripid. Phœnix, vers. 1406.

<sup>2</sup> Id. ibid. 1426.

<sup>3</sup> Stat. Thebaid. lib. xi, vers. 582.

<sup>4</sup> Lucian. Hermotin. sive de Sectis, § xl. Vol. i. p. 782.

<sup>5</sup> Livius, lib. xxxii. § vi.

Τῷ πρώτῳ] *With the first combatant.* After this word there follows, in the Greek, 'thus it happened.'

XXIII. Ἐγερθεῖσθαι πολίῳ] *To possess a town.* Ἐγερθεῖσθαι is not Greek. Wesseling and Valckenner read ἐγερθεῖσθαι, which is the reading I have followed, and signifies 'to acquire possession.' In the decree of the Byzantines quoted by Demosthenes in his Oration in favour of Ctesiphon, we find ἐγερθεῖς γὰρ, and in the new edition of the Oxford Marbles, Append. CLVI. γὰρ αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἔγερθεν.

Κωρεῖς] *Fit for oars.* Hitherto this has been translated 'rowers,' as if every peopled country could not furnish rowers. All countries do not, however, produce the wood most fit for oars; and this is what is most needed, where there is wood fit for the construction of vessels, and a navigable river. Κωρεῖς, and in the plural κωρεῖς, signifies wood proper for oars. Κωρεῖς, says Hesychius, τὰ εἰς κόπας εὐθέρτα ξύλα. See M. Valckenner's note, and also that of M. Brunck on verse 542 of the Acharnenses of Aristophanes, Vol. III. p. 97.

XXV. Καταστήσας . . . ὑπαρχόν] *After having appointed Artaphernes governor, &c.* In the preceding editions we read καταστήσασθαι, which being the middle verb, would signify that Darius had given himself a governor of Sardis, an expression which seems to us absurd. Such, however, is the meaning of the middle verb. Αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι Τύραννον καταστήσάμενοι παρ' ὅσοι ἀνθρώποι;\* 'Why were you not the first to give yourselves a tyrant?' Wesseling has restored καταστήσας, on the authority of several excellent Mss., which are further supported by those marked A and B in the Royal Library.

Ἐκτερεῖν τὸν θρόνον] *With which the seat was covered.* It appears that it was the custom in Persia to cover the justice-seat with the skins of such judges as had been convicted of corrupt practices in the execution of their office. Sometimes they were put to death before being flayed, and sometimes they were flayed alive. Artaxerxes<sup>a</sup> punished in the latter manner certain judges who had rendered iniquitous sentences. After they had been flayed alive, the skins were stretched upon the judgment-seat, that succeeding judges might have a constant memento of the fate of those who had abused the office.

Καλχηδονίους] *Chalcedon.* Chalcedon, Lamponium, and Antandros were in Asia, and consequently not under the jurisdiction of Otanes, the successor of Megabyzus, who commanded only in Europe. But perhaps Otanes was governor of the Asiatic coasts before he succeeded to the command of Megabyzus.

XXVI. Ἐπὶ τίνα ὕπο Πηλαγῶν αἰετομέγας] *Which were then both*

\* Herod. lib. v. § cxi. p. 419. note 73.

<sup>a</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. x. § 2. Vol. II. p. 11.

*inhabited by Pelasgi.* It appears from the commencement of the preceding paragraph, that Darius did not appoint Otanes to his government till after his expedition against the Scythians, nor even till he was on the point of quitting Sardis on his return to Susa: consequently not till the year 507 or 508 before our era. Now at that time the islands in question were no longer inhabited by Pelasgians, as they had been driven thence by Miltiades three years before.\* This confirms what I have observed in the preceding note; namely, that Otanes commanded on the coasts of Asia before he succeeded Megabyzus in the government of Europe. This reconciles all the statements. Otanes took possession of the isles of Lemnos and Imbros in the year 511 or 512 B. C., and, content with the submission of the Pelasgians, had left them in peaceable possession, till they were driven thence by Miltiades in the year 510 before our era.

[*Ἀνὰ χρόνον*] *In the sequel.* I have joined *ἀνὰ χρόνον* to *ἐκατόησαν*, as I find it in the Greek edition of Stephens, and I translate it, 'in the sequel,' with Viger. See his *Idioms of the Greek Language*, chap. ix. sect. 1. Regul. v. pp. 515, 516.

XXVII. *Καταστέροτο*] *Otanes subdued, &c.* If the words *αἰτίη δὲ τοῦτον ἦδε* refer to Lycaretus, what follows should do so likewise, and they must signify that he died a violent death, occasioned by the barbarous manner in which he treated the people under his command. But had his death been occasioned by violence, Herodotus would scarcely have contented himself with saying *τελευτῆ*; he would most likely have added, as is usual with him, *κακῶς τὸν βίον τελευτῆ*. The Lemnians, moreover, could not have harassed the army of Darius on its return from Scythia. Lycaretus, therefore, could not have availed himself of this pretext for reducing them to slavery; but the Thracians and other Europeans under the government of Otanes had in all probability fallen on the stragglers, or on some detached corps of the army, and that general, bearing in mind the punishment of his father, thought it necessary to visit them with a severe retaliation, lest he too should incur the penalty of negligence. *Στρατηγὴσας* can apply only to Otanes, who had been named *στρατηγός*. I think, therefore, with MM. Wesseling and Valckenaer, that *αἰτίη δὲ τοῦτον ἦδε*, as well as what follows, refers to Otanes. *Τοῖσι δὲ περὶ τοῦτον, &c.* down to *αἰτίη* exclusively, should be within parentheses. Had I confined myself to the very letter, I should have translated this passage: 'The cause for which Otanes subdued these people and reduced them to slavery, was the following.'

XXVIII. [*Ἀρεῖσι τανῶν*] *The repose which they enjoyed.* What-

\* Herodot. lib. vi. § cxxix.

ever Gronovius may say, *ἀνεως κακῶν* gives no meaning at all. The conjectures of many critics are reported in the notes of Wesseling and Valckenaer; but I adhere to that of M. de la Barre,\* who reads *ἀνεως κακῶν*. His reasons in support of this opinion may be seen in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles-Lettres. The 18th paragraph must begin with the words *μετὰ δὲ οὖν*, and a comma only be placed after *κακῶν ἦν*.

*Πρόσχημα*] *The ornament.* The Greeks, in the same sense, say also *σχῆμα*; but this term is less frequently employed than *πρόσχημα*.<sup>4</sup> *Ἀσιάρχιδος γῆς σχῆμα, Θηβαία πόλις*: 'the city of Thebes is the ornament of Asia.'

*Ἐκ πάντων Ἑλλήνων εἰλοντο*] *Who had chosen them, &c.* This choice does honour to the Parians, and proves that they were considered to possess both integrity and good sense. They have the same reputation to this day;<sup>4</sup> and are frequently chosen by the Greeks of the neighbouring islands as the arbiters of their differences.

XXIX. *Ἐν ἀρεσσηκῇ τῇ χώρῃ*] *In this desolate country.* The Greek cannot, I think, signify 'acclivi regione,' as Gronovius has translated it; but 'in regione devastatâ et à suis incolis desertâ.' See Stephens's Thesaurus.

*Κατελθεῖεν ἐς τὴν . . .*] *To assist them in re-entering.* *Κατελθεῖεν ἐς τὴν* is governed by nothing. *Ἀνὰ μὲν τινα*, moreover, 'some few troops,' does not seem adequate to subdue a people who could bring forward 8000 men. I read, with M. Valckenaer, *ἵνα* instead of *τινα*, and suppress *καί*; by which means the sentence becomes clear. In the Ms. B of the Royal Library we find *κατελθῆ*.

*Ὀκταεσχίλην ἄσπιδα*] *Eight thousand men heavily armed.* In the Greek, 'eight thousand bucklers:' now the 'aspis' was properly the buckler of the heavy troops, as the 'pelta' was that of the light troops.

*Ἐρ τῇ Ἀσίῃ*] *Of Asia.* Herodotus designedly adds these words, to distinguish this government from that of Otanes, who was likewise governor of the coasts, as I have observed before (p. 137.) He commanded in Thrace, and on the coasts of Europe, as he had succeeded to Megabyzus,<sup>4</sup> whose authority was confined to those countries. Artaphernes had within his department Asia Minor and the coasts of the Ægean sea.

XXXI. *Τὰς δὲ ταύτας ἡγεμένους*] *Which depend on it.* The other Cyclades were not under the government of the island of Naxos; but that being the most considerable amongst them, its capture involved that of the others.

\* Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. tom. vii. Hist. pp. 180, 181.

<sup>4</sup> Euripidis Androm. vers. 1.

\* Relation d'un Voyage en Levant, par M. de Tournefort, lettre v. p. 204.

<sup>4</sup> See supra, § xvi.



'Ες ἄλλον τὸν βασιλεῖος] *To the king.* In the Greek, 'to the house of the king.' M. Wesseling, in a note, proves that this was an oriental figure of speech, and was used to signify 'the kingdom and the royal family.'

XXXII. Εἰ δὲ ἀληθὲς γε ἐστὶ ὁ λόγος] *If what they say is true.* It should appear from this, that at the time when Herodotus wrote it, he had no knowledge of the letter of Pausanias demanding the daughter of Xerxes in marriage, which we find in Thucydides, Book I. § CXXVIII.

XXXIII. 'Ες Καύκασον] *At Caucasus.* The Abbé Bellanger\* has thoroughly exposed the absurdity of Duryer, who had translated 'opposite to mount Caucasus.'

This place is now totally unknown; no other ancient author having spoken of it. Was it a port, or merely a road or anchorage of the isle of Chios? This it is scarcely possible to decide at the present day. Strabo mentions only the port of Phanos,† of which Livy‡ also speaks. In Thucydides we hear§ of that of Delphinium, and in *Ælian*¶ of that of the Old Men. These different ports being thus variously and casually mentioned, it is very probable that there were others in the island, whose names have not reached us.

Ἦα ἐνθεῦθεν βρώην ἀνέμψις ἐς τὴν Νάξον διαβάλοι] *For the purpose of passing from thence to Naxos.* Διαβάλλω is most commonly said of a passage by sea. Διαβάλομεν τὸ πέλνγοις εἰς Μεσσηπίαν. 'We repaired by sea to the territory of the Messapians.' It is likewise sometimes said of a journey by land.

\* Πρὶν λιπῶν Κάδμου πόλιν  
Φυγῇ πρὸς Ἄργος διαβυλεῖν αὐθαίρετος.

'When he went voluntarily to Argos, before his exile from the city of Cadmus.'

Σοὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτοι τοῖσι πρήγμασι τί ἐστι] *What have you to do with these people?* I read with M. Valckenær, Σοὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτοι πρήγματι ἐστὶ: 'quid verò tibi cum his est negotiū?' Such is the Greek mode of expression, as he has proved by a variety of examples, as well from Herodotus as from other authors.

Τί πολλὰ πρήσσει] *Why intermeddle with what does not concern you?* The Latin translation, 'quid multa agis?' is not correct; at least it is not clear. The signification is, 'why do you interfere in matters which do not concern you?' Ἠολλὰ πράττειν is often taken

\* Essai de Critique sur les Traductions d'Herodote, pp. 160, 161.

† Strab. lib. xiv. p. 647. A.

‡ Liv. lib. xxxv. § 11.

§ Thucyd. lib. viii. § 22.

¶ *Ælian* lib. viii. § 22.

\* *Ælian*, de Naturâ Animal. lib. xii. cap. xii. p. 127.

† *Ælian*, de Spectaculis lib. iii. cap. xiv. p. 109.

‡ *Ælian*, de Spectaculis, torn. ii.

in an unfavourable sense; it is said in opposition to *πρῆσσειν ὀλίγα*, which the Emperor Antoninus uses, Book iv. 24, or to *τὰ ταυτοῦ πράττειν*, which we find in Xenophon, *Ἀπομνημον.* Book ii. § 1x. Aristophanes often employs it in this sense. See verse 230. of the *Ranæ*, with Bergler's note. M. Brunck has very happily rendered it, 'maîe curious;' it is in the 228th verse of his edition. *Πολυπράγμων* is an impertinent fellow who intermeddles in the affairs of others, the 'ardelio' of the Latins. See also verse 761. of the same piece, which is the 749th of Brunck's edition, and the note of that critic. Spanheim has ill explained it, in his note on the 486th verse of *Plutus*.

XXXIV. *Σίτα καὶ κορά*] *Provisions.* Instead of *καὶ τεῖχος ἐσάξω*, which only embarrasses the sentence, I read with Reiske, *ἐς τεῖχος ἐσάξω*. This last word does not come from *ἐσάττειν*, but from *ἐσάγειν*.

*Τεῖχος*] *A fortress.* *Τεῖχος* is a castle, and not a wall. I insist the more on this, as several well-informed writers, whom it were useless to name, have been mistaken on this point. See note on § cxxiv. Book iv.

XXXV. *Ἡ δαπάνη τῆς στρατῆς*] *The expense of the expedition.* I have chosen this phrase, though *στρατία* signifies 'an army;' and I notice it, lest it might be imagined I had mistaken the word for *στρατεία*.

*Τῶν βασιλητῶν τῆς Μιλήτου*] *Of the government of Miletus.* In the Greek, 'of the sovereignty of Miletus.' Aristagoras was not tyrant of Miletus; but in the absence of Histæus he filled the office.

*Τὰ δὲ πρίγματα*] *These characters.* Polyænus\* says, that upon the head of the slave were these words: *Ἰστιάης Ἀρισταγόρῃ, Ἰωνίαν ἀπόσπασσον*: 'Histæus to Aristagoras; raise Ionia in revolt.'

*Μετῆσεσθαι*] *To bring Aristagoras to him.* Instead of *ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ*, the poets and the ancient authors used to write *ἐλθεῖν μετὰ τῇ*. This form of speech is preserved in the verbs *μετελθεῖν*, *μεθεῖναι*, *μεθῆκειν*, and others of the like nature. *Μετῆσαν σιρώματα*, 'ibant petittum stragula.' Aristoph. *Equit.* vers. 602. See Bergler's note on this passage of the comic poet, on the 933d verse of the same piece, and on verse 530 of the *Concionatrices*.

XXXVI. *Οὐκ ἐλ*] *To dissuade him from it.* *Οὐκ ἐλ*, dissuaded them, endeavoured to turn them away from. *Πόλεμον δὲ οὐκ εἰπὼν ποιεῖν*, 'they dissuaded him from the war.' Thucyd. Book i. § xxviii: and see Herodot. Book ii. § xxx. note 5.

*Τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Βραγχιδæi*] *Temple of the Branchidæ.* The tem-

\* Polyæn. *Strategem.* lib. i. cap. xxi.

ple of the Branchidae, or of Didymæan Apollo, as it was afterwards called, was but a short distance from Miletus, either by sea or land. It was built on the promontory Posideum, eighteen stadia from the shore; \* or, according to a Ms., twenty stadia. This latter reading is supported by the testimony of Pliny the Naturalist: "Posideum † promontorium et oppidum, oraculum Branchidarum appellatum, nunc Didymæi Apollinis, à littore stadiis viginti." And at the distance of 180 stadia stood Miletus. "Et inde centum octoginta Miletus Ionias caput."

The name of Branchidae came from a family who claimed to be descended from Branchus, the real or supposed founder of this temple, and who continued in possession of the priesthood till the time of Xerxes. It was a practice with the ancient families of Greece to mingle a considerable proportion of fable with their genealogy, and to pretend a descent from the gods, for the purpose of imposing on the people, and acquiring a title to a larger share of their deference. Though the history of Branchus is ridiculous enough, yet as it is related by the learned Varro, and may be a help in interpreting many passages of the ancient authors, I have thought it right not to omit it here.

"A certain Olus," † says Varro, "who was descended from Apollo through ten generations, being on a voyage, took his repast on the seashore. He afterwards continued his course, leaving his son ‡ Simerus behind him. The child repaired to a spot belonging to a man named Patron, who received him into his house, and sent him with his own children to tend the goats. These children one day took a swan, and a dispute having arisen amongst them which of them should present it to their father, they covered the bird over with a garment and fought. When they were tired of fighting, they uncovered the swan, and found a woman in its place. At the sight of her they fled; but the woman called them back, and ordered them to desire their father Patron to love Simerus in preference to themselves. They reported to Patron what the woman had said to them, and he in obedience to her mandate cherished Simerus as his own child, and gave him his daughter in marriage. During her pregnancy, the young woman, in a dream, saw the sun enter her body by the throat, and come out by the womb. Her son was for this reason called Branchus, (Branchos in Greek signifying throat,) and having one day, in a wood, given Apollo a kiss, he was seized by the god,

\* Strab. lib. xiv. p. 641. A.

† Phil. Hist. Nat. lib. v. cap. xxix. Vol. I. p. 272. lin. 1.

‡ Varr. Divin. Rerum lib. apud Scho-

liast. Statii ad Thebaid. lib. viii. vers. 198.

§ Or rather Simerus, according to Connon, apud Photum, p. 441.

from whom he received a crown and a wand, and began to prophesy, after which he suddenly disappeared. A temple was erected to him, called Branchiados: another was also erected to Apollo Philesius, on account of the kiss which Branchus gave him." \*

The temple of the Branchidae or of Didyme was long anterior to the <sup>4</sup> Ionian colony; but I cannot fix the precise time at which it was built. Machareus <sup>4</sup> of Delphi, one of the ancestors of Branchus, and a priest <sup>4</sup> of Apollo, killed Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, who wanted to plunder the temple of Delphi. He therefore must have lived at the time of the siege of Troy, or a little afterwards; but Strabo, from whom we learn this circumstance, does not inform us by how many descents Branchus was distant from Machareus.

Without, however, farther discussing the fabulous part of the story, we may conclude that Branchus was of a sacerdotal family established at Delphi, that he went to Miletus, and there finding the minds of the people as strongly disposed to superstition as they were at Delphi, he established an oracle there, in imitation of that which subsisted at the latter city. Branchus <sup>4</sup> adopted a child, which Leodamas king of Miletus had presented to the temple of Didyme, as the first fruits of the victory he had obtained over the Carystii. Having observed in him a good disposition and great prudence, he appointed him to deliver the oracles, and for this reason named him Evangelus, or the bearer of good tidings. He afterwards succeeded Branchus, and was the chief of the family known at Miletus by the name of Evangelidae.

It is observed, Book vi. § xix. note 1, that this temple was burned by Xerxes. It was afterwards restored. Pæonius <sup>4</sup> of Ephesus and Daphnis of Miletus were the architects. They were contemporary with Scopas, and flourished about the 87th Olympiad. The temple was of the greatest magnificence. Vitruvius, an excellent judge of these matters, reckons it amongst <sup>4</sup> the four temples which have immortalised their architects.

Seleucus, one of the successors of Alexander, sent back to this temple <sup>4</sup> a bronze statue of the god, which had been carried to Agbatanes in Media.

Seleucus Callinicus bestowed large presents on this temple, as may be seen by an inscription found on the spot, between 1709 and 1716,

\* This legend is given by Conon with some slight variation. See Book vi. § xix. note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. Achaic. sive lib. vii. cap. ii. p. 625.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo. lib. ix. p. 645. A.

<sup>4</sup> Eusebii Chronic. lib. posterior. p. 94.

<sup>4</sup> Conon. Narrat. xlv. apud Phot. Cod. clxxvii. p. 452.

<sup>4</sup> Vitruv. Prefat. lib. vii. p. 125.

<sup>4</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. Att. sive lib. i. cap. xvi. p. 20.

by Mr. Sherrard, the English consul, and quoted by Chishull in his *Asiatic Antiquities*.<sup>a</sup>

This temple possessed the right of sanctuary in common with many others; but as that was the occasion of many crimes, Tiberius so modified the privilege that it was reduced to a mere name.<sup>b</sup> Suetonius affirms that that emperor destroyed all sanctuaries, and in this he appears to contradict Tacitus: but M. Ernesti<sup>c</sup> reconciles these two writers with his wonted ingenuity.

This temple, under Constantine and his successors, declined from its former grandeur, and perhaps was even pillaged, as so many others were. Julian restored its splendour, which, however, was but of short continuance. It is now<sup>d</sup> a mere pile of ruins, of which nothing remains entire but two columns with their architraves. Very perceptible traces of its vast extent are still visible. See Book vi. § xix. note 1.

Τὰ Κροίους] *Of which Cræsus*. See Book i. § 1, 11, and xcii. Had Aristagoras followed the prudent counsel of Hecateus, he might have taken into his pay a much greater number of troops, and would have deprived Xerxes of the opportunity of despoiling this temple, and employing its riches against the Greeks.

XXXVII. Τερμερία] *Of Termerus*. In all the editions which preceded that of Wesseling, we read Τερμερία, which would be rendered Termen, Termenus, or Termena; but we find no town of this name in Caria, which was the country of Histæus, according to our historian,<sup>e</sup> but that of Termerus. We must therefore read Τερμερία, with two excellent Mss. of the Royal Library. See my Geographical Table.

XXXVIII. Ἄλλοι οἱ πλεῖντες] *Most of the other cities*. Αἰρώ is not found in any of the Mss. of the Royal Library. I make of πλεῖντες to relate to the inhabitants of the Ionian cities, who for the most part sent away their tyrants without harming them. If we adopt the conjecture of M. Valckenzer, who leaves αἰρώ, and reads ἀπῆσαν, we must translate, 'most of the tyrants withdrew.' One of the Mss. of the Royal Library, where we read ἀπῆσαν, seems to favour the conjecture of that critic.

Στρατηγοὶς] *The Strategi*. Στρατηγός is not here the general of an army, but a magistrate, whose functions probably answered to those of the Archons in Athens, the Coami in Crete, and in other Dorian cities, &c. The Strategi were substituted for the Archons at Athens, about the commencement of the fourth century, as is proved by Father Corsini, in *Fastis Atticis*, Dissert. i. p. 45.

<sup>a</sup> *Antiquit. Asiat.* p. 67.

<sup>b</sup> Tacit. *Annal.* lib. iii. § lxxii.

<sup>c</sup> *Excurs.* in Sueton. ad *liber.* cap.

xcvii. p. 17.

<sup>d</sup> *Ionian Antiquit.* p. 46.

<sup>e</sup> Herodot. lib. vii. § xcvi.



We often find the Strategoi on medals. Chariton of Aphrodisium speaks of them at Priene, a city of Ionia.\* It may be said that he has written merely a romance; but still he adheres strictly to the manners of the times in which he supposes the events he relates to have happened. This is likewise the opinion of M. D'Orville on the passage of Chariton.

Συμμαχίης τινός οἱ μεγάλης] *For he wished to obtain, &c.* In the Greek, 'for he wished to obtain a great alliance.' I cannot agree with M. Reiske, who thinks<sup>b</sup> that we should strike out ἐξευρεθῆναι, or read συμμαχίην τινὰ μεγάλην; neither of which is necessary. It is one of those redundancies so common with Herodotus.

XL. Καὶ οἱ γέροντες] *With the senators.* Οἱ γέροντες, at Lacedæmon, are senators. All the authors abound in passages in which this word is used in that sense. I shall cite only the following: 'Πλείονων δὲ καινοτομημένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Λυκούργου, πρῶτον ἦν καὶ μέγιστον ἡ κατὰστασις τῶν γερόντων.' 'Amongst numerous innovations made by Lycurgus, the first and most considerable was the institution of senators.'

Γερουσία signifies the senate. 'Ἡ μὲν δὲ γερουσία συνέδριον Λακεδαιμονίων κυριώτατον τῆς πολιτείας.' 'The senate is, with the Lacedæmonians, the tribunal possessing the highest authority of the state.' I should scarcely have noticed so obvious a truth, had not M. Bellanger translated, 'the ancients.'

Γυναῖκας δύο] *Two wives.* 'He is the only one of the Lacedæmonians, says Pausanias, 'who had two wives, and who inhabited two houses (or who had two establishments) at a time. 'Ἀναξανδρίδης δὲ ὁ Λέοντος Λακεδαιμονίων μόνος γυναῖκας τε δύο ἄμα ἔσχεν, καὶ οἶκας δύο ἄμα ᾤκησε; which does not signify 'Anaxandrides Leontis filius, unus ex omnibus Lacedæmoniis uxores duas eodem tempore habuit, undè illi soboles duplex,' as the Latin version, which accompanies the Greek, has it, and which some scholars read instead of the text, but 'et ædes duas simul,' or 'eodem tempore habitavit.' This latter interpretation is the only one which corresponds with the text of Herodotus. Γυναῖκας ἔχων δύο, διῆς ἰστίας οἶκε: 'uxores habens duas, binis ædibus habitabat.' Οἶκω, 'habito,' makes, in the third person singular of the imperfect of the indicative, οἶκε, 'habitabat,' he did inhabit or was inhabiting; and in the third person singular of the first aorist of the indicative, ᾤκησε, 'habitavit,' he inhabited. Pausanias has borrowed the fact from Herodotus, merely changing διῆς ἰστίας,

\* Charitonis Aphrodit. Amator. Nar. cat. lib. iv. pp. 72. and 407.

<sup>b</sup> Miscellanea Lipsiensia nova, Vol. viii. p. 205.

<sup>c</sup> Plutarch. in Lycurgo, p. 42. E.

<sup>d</sup> Pausan. Laconic. sive lib. vi. cap. xi. p. 231.

<sup>e</sup> Id. ibid. cap. lii. p. 211.

double hearth or fire-place, into οἰκίας δύο, two houses or establishments; and οἶκε, he was inhabiting, to ἔκησε, he inhabited, the imperfect to the first aorist. Amasæus, the author of the Latin version which accompanies the Greek, is mistaken, if I have rightly apprehended the meaning of Herodotus and of Pausanias. The Abbé Gedoy, of the French Academy and of that of Inscriptions, in his translation of Pausanias, pp. 251, 252, will likewise be in error, he having strictly adhered to the Latin version, thus: Anaxandrides, son of Leo, 'by an abuse, of which Sparta had as yet furnished no example,' had two wives at a time, and, 'contrary to his expectation,' left a double posterity. These last words are a tolerably literal translation of the Latin of Amasæus; but Amasæus was wrong, and the *double* academicien has been wrong with him, in his 'double posterity.' The Abbé, p. 251, acknowledges, note 3, 'that what Pausanias relates of Anaxandrides is borrowed from Herodotus, in his Terpsichore.' The learned French translator has added in the last member of the sentence, 'and, *contrary to his expectation*, left a double posterity.' What translation could be more exact of 'soboles duplex?' But the Abbé adds in a note, that 'the words, *contrary to his expectation*, are not in the text, but that the sequel involves them.' The sequel does no such thing; for it could involve nothing contrary to the design or thoughts of Pausanias, which were, that he kept two houses, or two establishments; and by taking a second wife, without repudiating the first, he must have expected to keep two establishments, and therefore did not keep them 'contrary to his expectation.' Faults of this nature, however, ought not to detract from the high literary character of the Abbé Gedoy, one of the excellent connoisseurs of the two celebrated Academies above mentioned, one of the most zealous for the advancement of letters, and one of the most strongly attached to Latin versions of Greek authors."—BELLANGER.

Ποιτὸν οὐδαμῶς Σπαρτητικῶ] *Contrary to the usage of Sparta.* St. Clement of Alexandria<sup>a</sup> says, however, that in Lacedæmon a penalty was inflicted on monogamy; but Cragius<sup>b</sup> with reason conjectures, that we should read κοινωγῆτον; and then the prohibition will only apply to certain degrees of relationship, for there were some between which marriage was forbidden.

XLI. Ἐφεδρὸν βασιλέα] *Presumptive heir.* I have endeavoured to combine the two explanations of Portus. See his Ionian Lexicon, under the word Ἐφεδρὸς.

Συντυχίᾳ ταύτῃ χρησαμένη] *And this is what happened to him.* Portus explains συντυχίᾳ by 'felix fortunæ successus.' He should

<sup>a</sup> Stromat. lib. ii. p. 505.

<sup>b</sup> Cragius de Republicâ Lacedæmonio-

rum, lib. iii. Tab. iv. Instit. x. p. 234.

in that case translate, 'she was fortunate enough to become pregnant;' but I do not think that the term is ever used in that sense. In the two examples which he adduces, it signifies 'a casual event.' What has further decided me in favour of the construction I have adopted is, that the demonstrative pronoun almost invariably refers to what follows.

Οἱ τῆς ἐπελθοῦσας γυναικὸς οἰκίαι] *The relations of the second wife.* The Latin version of Laurentius Valla, in which οἰκίαι is rendered by 'domestici,' has deceived both Du Ryer and Bayle; the former of whom in his translation of Herodotus, and the latter under the word 'Anaxandrides,' render it by 'domestics.' The relations of the queen might be interested in preventing the diffusion of an opinion that there existed a son by the first wife of Anaxandrides, and might take steps in the business, which would not be consistent in servants. This is not, however, the only error that has crept into Bayle's excellent work.

XLII. Τῶν νομιζομένων] *The ceremonies usual, &c.* Amongst other customs observed by those who were about to establish a colony, one was, to take fire from the Prytaneum of the Metropolis; and if by any accident it became extinguished in the colony, it was necessary to have recourse to the Metropolis for its renewal. See note 5. on § cxlvi. of Book 1.

Θηραῖον] *By Thervans.* I read Θηραῖον, which we find also in the Ms. B in the Royal Library, and which is of the 14th century.

Μακίων] *The Macæ.* According to Herodotus, (Book iv. § cxcvii.) there were in Libya but two people of foreign origin, the Phœnicians or Carthaginians and the Greeks. The Macæ therefore were Libyans; as he expressly says, Book iv. § clxxv. The conjunction *καί*, therefore, being superfluous, or rather perplexing the meaning, I suppress it, and read ἐκ Μακίων Λιβίων. This was likewise the opinion of the late M. Wesseling. M. Valckenaer urges the same reason to show that Λιβίων has been introduced by some blundering copyist, instead of some other people of Libya. This conjecture is sufficiently probable; but I prefer that of M. Wesseling, because the Machlyes, which he substitutes, appear to me too far off, having the Gindanes and Lotophagi between them. See Herodotus, Book iv. § clxxvi. et seq.

XLIII. Τῶν Ἀσίου χρησμάτων] *Delivered to Laius.* In the Greek, ἐκ τῶν Ἀσίου χρησμάτων, which all the translators have rendered 'ex Laii oraculis.' But at what time or place did ever Laius deliver oracles? St. Clement of Alexandria<sup>a</sup> makes no mention of such a

<sup>a</sup> Clements Alexandr. Stromat. lib. i. pp. 398. 399.

soothsayer, in his list of the soothsayers; several annotators have therefore changed this name for that of some known diviner. But is it not rather bold to do so in spite of the authority of the Mss., which without exception give this name? I am persuaded that these changes have been resorted to merely from misconception of the real meaning of Herodotus. *Λαίου χρησμοί* are not the oracles of Laius, but the oracles delivered to Laius; as in Sophocles,\* *Λαίου παλαιὰ θέσφατα* are the ancient oracles delivered to Laius; and in Euripides,† *ὄνειρα* ἀγγέλλοντα γαγαμένονας, 'acquainting him with the dreams which Agamemnon sent him,' and not the dreams of Agamemnon. This turn of expression is common with the Greeks: take another example; *τάμα νοουθήματα* does not signify 'my advice,' but 'the advice which you give me.' It is natural to suppose that Laius consulted the oracle, not only with regard to his son, but on many other subjects, as we have seen, Book 1. § 27. in the case of Croesus; that these various oracles were collected together; and that that which Antichares communicated to Dorieus was of the number. That which related to Œdipus having been accomplished in every particular, would give a sanction to the others.

*Κρησαμένον*] *The acquisition.* "Hercules" desiring to make a complete tour of Sicily, started from the promontory of Pelorus, on his way towards Eryx. As he traversed the sea-shore, it is said that the nymphs caused to issue from the earth warm-baths to assuage his fatigue. There are two of them, the baths of Himera and of Ægesta, which take their names from those of the neighbouring places. Hercules approaching the country that borders on mount Eryx, Eryx, the son of Venus by Butes, who had previously reigned there, challenged him to wrestle. As Eryx had staked his country on the issue of the contest, and Hercules only his oxen, the former was displeased at the inequality of the wager; but Hercules having explained to him, that with his cattle, he should also lose his immortality,‡ Eryx accepted the terms, measured his strength against that of his adversary, and being conquered, was deprived of his dominions. Hercules left the country to the inhabitants, and permitted them to enjoy the fruits of it until the time when some descendant of his should claim it from them; an event which time brought about; for, many generations afterwards, Dorieus of Lacedæmon came to Sicily, recovered the country, and built the city of Heraclea. This city quickly

\* Sophocl. Œdip. Tyr. vers. 907.

† Euripid. Orest. vers. 617. Confer. not. Clar. Brunck.

‡ Sophocl. Electr. vers. 343.

§ Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. § xxiii. Vol. i. p. 268.

§ Still there was a manifest disproportion in the stakes; for however great the risk on the part of Hercules, yet as Eryx would not acquire the immortality of Hercules together with his oxen, he was still fighting on unequal terms.

increased to such a degree, that the Carthaginians, jealous of its power, and apprehensive lest it should one day become more powerful than Carthage, and deprive them of the sovereignty of that country, attacked it with a considerable force, and having taken it, razed it to the ground."

XLIV. Συβορίται] *The Sybarites*. Sybaris<sup>a</sup> was destroyed twice: the first time was about the third year of the 67th Olympiad; the second time, about the third year of the 83rd Olympiad, six years after its re-establishment: (see note infra, in this page.) Sybaris was not rebuilt on the same site, but at a short distance from it, and took the name of Thurium.<sup>b</sup> Plutarch, however, relates, that Apollo predicted to the Sybarites that they should arrive at the termination of their misfortunes,<sup>c</sup> after they had expiated the wrath of Leucadian Juno, by three destructions. Either Apollo or Plutarch, or perhaps both, are here in error; for it was destroyed but twice. The cause of this wrath of the goddess will be explained in the following note.

Τῆλυν τὸν ἐλευρῶν βασιλῆα] *Telys, their king*. Heraclides of Pontus,<sup>d</sup> in his work on Justice, says, that the Sybarites having overthrown the tyranny of Telys, massacred, even on the altars, those who had had any share in the administration of government; that the statue of Juno turned aside, and that there sprang from the earth a fountain of blood, which could be stopped only by being confined by walls of brass; and he adds, that this crime was the cause of their destruction.

The authority of Herodotus, who lived nearer to the time, and is moreover supported by that of Diodorus Siculus, appears to me, as it did to the late M. Wesseling, of greater weight than that of Heraclides.

Συνελθῆν] *And took it*. According to Diodorus Siculus,<sup>e</sup> the cause of this war was as follows. Sybaris was a powerful city, governed by Telys, who was its demagogue. This man, by means of his accusations, persuaded the Sybarites to banish 500 of the most opulent citizens, and to sell their goods by public auction. The exiles retired to Crotona, and took sanctuary near the altars in the public place. Telys sent ambassadors to Crotona, with orders to demand the exiles,<sup>f</sup> and if they were not given up, to declare war. The people were disposed to surrender them; but Pythagoras the philosopher having persuaded them to protect them, they resolved to defend them to the last. The Sybarites put in motion 300,000 men; the Crotoniatæ, commanded by

<sup>a</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. iv. § 2. p. 484.

<sup>b</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>c</sup> Plutarch. de Serâ Numinis Vindictâ, p. 557. C.

<sup>d</sup> Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. xii. cap. iv. p. 521. F.

<sup>e</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. xii. § 12. Vol. i. p. 483.

<sup>f</sup> The Sybarites must therefore have repented that they did not put to death these 500 citizens, instead of banishing them.



Milo the wrestler, went forth to meet them, to the number of 100,000. The commander of the latter, who had six times gained the prize in the Olympic games, and who was no less remarkable for greatness of soul than for vigour of body, at the first onset broke through those who were opposed to him. The Sybarites were defeated, the greater part of them killed in the pursuit, and their city, after being taken and burnt, was reduced to a perfect solitude. Fifty-seven years afterwards,\* a certain Thessalus collected together the Sybarites who had survived the former disaster, and having rebuilt the city, it was again destroyed by the Crotoniates. But after an interval of six years, the Athenians sent thither a colony, and gave to the city the name of Thurium. Diodorus Siculus fixes this event under the archontate of Callimachus.<sup>b</sup> We must therefore place the destruction of Sybaris in the year 4204 of the Julian period, 510 years before our era. But Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who fixes the foundation of Thurium<sup>c</sup> two years later, appears to me more likely to be in the right, as Lysias, who was then but fifteen years old, and Herodotus, who was forty, were amongst the colonists. It will therefore follow that the destruction of Sybaris by the Crotoniates took place in the year 4207 of the Julian period, 507 years before the vulgar era.

Τῶν ἱαμίδεων] *The Iamidæ.* Iamus was a soothsayer of Elea, son of Apollo<sup>d</sup> and Evadne, who was the daughter of Neptune and Pitane,<sup>e</sup> daughter of the river Eurotas. Apollo<sup>f</sup> granted the gift of divination to him and all his descendants, who were called Iamidæ.<sup>g</sup> See Book ix. note 3. to § xxxii.

Ταῦτα δὲ ὅν οἱ τοὶ λέγουσι] *Such is the language held by the Crotoniates.* Herodotus terminates almost all his narratives in this manner. The negation in the text is therefore superfluous. M. de la Barre<sup>h</sup> changes it to ὅν. M. Wesseling omits it altogether. The opinion of the former appears to me preferable.

Παρά τὸν ξηρὸν Κράθιν] *Of the torrent of Crathis.* Near the dry Crathis. It was so called, because it was dry during one part of the year. The ancient glossary, which we find in the Appendix to Stephens's Thesaurus, explains ξηροτάτος by 'torrens.' This has determined me to give the same signification to ξηρὸν Κράθιν.

The water of this torrent, according to Strabo,<sup>i</sup> whitened or ren-

\* Diodor. Sic. lib. xi. § xc. p. 472.

<sup>b</sup> Id. ib. xi. § x. p. 484.

<sup>c</sup> Dionys. Halicarn. in Lysia, p. 130. See also the Chronological Canon, year 4270.

<sup>d</sup> Pindar. Olymp. Od. vi. vers. 57 et seq.

<sup>e</sup> Id. ibid. vers. 48.

<sup>f</sup> Id. ibid. vers. 81.

<sup>g</sup> Pausan. Evac. poster. sive lib. vi. cap. ii. p. 458.

<sup>h</sup> In a note transcribed by M. Bellanger, but of which I give only the substance.

<sup>i</sup> Strab. lib. vi. p. 404. B.

dered flaxen the hair of those who bathed in it. Ovid asserts the same thing.<sup>a</sup>

Crathis, et huic Sybaris nostris conterminus arvis,  
Electro similes faciunt auroque capillos.

It is for this reason, probably, that Euripides gives to the Crathis the epithet of flaxen.<sup>b</sup> "Which is watered by the beautiful Crathis, sparkling in the brilliancy of its flaxen hair."

This fable probably had its origin in the circumstance of this torrent carrying with it part of the soil it passed through, and so becoming white or yellow, according to the nature of that soil.

*Ἐξαίρετα*] *The lands.* *Ἐξαίρετα* in the Greek: which, in my opinion, is a certain portion of land selected and set apart for the purpose of rewarding any noble action or important service. Homer calls this portion of land, the recompense of heroes, *Τέμενος*. The term *ἐρέμωρο*, which occurs in the next line, and which necessarily relates to the culture of the earth, is decisive in favour of the sense which I have adopted.

*Πάρεστι ὁκοτέρωσί τις πείθεται αὐτέων, τοῦτοισι προσχωρίειν*] *Every one may adopt the opinion, &c.* Though Herodotus leaves his readers to choose between the traditions of the Sybarites and the Crotoniatæ, he appears himself to lean to the latter. In fact, he himself says, § XLVII., that Philip of Crotona perished with Dorieus. If Dorieus had been killed in Magna Græcia, Philip must have perished there likewise, and the inhabitants of Ægesta would not have had his tomb amongst them. He followed Dorieus, Thessalus, &c. into Sicily, and was killed in an action, from which Euryleon<sup>c</sup> was the only one who escaped. See also Book VII. § CXLVIII. and CCV. where it is clearly expressed that Dorieus was killed in Sicily.

Perhaps the Crotoniatæ thought it derogated from their glory, to pay to Dorieus the honours which were his due; and they might be the more disposed to withhold them, as no one had the right of punishing them for so doing. Besides, by rendering great honours to Callias the soothsayer, they considered that they did all that religion required of them, or that was necessary to propitiate the gods.

XLVI. *Συνέλεον δὲ Δαυριεῖ*] *Joined Dorieus.* There were doubtless many others; Pausanias<sup>d</sup> names amongst them the hero Athenæus, to whom a temple was erected at Lacedæmon. The Abbé Geydoyn having found in the Latin version of Pausanias, 'Atheniensis

<sup>a</sup> Ovid. *Metamorph.* lib. xv. vers. 315.

<sup>b</sup> Euripid. in *Troadid.* vers. 226.

<sup>c</sup> Herodot. lib. v. § 112.

<sup>d</sup> Pausan. *Lacon.* sive lib. iii. cap. xvi. p. 247.

Herois,' has translated it, 'of an Athenian hero,' not knowing that it was the proper name of a Lacedæmonian, as there have been Athenians bearing the name of 'Lacedæmonius.'

Διὸς Ἀγοραίου βωμὸν] *Agorean Jupiter.* The altar of this god was on the place called Ἀγορά, where the people assembled to deliberate on the national affairs. Ἡ βουλευτικὴ Ἀγορά. And hence the surname of Agorean, given to Jupiter.

XLVII. Ὀλυμπιονίκης] *He had obtained the prize at the Olympic games.* It is not known in what Olympiad Philip the son of Butacides gained the prize, but it must have been between the 64th and the 67th. He joined Dorieus in the 68th: and he must then have been forty years old, and must have gained the prize in the course of the sixteen preceding years: it could not be further back, as his age would not admit it.

Διὰ δὲ τὸ σπουτοῦ κάλλος] *On account of his beauty.* Eustathius<sup>a</sup> remarks that beauty is no despicable advantage; and he proves that it was held in great estimation, from the pictures of the Loves, in which the Greeks excelled, and from the honours rendered to Philip by the inhabitants of Ægesta, which he relates in the very words of Herodotus.

XLVIII. Γοργώ] *Gorgo.* She married Leonidas. When<sup>d</sup> that prince quitted her to take his post at the pass of Thermopylæ, Gorgo, having inquired what were his orders—"Marry a worthy man, and become a mother of brave citizens," was his answer; which shows that he expected to fall there. This princess was remarkably virtuous, and is one of those women proposed by Plutarch<sup>e</sup> as a model of Eurydice.

XLIX. Χάλκεον πινάκα, ἐν τῇ γῆς ἀπάσης περιόδῳ ἐνετέμνητο] *A plate of copper, on which was engraved the entire circumference, &c.* This is a very remote epoch for geographical charts, at least in Greece, as the voyage of Aristagoras to Lacedæmon must have been in the first year of the 69th Olympiad, 504 years before the vulgar era. They must have been then rather common, too, as Anaximander had made them 71 years before; for we know that he flourished 575 years before our era. It is Strabo who informs us,<sup>f</sup> on the authority of Eratosthenes, that Anaximander, who had been a disciple of Thales, was the first who published a geographical chart. The testimony of Eratosthenes is confirmed by that of Diogenes Laertius.<sup>g</sup> We must not, however, fancy that these charts came near to ours in point of perfection.

<sup>a</sup> Eustath. ad Illad. A. p. 46. lin. 11.

<sup>b</sup> Id. ibid. in libr. iii. Vol. i. p. 363. lin. 41.

<sup>c</sup> Herodot. lib. vii. § cccxxix.

<sup>d</sup> Plutarch. Lacon. Apophthegm. p. 325.

<sup>e</sup> Conjugalia praecepta, p. 145. E. F.

<sup>f</sup> Strab. lib. i. p. 13. C.

<sup>g</sup> Diogen. Laert. lib. ii. segm. 2. p. 79.

Geographical maps were much more ancient in Egypt, and we may presume that this was one of the branches of knowledge which the Greeks acquired in that country. Sesostris left with the colony which he had established at Colchis<sup>a</sup> geographical tables, in which were marked the routes and the distances between Egypt and other known countries, that the colonies might be able to maintain a correspondence with their metropolis. The use of such charts was known in Egypt long before the reign of Sesostris. We learn, indeed, from the Scriptures,<sup>b</sup> that Joshua sent three men of each tribe to examine the land of promise, and to bring him a description of it on a scroll. These Hebrews could have learned this science no where but in Egypt. If we might rely on St. Clement of Alexandria, we should date this knowledge much farther back. This father of the church informs us,<sup>c</sup> that the ministers of the Egyptian religion carried in their processions the works attributed to Thoth; that amongst these works were four which formed a complete body of geography. The first was a Cosmography or description of the universe, the second a Geography or description of the earth, the third a Chorography or particular description of Egypt, and the fourth contained a description of the Nile and of the different canals which with the waters of that river conveyed fertility into the different provinces of Egypt.

The learned M. de St. Croix having communicated to me a Ms. work of M. Freret, entitled '*Observations Générales sur la Géographie ancienne*,' I there found the above passage of Clement of Alexandria; and as the passage was more correctly reported than I had done it, I have taken the liberty of copying from him.

Τόξα] *The bow.* Valla, Brisson '*de Regno Persarum*,' lib. 111. § xvii. p. 648; and Stanley, on verse 85 of the Persen of Æschylus, have concluded from this description of Herodotus, that the bows of the Persians were small. But βραχέα refers only to αἶχμη, as Gronovius has pointed out in his notes. See also Hutchinson on the Anabasis, Book 111. p. 239. edit. 4to. where Xenophon expressly says, that the Persians used long bows. M. Wesseling likewise makes the same remark.

Ἀναζυρίδας ἔχοντες] *Cumbrous garments.* These anazyrides were a species of large trousers which came down to the ground. Strabo<sup>d</sup> attributes them to the Belgians, and Diodorus Siculus<sup>e</sup> to the Gauls, who called them 'braies.' Ἀνὰ δεινὸν Βράειον ποταμὸν πορεύοντες. See Scaliger on Propertius, Book iv. Elegy xi. p. 626. edit. Vanorum.

<sup>a</sup> Apollon. Rhod. lib. iv. p. 378. et ibi Schol.

<sup>b</sup> Joshua, chap. xviii. verses 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

<sup>c</sup> Clem. Alexandr. Stromat. lib. vi. § iv. p. 757.

<sup>d</sup> Strab. lib. iv. p. 300. A.

<sup>e</sup> Diod. Sic. lib. v. § 112. Vol. i. p. 268.

Κορβαίας] *And the tiara on their heads.* Κορβαίας in the text. This word, which also signifies the crest of a cock, is used to express the tiara of the Persians. "Images," says Demetrius Phalereus,\* "are agreeable; as for instance, if you compare the cock to the king of Persia, because that bird bears his crest erect." The kings wore the tiara upright.

Πολυργυρώτατοι] *Rich in silver.* I have spoken (Book i. note 6. to § 11.) of the greater part of the offerings of Croesus to the temple at Delphi. They were all works in gold, and amounted to the sum of 21,109,140 livres, (£879,547 sterling). It seems, therefore, surprising that the people who were under his dominion should pay their tribute to Darius in silver only; and not less so, that in the enumeration made by Aristagoras of the riches of Lydia, he mentions its silver, and not its gold.

L. Θαλάσσης τῆς Ἰωνίων] *The sea which washes the coasts of Ionia.* I have been obliged to use this periphrasis, lest this sea should be mistaken for the Ionian sea, which is far distant from it.

Οὐδένα λόγον εὐπεία] *Unpleasant language.* The usual reading *εὐπεία* has with reason appeared very objectionable to MM. Wesseling and Valckenacr, who correct *εὐπεία* after the Ms. of Sancroft, in which we read *εὐπεία*.

LI. Ἐσλθὼν δὲ εἰς] *Going straight to the hearth, (or fire-place).* In the Greek, 'entering into the interior of the house.' Supplicants always approached the hearth. This custom has been explained, Book i. § xxxv.; and I have thought it best to use an expression in conformity with it.

LII. Σταθμοί] *Stathmi.* These stathmi, or royal houses, probably served likewise for the accommodation of travellers. We know that hospitality has at all times been practised in the east, and that at the present day, on all the public roads, there are spacious and commodious edifices where travellers and their attendants are lodged, free of expense. They are called caravansaries.

Σταθμοὶ εἴκοσι] *Twenty stathmi.* The number of these royal houses does not always answer to the number of parasangs. Sometimes there are more than five parasangs between the stathmi, and sometimes scarcely four. M. De la Barre† supposes that if there were fewer of these edifices in Lydia and in Phrygia, it was because in those delightful countries, where there were no hills to ascend and descend, travelling was more easy and expeditious. But were this reason valid, the stathmi ought to be much more numerous in mountainous and difficult countries, such as Cilicia; the contrary, however, is the case, as the following table will show:—

\* Demetr. Phal., de Elocutione, § cxi. p. 112.

† Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom. viii. p. 242.



*On the road from Sardis to Susa, are 111 stathmi, or royal houses, and 450 parasangs.*

	Stathmi.	Parasangs.
In Lydia and Phrygia . . . . .	20	94½
In Cappadocia . . . . .	28	104
In Cilicia . . . . .	3	15½
In Armenia . . . . .	15	56½
In Matiana . . . . .	4	
In Cissia . . . . .	11	42½

The separate numbers of the stathmi do not amount to 111, but only to 81: neither do the parasangs amount to 450, but only to 313.

Now there must certainly be an error either in the total number of royal houses and of parasangs, or in the particular numbers assigned to the different districts. It cannot be in the total. Aristagoras had just said that it required three months, or ninety days, to travel from Sardis to Susa; according to Herodotus, (Book v. § 211.) the day's journey was 150 stadia. If we multiply these by 90, the number of days employed in the journey, we shall have 13,500 stadia.

Herodotus counts also 450 parasangs, which being multiplied by 30, the number of stadia, according to the same author, contained in the parasang, we have equally 13,500 stadia.

The error must therefore be in the particular numbers. M. De la Barre suspects\* that it is only in the number of royal houses in Matiana, and the number of parasangs in that province. It is certain that there is a palpable error in this place, and that the copyists have omitted to insert the number of parasangs in that country. But if with M. De la Barre we alter the number of royal houses to 34, and supply 137 as the number of parasangs, we are stretching out a very small district to an immense extent. I am rather inclined to think that these particular numbers are for the most part erroneous; but in the absence of good Mss. or of any other adequate means of information as to the extent of these provinces, it would be hazardous to decide on the point.

*Ἡλαι τοῖς φρεσὶ*] *There are gates.* M. De la Barre has translated this passage:† "On leaving Phrygia, we encounter the Halys, on the borders of which there are gates, that is to say a rocky defile, which must necessarily be passed before we can cross that river, where there is a considerable military post." The name of 'gates' sometimes given to mountain defiles has misled M. De la Barre, and induced him to suppose that it had that signification here. But the

\* *Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres*, tom. viii. p. 242.      † *Ibid.* tom. xii. p. 651.

word here refers to actual gates constructed on a bridge. Perhaps, too, there were flood-gates, which could be opened and shut at pleasure, and which are designated by the words *πύλαι ποταμῶν*. An example has occurred in Book III. § CXXVII. See also Bochart, 'in Phaleg.'

*Σταθμοὶ δυνὸν δέσσεις εἰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας*] *In twenty-eight days.* In the Greek, 'twenty-eight stathmi.' These stathmi were a kind of hotels where travellers might procure lodging. This custom still obtains in the east, where they are now called caravansaries. Herodotus, Xenophon, &c. count the number of days by the number of stathmi; I have therefore preferred the former word, as conveying the idea more clearly to the reader.

*Δίς τε πύλαι*] *Pass two defiles.* The Greeks call these narrow passes 'gates,' *πύλαι*. We might preserve the Greek term '*pylæ*.' Many excellent writers have done so, and amongst them M. De St. Croix, who has added to his excellent Memoir on the course of the Araxis and of the Cyrus, a dissertation on the Caspian and Caucasian Pylæ. The Latins have adopted this term into their language. Quintus Curtius, in speaking of these very defiles of Cilicia, says,<sup>a</sup> "*Pylas incolæ dicunt; arcissimas fauces; munimenta quæ manu potius naturali situ imitante.*" Mr. Bruce, who pretends to an intimate acquaintance<sup>c</sup> with the Greek, affirms that Philæ,<sup>d</sup> an island a little above Elephantina, is a Latin term, signifying a narrow passage. By this, he seems to be no better acquainted with the Latin than with the Greek. It is evident he has confounded the name of that island with the Greek word '*pylæ*,' signifying the defiles of a mountain. The name Philæ, however, is neither Greek nor Latin; its signification should be sought in the ancient Egyptian.

*Φυλακῆριον ἐν αὐτοῖσι*] *Troops in each.* M. De la Barre has translated,<sup>e</sup> 'there are also two military posts.' Herodotus does not say this; he says there were as many military posts as stathmi.

*Πρῶτος*] *The first.* That is, the first of the two rivers which bear the same name, and the second of the four; the other is the third. Herodotus does not mention the names of them.

*Ὁ δ' ἄλλος, ἐκ Μαρηνῶν*] *And the other in the country of the Mattieni.* Cornelius De Pauw reads *οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἐκ Μαρηνῶν*: 'The two others come from amongst the Mattieni.' M. Wesseling approves this reading; but it appears to me to imply that the three rivers were all called Tigris. This is likewise the opinion of many competent

<sup>a</sup> Lib. iv. cap. xix. col. 344. lin. 10— Nile, Vol. i. Introd. p. xvii.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. Book. i. chap. iv.

<sup>c</sup> Quint. Curt. lib. iii. cap. iv. § ii. p.

<sup>d</sup> Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom. xix. p. 561.

<sup>e</sup> Travels to discover the source of the

judges, whom it is unnecessary to name. For my part, I think the text of Herodotus is perfectly clear, and needs no correction. Herodotus speaks of four rivers; the first was called Tigris. He gives us the name neither of the second nor of the third, but tells us that they had but one name in common, but not the same as the first. The first of these two latter rivers had its source in Armenia, and the second in the country of the Matieni, as well as the Gyndes.

I had conjectured, from the following passage of Pliny, that the two names which Herodotus omits, were the Parthenias and the Nicephorion: "Tigris autem ex Armeniâ, acceptis fluminibus claris Partheniâ ac Nicephorione, Arabas Oreoâ, Adiabenosque disternunt." We should then have to prove that the Parthenias and the Nicephorion formerly bore the same name, and that the one had its source in Armenia, and the other in Matiena. The Parthenias seems to me to be the same with the Parthenius mentioned by Xenophon in the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, as well as by several other authors. See my translation of that work, Vol. II. p. 56. Strabo,<sup>2</sup> however, asserts that the Parthenius had its source in Paphlagonia. Now this circumstance agrees with neither of the rivers mentioned by Herodotus. After having bestowed considerable attention on the point, I am inclined to conclude, that the first of these two rivers is the Zabatus<sup>3</sup> of Xenophon, and the second the Zabatus Minor. Professor Michaëlis proves<sup>4</sup> that the first of these rivers was, by the Greeks, called Lycus (wolf), and that the name given to it by the Hebrews and the Syrians in their respective languages, signifies the same thing; the second was called Zabatus Minor. They were also called Zabas Major and Zabas Minor. See the Geographical Table, Art. ZABATUS.

*Ξαθμὶ εἰς ῥεεσπεῖς*] *Four days.* There is here a chasm; the copyists have omitted the number of parasangs. M. De la Barre would have us read 34 stathmi and 137 parasangs. See note to § LII. (p. 154—155.)

LIII. *Τὸ βασιλεῖον τῆς Μεννώνος*] *The royal palace of Memnon.* "It is said" that this city (Susa) was built by Tithonus, father of Memnon. It is 120 stadia in circumference, and of an oblong form; its citadel was called Memnonium."

See also Herodotus, § LV. where he calls Susa the city of Memnon.

*Ἀραιή*] *Precisely.* So in the Greek: 'plenè,' 'plenariâ.' It comes from *Ἀραιός*, which signifies 'full,' 'entire': *Ἀραιὸς λόγος*, an even, an

<sup>1</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. vi. cap. xivii. p. 223. lib. ii. cap. v.; lib. iii. cap. iii.  
<sup>2</sup> Strab. lib. xii. p. 514. C. <sup>3</sup> Jo. David. Michaëlis Spicilegium Geographiae Hebræorum veterum, p. 248.  
<sup>4</sup> Xenophon. Expedit. Cyri junioris, <sup>4</sup> Strab. lib. xv. p. 1064. C.

opposed to an uneven number. Hence *ἡμέραι ἀπὸ τῆς ἐννεήκοντα* signifies 90 complete days, neither more nor less.

LV. *Ὅψιν ἐννεννίου ἐραπυστάρην*] *A very clear vision of his misfortune.* *Ὀνειρος ἐραπύης*, an intelligible dream, or, as Herodotus expresses it, *ὅψιν ἐννεννίου ἐραπυστάρην*, a very clear vision; that is to say, that Hipparchus clearly saw in a dream the misfortune that awaited him.

The ancients imagined that a distinct dream was a certain announcement of what was to happen, or that the effects of it were to be turned aside only by certain expiatory ceremonies, as we see in the *Electra* of Sophocles and elsewhere. The proper term for designating this kind of dream is *ἐραπύης*, distinct, manifest. Æschylus, in his tragedy of the Persæ, puts into the mouth of Atossa, the widow of Darius, this<sup>a</sup> verse:

‘Ἄλλ’ οὐ τι πῶ τοιοῦδ’ ἐραπύης εἰδόμεν  
ὡς τῆς πάροιθεν εὐφρόνης.

‘But I never before had dreams so distinct as that of last night.’ Plato, in the dialogue entitled *Crito*,<sup>c</sup> has: *ὡς δρῶντων τὸ ἐννεννίου*, ὃ Σώπαρες. ΣΩ. Ἐραπύης μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ. ‘This dream is very extraordinary, Socrates. SocR. It appears to me very clear.’

I could cite abundant examples of this form of speech; but that would be superfluous, and perhaps to some even this remark will appear so. I have nevertheless thought proper to make it, because M. Wyttenbach, a critic of the first order, proposes to<sup>d</sup> read *ἐμπεραστάρην* instead of *ἐραπυστάρην*, without assigning any reason for the change. I think however I have discovered his motive for so doing. He has thought that the dative *τῷ ἑωυτοῦ πάθει* could not agree with *ἐραπυστάρην*. This use of the dative, however, is very common, although at the moment I do not recollect an example. *Ἰδόντα ὅψιν ἐννεννίου τῷ ἑωυτοῦ πάθει ἐραπυστάρην* is for *ἐραπυστάρην ἐς τὸ ἑωυτοῦ πάθος*. ‘Qui somnium viderat quo manifestissimè futura clades illi portendebatur,’ or ‘manifestissimum portendendæ futuræ cladi.’

*Κτείνοντα*] *He was killed.* Hipparchus was killed in the third year of the 66th Olympiad. See the *Fasti Attici* of Father Corsini, Vol. 111. p. 123. At the time when he was killed,<sup>e</sup> he was in possession of the government, according to the most prevalent opinion amongst the Athenians. Thucydides, however, expressly contradicts this. He asserts that Hipparchus<sup>f</sup> was tyrant at that time, and that Hipparchus, being his

<sup>a</sup> Vers. 424 et seq. 636 et seq.

<sup>b</sup> *Æsch. Persæ*, vers. 179.

<sup>c</sup> Plato in *Critone*, p. 44. B.

<sup>d</sup> In notis ad Plutarch. de Serâ Numi-  
min Vindictâ, p. 56.

<sup>e</sup> Plato in *Hipparcho*, Vol. II. p. 229.

B.

<sup>f</sup> Thucyd. lib. i. § 22. p. 16. et lib.  
vi. § liv. iv. pp. 411, 412.

younger brother, could not hold the office. He proves that Hippias was the eldest. 1. Because he was the only one of his<sup>a</sup> legitimate brothers who had children. But younger brothers are frequently married before their elders, and the elder brothers as often do not marry at all. Besides, how many women are there who are either wholly barren, or do not bear children till several years after their marriage, as was the case with the first wife of Anaxandrides, king of Lacedæmon?<sup>b</sup> 2. Because he is named the next after his father on the column; and with reason, adds the same historian, because he was the eldest, and had held the office of tyrant. But these columns, which stood in the citadel, were, according to this same Thucydides, a monument of the unjust dominion of the tyrants. The Athenians inscribed the name of Hippias first, because he was pre-eminent in cruelty, and not because he was the eldest. The government of Hipparchus was mild, and the fault laid to his charge was only the insult offered to Harmodius.<sup>c</sup> 3. If Hipparchus, continues Thucydides, had been tyrant at the time when he was assassinated, it would not have been easy for Hippias to succeed immediately to the tyranny. But to this we may answer, that Hippias was a shrewd man, and when he heard of his brother's death, he carefully concealed it, retiring to those who conducted the armed procession, and commanding them to repair, without arms, to a place which he pointed out. They repaired thither, imagining that he had something to communicate to them; and in the mean time, having ordered the troops in his pay to seize on the arms, he arrested all those whom he suspected, or who were armed with poniards. It is from Thucydides himself that we have all these particulars, which show how prudent were the measures adopted by Hippias to secure to himself the tyranny on the death of Hipparchus. See Meursius, in Pisistrato, cap. xi.

Plato likewise, who was as well acquainted with the history of his country as Thucydides, positively says,<sup>d</sup> that Hipparchus was the eldest of the children of Pisistratus. Ἰππάρχῳ, ὁ τῶν Πεισιστράτους παίδων ἦν πρεσβύτατος.

[Ἀριστογείτων καὶ Ἀρμόδιος] *Aristogiton and Harmodius.* The ancestors<sup>e</sup> of Aristogiton and Harmodius were Gephyreans. The Gephyreans formed a part of those people who followed Cadmus into Bœotia, where they established themselves in the province denominated Tanagra. Having been driven thence by the Bœotians, they retired to Athens, where, on certain conditions, they were admitted to the rights of citizenship.

<sup>a</sup> Thucyd. lib. vi. § lv. p. 412.

<sup>b</sup> Herodot. lib. v. § xli.

<sup>c</sup> Thucyd. lib. vi. § liv.

<sup>d</sup> Plato in Hipparcho, Vol. ii. p. 222. B.

<sup>e</sup> Herodot. lib. v. § lxi.



If we may believe Thucydides,\* Aristogiton, a man of mean condition, loved Harmodius, who was then in the flower of his youth. Hipparchus, who also loved Harmodius, endeavoured to gain his favour; but the latter, so far from yielding to the passion of the tyrant, disclosed it to his friend Aristogiton, and concerted with him the means of getting rid of his rival. Their project was executed during the festival of the Panathenæa.

Harmodius† was killed on the spot. Aristogiton escaped through the guards; but being hemmed in by the people, he was taken and put to the torture. Instead, however,‡ of denouncing his accomplices, he accused all the friends of the tyrant, and especially those who felt the strongest interest for his safety; and Hippias having put them to death, he then rallied him for giving in to so simple a stratagem. Others say,§ that after the friends of the tyrant had been put to death, Aristogiton pretended to have something to communicate to him in secret; and when Hippias approached him, he seized hold of his ear with his teeth, and would not leave go till he had entirely severed it.

I must not omit, that Hippias condemned to a death of torture the courtesan Læena, who was beloved by Harmodius. As she was apprehensive that the excruciating agony might force her¶ to betray her friends, she previously bit off her tongue. The Athenians, in order to honour‡ her memory, placed in the vestibule of the citadel the statue of a lioness without a tongue. I will take this opportunity of correcting the text of Polyænus, from whom I borrow the circumstance. Αἰνὴν (τὴν Λαίαναν) μὲν οὐκ ἔστησαν ἐν ἀκροπόλει· τὸ δὲ ζῶον τὴν Λαίαναν χαλεπὴν δημιουργήσαντες, ἀνέθηκαν. By which Polyænus is made to say, that this statue was not placed in the citadel, as if the Propylæe did not form a part of it. By placing ἐν ἀκροπόλει after ἀνέθηκαν, the negation no longer falls on ἐν ἀκροπόλει, and the whole passage will signify, 'They did not erect in honour of Læena a bronze statue in her own likeness, but under the emblem of a lioness, which they consecrated in the citadel.'

We have seen that the love which Hipparchus conceived for Harmodius was the primary cause of that tyrant's death. Thucydides\* adds, that Hipparchus, piqued by the refusal of that youth, offered to his sister the gross affront of withdrawing her from a procession in which she was carrying a sacred basket: that Harmodius, indig-

\* Thucyd. lib. vi. § lv. p. 411.

† Id. lib. vi. § lvii. p. 414.

‡ Polyæni Strategem. lib. i. cap. xlii. p. 47.

§ Diogen. Laert. in Zenone, lib. ix. segm. xvi. p. 605.

\* Polyæni Strategem. lib. viii. cap. xlv.

p. 790.

† Id. ibid. Plutarch. de Garrulitate, p. 505. P.

‡ Thucyd. lib. vi. § lvi. p. 413.

nant at the insult, concerted with Aristogiton the means of revenging it. But Plato assures us, that this was merely a popular report. "The most enlightened and polished people\* in Athens," says that philosopher, "are of opinion that Hipparchus was killed, not for the reason supposed by the vulgar, I mean the affront he offered to the sister of Harmodius, who was one of the Canephores, but for the following:—Harmodius, the lover of Aristogiton, took much pains to instruct him in literature. Aristogiton was much flattered by his education, but he suspected Hipparchus of being his rival. About the same time Harmodius became attached to a young man of agreeable person, and of illustrious birth. I have heard his name, but do not now recollect it. For a long time this young man admired Harmodius and Aristogiton, and looked on them as sages; but afterwards by associating with Hipparchus, he came to despise them. Harmodius and Aristogiton, irritated by this affront, killed Hipparchus."

The love which united these two young people, was of a virtuous kind, and not a disgraceful passion; and when, in justification of Timarchus, the mutual love of Harmodius and Aristogiton<sup>d</sup> was objected to Æschines, that orator replied that their wise and laudable affection for each other had so improved\* those benefactors of their country, those men of transcendent worth, that all the praises bestowed on them were far beneath their merit.

Although Thucydides has endeavoured to tarnish the glory of Harmodius and Aristogiton, by imputing the murder of the tyrant to a motive widely different from the love of liberty, their contemporaries and posterity did them greater justice. They were buried by the side of the path which leads to the Academy, and their monument existed in the time of Pausanias.<sup>d</sup>

Their actions, according\* to Simonides, gave light and safety to Athens: for in that author, as well as in Homer, *φῶς* signifies safety. The Athenians erected statues to them, says Pliny,<sup>f</sup> in the same year that kings were driven from Rome, that is to say, the fourth year of the 67th Olympiad. These statues were of bronze;<sup>e</sup> and this puts me in mind of a saying of Antiphon, which I think Plutarch was wrong in blaming. When it was asked, in presence of Dionysius the tyrant, which was the best bronze? "That," answered Antiphon, "of<sup>h</sup> which the Athenians made the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton." This

\* Plato in Hipparcho, Vol. ii. p. 289.

<sup>b</sup> Æschines in Timarch. p. 280. C.

<sup>c</sup> Id. *ibid.* p. 281. D.

<sup>d</sup> Pausan. Attic. five lib. i. cap. xix. pp.

71. 74. *no. ult.* p. 75.

<sup>e</sup> Hephaest. de Metris, p. 14.

<sup>f</sup> Plin. lib. xxxiv. cap. iv. Vol. ii. p. 642.

<sup>h</sup> Χαλκῆν εἰδωτα, ὅτετε Ἀριστοῦ καὶ Ἀριστογείτωνος ἱερῆσαι κρήνου Διονυσίου. contra Leptinem, p. 292, 112. et ea Edit. Taylor. Vol. iii. p. 80.

<sup>h</sup> Plutarch. de Adulat. et Amici discrimine, p. 68. A.

Antiphon was not the orator, (as has been asserted by Philostratus,<sup>a</sup> by the Pseudo-Plutarch<sup>b</sup> in his life of Antiphon, and by Photius,<sup>c</sup> or rather by those from whom Photius borrows,) but the tragic author, who was posterior to the orator. These statues, together with those of Hercules and Theseus, were placed near the temple of Mars, and to these were afterwards added statues of the legislator<sup>d</sup> Calades and of the orator Demosthenes. Xerxes having taken<sup>e</sup> Athens, carried away the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton;<sup>f</sup> but others were afterwards made. The first were the work of Antenor; the others of Critias, surnamed<sup>g</sup> Nesiotes, to distinguish him from Critias the Athenian statuary. Antiochus sent back the originals to the Athenians. Valerius Maximus<sup>h</sup> says that it was Seleucus; but Pliny the naturalist<sup>i</sup> affirms that it was Alexander, and in this he is supported by Arrian. "These statues," says that historian,<sup>j</sup> "are still in the Ceramicus, as you ascend to the citadel, very nearly opposite to the temple of the Mother of the gods, not far from the altar of the Eudanemi, which all those who have been initiated into the mysteries of the goddesses at Eleusis, know to be in the Portico."

Valerius Maximus, at the place above cited, adds, that when these statues arrived at Rhodes, they rendered to them divine honours; and we learn from Hermogenes,<sup>k</sup> that the building which contained them was considered, like the temples, as an asylum or place of refuge, so deeply was the love of liberty engraven in the hearts of the Greeks.

<sup>a</sup> Philostrat. in Vita Antiphontis, p. 590.

<sup>b</sup> Pseudo-Plutarch. in Vita Antiph. p. 633. B.

<sup>c</sup> Photius, Cod. celix. p. 1453.

<sup>d</sup> Pausan. Attic. sive lib. i. cap. viii. p. 20.

<sup>e</sup> The legislator is unknown to me. The Abbé Giesbregt, (Vol. I. of his translation of Pausanias, p. 27.) would have us read Callades, because, says he, Calades was a painter mentioned by Pliny, and Calliades was an archon in the year of the irruption of the Persians into Attica. But his having been an archon, does not prove that he was a legislator. If any alteration were necessary, I should be more inclined to read Callisthenes, who is enumerated by Herodotus, (Orat. xliii. p. 287. C.) amongst the legislators, but I think any change superfluous. We know that every year nine archons were elected. The first was called Archontus Eponymus; the second, the King; the third, the Polemarchus; and the six others, the Thesmothetæ or Legislators. The name of the Archontus Eponymus is almost invariably preserved with care, because he gave name to the

year; those of the King and the Polemarchus but rarely, and on particular occasions, and those of the Thesmothetæ or Legislators scarcely ever. I suspect this Calades to have been one of these Thesmothetæ who had distinguished himself during his archonate. See the second argument of the Oration of Demosthenes against Androchus, p. 380.

<sup>f</sup> Pausan. Attic. sive lib. i. cap. viii. p. 20.

<sup>g</sup> Pausan. loco laudato. Lucian. in Philopseude, § xliii. Vol. iii. p. 46, Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxiv. cap. viii. Vol. ii. p. 648. In the three editions of Pliny which I have consulted, there is 'Critias. Nestocles.' Junius had corrected, 'Critias Nesiotes.' It is very surprising that the learned Father Hardouin should not have consulted this latter writer.

<sup>h</sup> Valer. Maxim. lib. ii. cap. 1. Extern. i. p. 225.

<sup>i</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxiv. cap. viii. Vol. ii. p. 651.

<sup>j</sup> Arrian. de Expedic. Alexandr. lib. iii. cap. xvi. p. 217.

<sup>k</sup> Hermog. Ars Rhetorica, p. 20, lin. 27.

According to the Chronicle of Paros, statues were not erected to these heroes previous to the fourth year of the 77th Olympiad. But this refers to those which were erected after the total defeat of the Persians, who had taken away the former ones. The first statues were, as I have before observed, the work of Antenor;<sup>a</sup> and the second, that of Critias. Praxiteles also made two of bronze. "Praxiteles quoque marmore felicior, idè et clarior fuit. Fecit tamen et ex ære pulcherrima opera . . . Harmodium et Aristogitonem Tyrannicidas." But this author is wrong in adding, that these were the statues which Xerxes carried off.

It should seem, that it was to these statues Lycurgus alluded in his oration against Leocrates. "In the rest of Greece," says he, "you will find statues erected in the public places to the conquerors in the games; but amongst you, they are dedicated only to good generals, and those who have destroyed tyrants."

The names of these heroic citizens were soon in the mouths of every body; and songs were sung in honour of them at table, the singers holding branches of myrtle in their hands. Athenæus has preserved to us one of them,<sup>b</sup> of which the reader will perhaps not be displeased to see a translation.

"Encompassed by branches of myrtle, I will carry a sword, as did Harmodius and Aristogiton, when they killed the tyrant, and restored the isonomia to Athens.

"Happy Harmodius! no, thou art not yet dead; 'tis said thou art in the isles of the blessed with the light-footed Achilles, and Diomedes the son of Tydeus.

"Amidst branches of myrtle, will I carry a sword, as did Harmodius and Aristogiton, when they killed the tyrant Hipparchus at the festival of the Panathenæa.

"Your glory shall never perish, happy Harmodius and Aristogiton, because you have destroyed the tyrant, and restored the isonomia in Athens."

The isonomia mentioned in the last verse, means the equal distribution of justice. In the first verse we find, 'Εν μύρτῳ κλάδι. The poets often indulged in metaplasms. Κλάδι is for κλάδῳ, and comes from κλάς, κλάδος. We find in Hesychius κλάδα, κλάδον, ῥάβδον. See also Salmasius, ad Dedicacionem statuæ Regillæ, p. 115. In the seventh verse, Achilles is placed in the isles of the Blessed. Pindar had said, before Callistratus, that Thetis had conveyed her son Achilles

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Attic. sive lib. i. cap. viii. p. 20.

<sup>b</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxiv. cap. viii. Vol. ii. pp. 653, 654.

<sup>c</sup> Lycurg. contra Leocratem, p. 184.

<sup>d</sup> Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. xv. cap. xv. p. 695. A, B.

to those islands; Olymp. ii. verse 143. Plato has repeated it, in *Convivio*, Vol. iii. p. 179. E. 180. B. As to Diomedes, who is mentioned in the next verse, Minerva rendered him immortal, as we find in Pindar, *Nem.* x. verse 12; and the historians, as is remarked by the scholiast of that poet, have no where spoken of his death.

I have translated this song precisely as I find it in the first volume of Brunck's *Analecta*; and, having concluded that the very judicious corrections on it therein contained, were the work of that distinguished critic, I was surprised to find them again in the excellent work of Dr. R. Lowth, since bishop of Oxford, *De sacrâ Poësi Hebræorum*, *Prælect.* i. p. 14. M. Brunck, who possesses in himself so ample a fund of merit, might very well have afforded to acknowledge the obligation he was under to the work of the learned Bishop.

This song is attributed by some to Alcæus; but he died long before Hipparchus: Hesychius, under the word *Ἀρμόδιου μέλος*, informs us that it is from the pen of Callistratus. This song was so popular at Athens, that it was the custom to sing it at all entertainments. Thus the Chorus of the *Acharnei*, in which war is personified, says: "I will no more receive Mars into my house; he shall never again sing there the song of Harmodius." Antiphanes,<sup>b</sup> in his piece entitled *Ἀγροικοί*, says:

Ἀρμόδιος ἐκαλεῖτο, Παιὼν ᾄδετο,  
Μεγάλην Διὶς στήθεσι ἕκαστον ἥρ' εἰς.

'They demanded the song of Harmodius, the Pæan was sung; some one took the great drinking-cup of Jupiter Savior.' This was the cup which was drained in honour of that god.

The scholiast of Aristophanes quotes the commencement of this song in his remarks on the verses of the *Acharnei* above cited, as does Suidas, under the words *οὐδέ ποτ' ἐγὼ* and *παροίνιος*: but the latter contents himself with transcribing from the scholiast of Aristophanes. A thousand authors allude to this song. Aristophanes, in the piece entitled *Lysistratus*, makes the chorus of old men say, speaking of the women who have seized the citadel, and who were suspected of an intention to assume to themselves the sovereignty: "Never shall they govern me: I will be on my guard, and henceforward carry a sword concealed in branches of myrtle."

If we are to believe Bergler, this author twists the sense of this verse so as to make an obscene allusion; 'myrtle' in Greek signify-

<sup>a</sup> Aristoph. *Acharn.* vers. 979. ex edit. Brunck. p. 602. F.

<sup>b</sup> Aristoph. *Lysistrat.* vers. 631.

<sup>c</sup> Athen. *Deipnosoph.* lib. xv. cap. xiv.



ing the 'pudenda' of women, as we find in verse 1004 of the same comedy; but we shall do better to rely on M. Brunck, whose edition is decidedly the best that has yet appeared.

Cicero appears to allude to this song, when in his oration for Milo he says: "Græci homines Deorum honores tribuunt iis viris, qui Tyrannos necaverunt. Quæ ego vidi Athenis? quæ aliis in urbibus Græciæ? quas res divinas talibus institutas viris? quos centus? quæ carmina? propè ad immortalitatem et religionem et memoriam consecrantur."

From this song, we may infer that those who assisted at the sacrifices of Minerva carried branches of myrtle, and that the conspirators had concealed their poniards in twigs of that shrub. And hence doubtless arose the custom of every one who sang a song at a repast, holding in his hand a branch of myrtle.<sup>a</sup> It was then passed on to the next. This branch of myrtle was called αἶσαρος, and so I think we must read in Plutarch, and not δασαρὸν, which gives no meaning. This word signifies also a branch of laurel. We read in Hesychius, Αἶσαρος ὁ τῆς δάφνης κλάδος, ὃν κατέχοντες ὕμνου τοὺς θεούς: 'The Æsacus is a branch of laurel held by those who sang the praises of the gods.' The Etymologicum Magnum says the same thing. See the commentators on Hesychius on this word, p. 171.

The descendants of these devoted patriots were maintained in the Prytaneum,<sup>c</sup> at the public expense, and they were exempted from all public offices which required large expenditure. We find this from the harangue of Demosthenes against Leptines;<sup>d</sup> when the latter proposed to abrogate these exemptions, which had become very burdensome to the state from their multiplicity, he expressly excepted the descendants of Harmodius and Aristogiton, μηδένα εἶναι ἀελεῖ πλὴν τῶν ἀφ' Ἀρmodίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος.

It was for the purpose of inciting men to imitate the example of these patriots, that after the expulsion of the tyrants the following law was established, which the people in general, and each individual in particular, swore to observe and keep: "It has pleased the senate and the people, it being the turn of the tribe of Æantis to preside, Cleogenes being secretary, and Boethus epistates, upon the proposal of Demophantus, to decree, that if any one destroy the democracy established at Athens, or if, the democracy being destroyed,

<sup>a</sup> Cicero, Orat. pro Milone, § xvi.

<sup>b</sup> Plutarch. Sympos. Questiones, lib. i. p. 615.

<sup>c</sup> Ἀλλὰ περιεῖν αὐτὸν . . . τῇ ἐν Πρυτανείῳ πύρρῳσι κεκουνημένα τοῖς Ἀρmodίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος ἀπογόνους. Di-

narch. contra Demosthen. p. 103.

<sup>d</sup> Demosth. advers. Leptin. p. 282, 58.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> Andocides, de Mysteriori, p. 13. vel p. 47. ex editione Reiskii.

## NOTES ON HERODOTUS.

any one attempt to exercise any authority there, he is the enemy of the Athenians; that he may be put to death with impunity, his property be confiscated to the state, and a tenth of it adjudged to Minerva. He who has put to death the offender, and he who shall have counselled him to do it, shall be considered as sacred and inviolable: and in all solemn sacrifices the Athenians in tribes and in townships shall swear to kill the author of such crimes; and the oath shall be in the following terms:—I will with this hand, put to death, if I am able, the individual who shall destroy the democracy established at Athens; and if, the democracy being destroyed, any one shall afterwards exercise any magistracy, shall become tyrant, or shall establish any tyrant, and if any one should kill him,—by the gods and the genii, I will look on that man as sacred, for having killed an enemy of Athens: and having sold all the effects of him so slain, I will give one half to the murderer, either orally or by writing, and will in no wise withhold it from him. Should any one perish in killing the tyrant, or in attempting to do so, I will load him with benefits, both himself and his posterity, as I have done by Harmodius and Aristogiton and their posterity. All oaths contrary to the interests of the people at Athens, whether made at Athens, in the camp, or elsewhere, I recall and declare void."

Andocides has preserved to us this law in his harangue on the Mysteries. It was inscribed on the column which stood in front of the place where the senate of Five Hundred assembled, as we learn from this same Andocides, p. 12.

The family of Harmodius shared the fate of things mortal, and in the course of time degenerated like all others. Antiphon,<sup>a</sup> who was descended from it, having been condemned, most likely for the crime of treason, by the senate of the Areopagus, was thrown in prison, and, after being tortured, was put to death. I imagine it is to this Antiphon that Demosthenes alludes, when he says:<sup>b</sup> "The descendants of that Harmodius and of that Aristogiton who had procured you the greatest of blessings, and to whom the law had, in gratitude, ascribed in all your temples, honours, sacrifices, libations, and vases, and who were celebrated in songs and eulogized as gods and heroes, have they not experienced the rigour of the law, whilst their weeping children, bearing the same honoured names, were unable to excite our compassion, induce us to pardon them, or grant them the slightest favour?"

The saying of Iphicrates is generally known. A descendant<sup>c</sup> of

<sup>a</sup> Dinarch. contra Demosthen. p. 98.  
lib. 12.

<sup>b</sup> Demosth. de fals. leg. pp. 260. 512.

<sup>c</sup> Plutarch. Apophthegm. p. 187. B.

Harmodius, proud of his birth, reproaching that great man with the meanness of his extraction, "My nobility," answered Iphicrates, "begins with me; and yours ends in you."

The love of liberty was so lively and predominating a sentiment with the Athenians, that even at a time when they scarcely possessed the shadow of it, they abandoned to the rigour of the laws those who would destroy the democratic government. Phrynichus<sup>a</sup> having been killed by Apollodorus and Thrasybulus, and these having been arrested and examined by the people, they proved that Phrynichus was a traitor. They were immediately released, and the people, by the advice of Critias, decreed, that a process should be instituted against the deceased, and if he were found guilty, that his body should be disinterred and carried out of Attica, that the country might not enclose in its bosom the bones of a traitor. There was a law, indeed, in Athens,<sup>b</sup> which denied the rites of burial to traitors. A process was commenced against them, though dead, and, if condemned, they were not allowed to be buried in Attica, and their property was confiscated for the benefit of the state. Phrynichus was a member of the Council of Four Hundred, established by the Lacedæmonians. The people also put to death Aristarchus and Alexicles, who had defended him, and would not permit them to be buried in the country. Hipparchus<sup>c</sup> was condemned to death on the same account; but having escaped, his statue in the citadel was thrown down, melted, and a column made of the materials, on which was engraved his condemnation and that of other traitors of after-times.

This love of liberty was so violent in the Athenians, that, generous as they were, it overcame their gratitude, and induced them to declare for the murderers of Cæsar, and erect statues to them, though they had received the greatest benefits from that prince. This rage for liberty caused them to view him as an odious tyrant, to shed whose blood was a deed of glory.

I had almost forgotten to remark, that the Helastæ, before entering on the duties of their office, made oath never to vote in favour<sup>d</sup> of tyranny or oligarchy, and never to obey him who should destroy the democracy, or should speak, or propose any decree against that form of government.

Such was the manner of thinking of a people possessed with a mad

<sup>a</sup> Lycurg. advers. Leocrat. p. 163. lin. ult. et p. 161.

<sup>b</sup> Xenoph. Hist. Hellen. lib. i. cap. vii. § x. p. 36.

<sup>c</sup> Lycurg. advers. Leocrat. p. 164. lin. 26. This Hipparchus was the son of Timarchus, as we find from the same passage

of Lycurgus, or rather of Charmus, according to Harpocration, and a person quite distinct from Hipparchus the son of Pinestratus.

<sup>d</sup> Demosth. advers. Timocrat. p. 470, 235.

passion for liberty. The crime of Harmodius and Aristogiton was in their eyes an act of heroism, which they never ceased to celebrate in triumphant songs. But we, who profess milder manners, behold the act with horror, as an atrocity condemned alike by human and divine laws.

Ἐν ἑτεῇ ρήσσει] *During four years.* Herodotus does not here endeavour to cast any stain on the glory of Harmodius and Aristogiton, as he has been accused of doing in a work printed lately at Leipsic. He contents himself with observing that the murder of Hipparchus did not restore liberty to Athens; which is strictly true.

Hippias was driven from Athens in the second year of the 67th Olympiad, 510 years before our era, after a reign of four years. Plato<sup>a</sup> assigns him only three, but Thucydides<sup>b</sup> says that he was expelled in the fourth; i. e. that he reigned three entire years, and had commenced the fourth. This is also the opinion of the learned Dodwell,<sup>c</sup> who reconciles Herodotus with Thucydides. He retired first to Sigeum,<sup>d</sup> thence to Lampsacus,<sup>e</sup> and afterwards sought an asylum with Darius. The year in which he was expelled, appears from two passages of Thucydides. In the first, the historian relates<sup>f</sup> that he returned twenty years afterwards, and fought with the Persians at the battle of Marathon, where, according to<sup>g</sup> Cicero, he perished. This battle was fought in the third year of the 72nd Olympiad, 490 years B. C. In the second passage<sup>h</sup> the same author remarks, that this happened about 100 years before the tyranny of the Four Hundred. Now the tyranny of the Four Hundred began in the first year of the 92nd Olympiad, 411 years before our era.

The Chronicle of Paros, according to Corsini, does not accord with this calculation; but as some of the words are effaced from the marble, and instead of ἀπέκτειναν, we read only ἀπέκτε . . ., I should prefer reading ἀπέκτειναν—since the time when Aristogiton and Harmodius, having killed Hipparchus, contributed to the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ. Instead of σπυράτορσαν, which is a conjecture of Mr. Chandler's, I prefer σπυρατόρσαν, which is the reading of the first editors.

LVI. Ὀψις] *The vision.* Plutarch relates another. According to that author,<sup>i</sup> Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, imagined in his sleep, a short time before his death, that he saw Venus sprinkling blood on his face from a certain cup.

<sup>a</sup> Plato in Hipparcho, Vol. II. p. 229.

<sup>b</sup> Thucyd. lib. vi. § lxx.

<sup>c</sup> Annal. Thucyd. p. 42.

<sup>d</sup> Herodot. lib. v. § lxx.

<sup>e</sup> Thucyd. lib. vi. § lxx.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid.

<sup>g</sup> Cicero ad Atticum, lib. ix. Epist. x.

<sup>h</sup> Thucyd. lib. viii. § lxxiii.

<sup>i</sup> Plut. c. b. de Serâ Numinis Vindictâ, p. 556. b.

*Παναθηναῖα*] *Panathenæa*. The Panathenæa were a festival instituted in honour of Minerva. There were the lesser and the greater Panathenæa. The origin of the lesser is as far back as the time of Theseus. When that prince had united all the little states of Attica in the city of Athens, he instituted there \* the festival of the Panathenæa, which was common to the whole nation. It was celebrated every year on the 14th of the month Hecatombæon, which answers to the 27th July, as is proved by Samuel the Less † against Meursius. Its institution took place in the year 3398 of the Julian period, 1316 years before our era. See the Oxford Marbles, Epoch XXI.

The great Panathenæa were celebrated every five years, in the third year of each Olympiad, on the 27th of the month Hecatombæon, i. e. on the 9th of August. † Τὰ γὰρ μέγιστα τοῦ Ἑκατομβαιῶνος ἕγερτο τρίτῃ ἀκτιῶντι. Proclus says, \* the 3rd of the ending month,' according to the Athenian mode of reckoning, which Meursius did not understand, as he explains it by the 23rd Hecatombæon. But that month having but 29 days, the 3rd of the ending month (by which they seem to mean the 3rd from the end) will be the 27th, which answers to the 9th August.

The learned M. De St. Croix fixes it on the same day, in his 2nd Table of the Attic months, at the end of the *Travels of Anacharsis*, 4th edition. An inscription recently discovered † in the citadel of Athens, however, places the greater Panathenæa on the 2nd Prytaneæ, that is to say, in the month Metageitnion, which comprises from the 14th of August to the 21st of September inclusively. The learned and ingenious Barthélemy, who was perfectly aware of the date assigned to this festival by the authors who have spoken of it, with his usual modesty thus expresses himself: "My fruitless researches oblige me to leave this point of criticism in obscurity."

The time of their institution, therefore, is still an unsettled point. It is contended, on the authority of the Oxford Marbles, that the greater Panathenæa were established by Erichthonius; but in his time, this name could not have been given to the festival, as the Athenians were not then united. I am of opinion, that from the time of Theseus to the 3rd year of the 53rd Olympiad, there was but one festival of this name; but that in that year, under the archontate of Hippocleides, they were celebrated with more than usual magnificence,

\* Plutarch. in Theseo, p. 11. B.

† Ad Leges Atticas, p. 87, &c.

‡ Procli Comment. in Timæum Platonis i.

§ Dissertation sur une ancienne Inscription Græque relative aux finances des Athéniens, par M. l'Abbe Barthélemy.

Paris, 1792, 4to. This dissertation combines the utmost elegance of polish, with a perspicacity of intellect and a depth of erudition the most varied and the most agreeably employed. It is especially remarkable for a tone of modesty, which in the present times is rather scarce.



and that then were established, as we learn from Pherecydes,\* certain games, which it was resolved to repeat every five years. It was at that time, no doubt, and for that reason, that a distinction was made between the greater and the lesser Panathenæa. Those that continued to be celebrated every year with their former simplicity were termed the lesser, and the name of greater was bestowed on those which were solemnized with more pomp every five years.

But when I say, with the authors above cited, that this festival was celebrated every five years, I mean after the revolution of four years only, and at the commencement of the fifth, otherwise it could not have been celebrated in the 3rd year of each Olympiad.

Τάδε τὰ ἔπεα] *The following enigmatical verses.* I give them in the original :

Τλῆθι λέων ἀγλῆτα παθὼν τετληότε θυμῷ  
Οὐδέεις ἀνθρώπων ἀδικῶν τίσιν οὐκ ἀποτίσει.

The last of these verses is given in Aldus's edition of the Anthologia, p. 7. verso. Stephens has the first in his edition, p. 11, which he has probably borrowed from Herodotus. M. Brunck has inserted them in his *Analecta*, Vol. III. p. 248. In the first of these verses, the following expressions are worthy of remark, Τλῆθι, ἀγλῆτα, τετληότε, as well as the ingenious manner in which Gronovius has contrived to preserve them in his version.

Fortiter hæc leo fer, quamvis fero, quando ferendum est :  
Injustos homines æro, cito, pœna sequetur.

Ἀπειπάμενος τὴν ὄψιν] *After having made expiations to avert its effect.* Superstition had acquired in those ages so absolute a sway over the minds of men, that it was not likely that Hipparchus should so far shake off its yoke, as to despise this vision. It is more natural to suppose, that he endeavoured to avert the fatal accomplishment of it by sacrifices, or some other kind of expiation ; and this is what I apprehend is the meaning of the term ἀπειπάμενος. The justice of this remark has induced me to borrow it from M. Wesseling : I could have wished, however, that he had cited some example of the term being used in this sense.

It was imagined that the accomplishment of fatal dreams might be averted by sacrifices offered to the gods, called Ἀποτρόποι, 'Averruncatores,' or simply by relating the dream to the sun.<sup>d</sup> The ancients, says a scholiast of Sophocles, had a custom, when they dreamed a

\* Marcellin. in Vita Thucyd. mit.

<sup>d</sup> East, ex edit. Brunck.

† Sophocl. Elect. v. 424. et ibi Scho.

dream of ill omen, to relate it to the rising sun,<sup>o</sup> in order that that power, being opposed to night, might avert its effect.

'*Ἀνείρων, ἀνείρασθαι*, signify 'despondere animum.' I would therefore translate, 'Though dejected by this vision, he nevertheless headed the procession.'

LVIII. *Γράμματα*] *Letters*. Herodotus here seems to say, that before Cadmus, letters or characters were unknown to the first inhabitants of Greece. Very learned men of the last century, such as Bochart in his *Canaan*, and Walton in his *Prolegomena* on the English Polyglot, have understood it in this sense, and have concluded that the Greeks had borrowed from Cadmus and the Phœnicians, the form of the letters used in the inscriptions mentioned by Herodotus, § LIX. LX. and LXI., and writing itself, that is, the knowledge of characters in general, the art of committing speech to a permanent existence, and speaking to the eye, which they apprehend to have been totally unknown in Greece before the arrival of Cadmus. These facts, however, appear to me very doubtful. *Οἱ Φοίνικες . . . ἄλλα τε πολλὰ . . . ἐσήγαγον διδασκάλια ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ δὴ καὶ γράμματα, οὐκ ἔόντα πρὶν Ἕλλησι, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ*. Herodotus does not put the article *τὰ* before *γράμματα*, so that it appears to me we should understand from this passage, 'that the Phœnicians introduced amongst the Greeks, besides other knowledge, certain letters or characters, (and not *letters* generally,) which were not before that time in use amongst the Grecian people.' In fact, letters appear to have been in use long before the time of Cadmus, and even much earlier than that of Deucalion. As soon<sup>a</sup> as men began to collect together, to trade with one another, or even to make war on each other, they must necessarily have invented signs for the communication of their ideas. This is so natural to nations who are making only the first steps towards civilization, that a method of writing was found to be in existence amongst such of the Americans as had formed themselves into a national body. We can scarcely doubt that before the deluge of Deucalion, considerable cities had been built, and powerful states formed. Phoroneus,<sup>b</sup> the son of Inachus, gave laws to the Argians 395 years before this deluge; but how could these have been known, or preserved, if they had not been written?

Tzetzes<sup>c</sup> maintains that letters were known in Greece before the arrival of Cadmus; and he proves this by the oracle delivered to Cadmus at Delphi. He concludes from the circumstance of the oracles being then pronounced in verse, that letters were in use. This proof, which is far from convincing, however, receives additional

<sup>o</sup> *Dissertatio de prisca Græcorum lit-* 310, et 490.

*teris*, § ix. 2. &c.

<sup>c</sup> Tzetze *Histor. Chiland.* v. vers. 815

<sup>b</sup> *Kiesch. Chronic. lib. poster. ad ann.* et seq. p. 352, &c.

force from a passage of the History of Crete, preserved to us by Diodorus Siculus. "The Muses" were daughters of Jupiter. Their father imparted to them the talent of inventing letters. To those who say that the Syrians were the first inventors of them, and that the Phœnicians having learned them from the Syrians, communicated them to the Greeks,—it may be answered, that the Phœnicians were not the first inventors, but merely changed the form of the characters (*ταῖς σέως*); that most people adopted those letters, and made use of them; and that it was on this account they were called Phœnician letters."

The same historian furnishes a more decisive proof than this.<sup>a</sup> "A deluge having inundated Greece, destroyed the greater part of the inhabitants; and the monumental inscriptions perished with them." Letters therefore were anterior to the age of Ogyges, and consequently to that of Cadmus; for it is of the deluge of Ogyges, I apprehend, that Diodorus here speaks. These letters were not, however, totally lost, since, as we learn from Eustathius,<sup>c</sup> the Pelasgi were the only people of the Greeks who preserved them; and it was doubtless for this reason, that these letters long bore the name of Pelasgic, as we learn from Diodorus Siculus.<sup>d</sup> An invention usually takes its name from the inventor. I shall not stop to comment on the above passage of the historian, which seems to say, that these letters, which were at first called Phœnician, were afterwards called Pelasgic, because they were first known by the Pelasgi; for besides that this passage is somewhat corrupt in the text, it is certain that these letters did not bear the name of Phœnician till afterwards, as we see from Herodotus,<sup>e</sup> and from the Imprecations of the Teians,<sup>f</sup> which are very ancient, as remote, perhaps, as the time of Anacreon.<sup>g</sup>

It is moreover very easy to prove, that the letters being called Phœnician on the arrival of the Cadmeans, it was not possible that they should afterwards take the name of Pelasgic, or even that the Pelasgians should have borrowed their letters from the Cadmeans. The Pelasgians greatly fell off from their glory under Deucalion and his children. Deucalion drove them from the greater part of Thessaly. Numbers of them took refuge in the Cyclades, the island of Crete, and the Histiotis, whence they were afterwards expelled by the Cadmeans.

As the Pelasgians abhorred the Cadmeans, who had driven them from the Histiotis, we can scarcely believe that they would adopt

<sup>a</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. v. § lxxiv. Vol. I. pp. 389, 390.

<sup>b</sup> Id. ibid. § lvi. Vol. i. p. 376.

<sup>c</sup> Eustathii Pærecbolæ, in Ibid. n. p. 258, lin. 13.

<sup>d</sup> Diod. Sic. lib. iii. § lxi. Vol. i. p. 226.

<sup>e</sup> Herodot. lib. v. § lvi.

<sup>f</sup> Teiorum Diræ, vers. 37. Vide Aulquit. Anat. Chishull, p. 101.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid. p. 96.

the letters of these people. It seems quite as unlikely that the name of Pelasgic should have been given to the letters introduced by the Cadmeans, at the very time that the latter were triumphant, and the former reduced to the lowest state of degradation.

We have already seen that letters were anterior to Deucalion, and that the Pelasgi preserved them after the deluge. These letters, we know not how, reached the Athenians. It is quite certain that they are the same which were called Attic letters, the ancient letters, whose antiquity was so lost in the darkness of ages, that at Athens they were believed to be indigenous to that place. *Ἀρχαὶ γράμματα*, says Hesychius, *τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐπιχόρια*. To this I may add that the ancient letters of the Latins, which were introduced into Latium by the Pelasgi,<sup>a</sup> were with very little variation<sup>b</sup> the same as those of the ancient Greeks: "Et formæ litteris Latinis, quæ veterimis Græcorum." Mr. Swinton is right in understanding by the most ancient letters of the Greeks, the Pelasgic letters. It may have happened that Tacitus, for want of deep research on the subject, took the letters of Cadmus for the most ancient. The letters of Cadmus, however, were certainly not those carried to Latium; or the Latins would have adopted the arithmetic of the Cadmeans, and would have had the 'coppa,' the 'saupi,' &c. The arithmetic of the ancient Latins was the same as that of the ancient Greeks, as we see in Scaurus, de Orthographiâ, edit. Putsch. p. 225; and in Priscian, de Figuris Numerorum. Now, the arithmetic of the Athenians is anterior to that of the Cadmeans. Sciences in their origin are coarse and rude, and acquire perfection only with time: such is the progress of the human mind. This we cannot help observing on comparing the Athenian with the Cadmean arithmetic. The first was long, tedious, and perplexing, and was stamped with the rudeness of the times in which it was invented. The other was more easy, better calculated for all sorts of numerical operations, and bore marks of the advancement of the human intellect.

The Pelasgic or Attic letters were sixteen only in number: viz.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. vii. cap. lvi. Vol. I. p. 413.

<sup>b</sup> Id. ibid. lib. vii. cap. lvi. p. 413.

<sup>c</sup> Tacit. Annal. lib. xi. § xiv.

<sup>d</sup> I shall not undertake to prove this, as it would require too much time and space. But the reader may consult the learned dissertation of the late President Houbert, 'de prisca Græcorum et Latinorum litteris,' p. 561 et seq. in the Panegyric of Father Montfaucon. It does not appear, however, that the ancients knew the eta (H) as a letter, but only as an aspiration,

and that it was not introduced as a letter till the archontate of Lucides, that is to say, in the year 403 before the vulgar era. Upon the marble of Choiseul, likewise, which is of the archontate of Glaucippus, and which was only seven years anterior to that of Euclides, we never find the H otherwise than as an aspiration. For example, it is usual to write *οἱ τες βολας* *Κλασθενος* *πρωτος*, for *οἱ τῆς βουλῆς Κλασθενος* *πρωτος*. We also find it as an aspiration in Hieronym for *ἱεροῖς*.

A. B. Γ. Δ. E. H. I. K. Λ. M. N. O. Π. P. Σ. T. The ancients, says Plutarch, contented themselves with sixteen letters to express their thoughts, whether in speaking or writing: *οἱ παλαιοὶ διὰ τῶν ἑκατὰδε στοιχείων φράζοντες ἀποχρώντως καὶ γράφοντες*. They were sufficient at that time, because they wrote *ἄνθρωπος* ANTEPOΠΟΣ, *χρόνος* KEPONOS. Cadmus added to this alphabet, Z. Θ. Ξ. and three letters purely numeral, the 'vau,' the 'sanpi,' and the 'coppa.' The Greeks do not call them letters, *στοιχεῖα*, but marks or signs, *τίσημα*. Cadmus introduced these letters with the view of facilitating arithmetical operations, which in his country could not be performed without them. The Υ, the X, and the Ω, have been added by subsequent grammarians.

It was this augmentation of the alphabet that occasioned Cadmus to be considered by so many writers as the inventor of it. Herodotus has been hitherto reckoned amongst the number, but I think without reason. The omission of the article before *γράμματα*, which in such cases is always used by the Greeks, shows that Cadmus brought only 'letters,' i. e. 'some' letters, 'certain' letters, into Greece; and I have so expressed it in my translation. The late President Boubier had not paid attention to this particular. But the reader will do well to consult his learned Dissertation<sup>1</sup> on the ancient letters of the Greeks and of the Latins, where he will find fully developed the question which is only touched upon in this note.

Pliny<sup>2</sup> thinks that Cadmus brought into Greece the sixteen letters of which I have spoken above; and these sixteen letters being Pelasgic, he had no idea that they were anterior to Cadmus.

*Πρῶτα μὲν, τοῖσι καὶ ἅπαντες χρέωνται*] *They employed them at first, in the same manner, &c.* I read with the Ms. of Sancroft, *πρῶτα μὲν τοῖσι καὶ ἅπαντες χρέωνται*, *κατόπιρ κνὶ ἅπαντες χρέωνται* Φοίνικες, or logically with the Ms. A in the Royal Library, *ἐχρέοντο* and *χρέονται*.

*Τῇ φωνῇ μετέβαλον*] *These letters changed with the language*. The Greeks originally wrote, after the manner of the Chaldeans and the Hebrews, from right to left; they afterwards wrote alternately one line from left to right, and the next from right to left, a mode of writing which was termed *Βουστροφηδόν*. The inscription of Sigeum, quoted by Chishull in his Asiatic Antiquities, is so written. After a time they wrote only from left to right. This change obliged them to reverse the letters, and turn towards the right those which formerly turned to the left, and 'vice versa.' They likewise wrote sometimes from the top to the bottom of the page, as the Chinese do; a method which was termed

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch. *Platonice Questiones*, p. tinorum litterarum loco superius laudato.

1009. f.

<sup>2</sup> Plin. *Hist. Nat. lib. vii. cap. 13. Vol.*

<sup>3</sup> Boublier, *de principis Græcorum et Lat.* i. p. 412. lin. 6.



τὸ ἐκ' ὄρχου, as we find it corrected in the edition of Festus \* printed at Amsterdam, 'in usum Delphini;' or rather τὸ ἐκ' ὀρθόν, as we find in a passage of Diodorus Siculus, where, speaking of the inhabitants of the isle of Taprobane, now Ceylon, he says, that they did not write from side to side, but from top to bottom, perpendicularly. Γράφουσι τοὺς στίχους οὐκ εἰς τὸ πλάγιον ἐκτείνοντες, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς, ἀλλ' ἀνωθεν κάτω καταγράφοντες εἰς ὀρθόν. This manner of writing is also mentioned by Eustathius. "The ancients," says he, "did not write their lines latitudinally, as we do, but perpendicularly." By the manner in which he explains the rank occupied by the persons who were entered for the race, it should seem that the letters were placed 'one before, then another behind, after that another, and so on. 'Ὁ μὲν ἐμπροσθεν, ὁ δ' ὀπίσθεν, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνον ἄλλος, &c. The grammarian Theodosius terms this method of writing, κιονηδόν, in the form of a column. Those who wish for examples of these different modes of writing have only to consult the Bibliotheca Græca of Fabricius, lib. 1. cap. xxvii. § iii. p. 159 et seq. vel ex nova editione, p. 217 et seq.

[Ῥυθμόν] *Another form.* Other proportions. Ῥυθμός signifies the proportions borne by the parts to the whole. If these be correct, the whole possesses grace; if otherwise, the whole, not bearing a just proportion to its parts, will offend the eyes of persons of good taste, though each one of the parts may be perfectly well executed.

A man of letters, mentioned by M. Wesseling, but not by name, wished to change τὸν ῥυθμόν to τὸν ῥυσμόν; but that critic proved to him, by the following passage of Aristotle, that τὸν ῥυθμόν was the proper expression: "Λέγοντες εἶναι τινὰ ἀναθήματα ὁμοίους ἔχοντα τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς τῶν γραμμικῶν ἀρχαῖα." "Saying that there were ancient offerings with letters of the same form." See also the note of M. Niclas, p. 297. of his edition of this treatise of Aristotle. It appears to me, as it did to him, that μεταῤῥυθμισαντες, which is employed by Herodotus two lines afterwards, proves that τὸν ῥυθμόν must be preserved.

[Διφθέρα] *Of the diphtheræ.* That is to say, skins, parchment. "A law," says Diodorus Siculus, † "enjoined the Persians to write the history of the empire on skins. They were called the Royal Diphtheræ." These diphtheræ contained the annals of the nation, and were deposited in the archives in the royal libraries. The discovery made by Mordecai of the conspiracy plotted by two eunuchs against

\* *Toposicion soliti sunt appellare Græci, genus scribendi deorsum versus, ut nunc dextrorsum scribimus.* Fest. Pomp. Festus, de Verbor. significat. voc. Toposicon, lib. xviii. p. 337.

† Diodor. Sic. lib. ii. § lviii. p. 160.

‡ Eustath. ad Hom. Il. lib. xlii. vers. 358. p. 1305. lin. 28.

§ Id. ibid. lin. 30.

¶ Aristot. de Mirabilibus Auscultat. p. 1165. A.

‡ Diodor. Sic. lib. ii. § xxiii. p. 145.

Ahasuerus, was recorded<sup>a</sup> with praise in the royal library; and we read in another passage,<sup>b</sup> that the same prince being troubled with a want of rest, caused the annals of his empire to be read to him. Agathias also makes mention<sup>c</sup> of these diphtheræ. "It is thus," says he, "that the Persians give the genealogy of Artaxerxes, and they affirm that these things are true, and as they are written in the royal diphtheræ."

Major Rennel remarks,<sup>d</sup> that the Persians, in their language, call the registers, 'duster.' Is it not probable, adds that learned writer, that the Ionians may have borrowed from them both this term, and the use of skins?

The custom of writing on paper having at length prevailed, it became a proverb applying to those who related old stories of no probability, "You are talking of things older than the diphtheræ." *Ἀρχαιότερα τῆς διφθέρας λέγεις*. Observe also that *ἀρχαῖος* signifies not only ancient, but ridiculous. See Suidas, under the word *Ἀρχαιότερα* κ. τ. λ.

On this passage of Herodotus, consult also the Critical Essays on the translation of Herodotus, by M. l'Abbé Bellanger, p. 161.

[Βύβλος] *The byblus*. I have quoted in note 6. on § xcii. Book ii. the descriptions given by Theophrastus and Pliny of the plant called byblus or papyrus. This would be the proper place to speak of the paper formed from it, and the method of manufacturing it; but M. Bernard de Jussieu and Count Caylus having left nothing unsaid on this subject, I refer the curious reader to their dissertation on the papyrus,<sup>e</sup> with which I was unacquainted when I wrote my note on the second Book. I will add, however, that the opinion of Varro on the modern invention of paper, the origin of which<sup>f</sup> he refers to a time subsequent to the foundation of Alexandria, is not tenable. Paper was not only known, but had become exceedingly common, long previous to that period. It appears by the passage of Herodotus, who lived a century before Alexander, that it was commonly used in his time. Cassius Hemina relates,<sup>g</sup> in the fourth Book of his Annals, that Cn. Terentius, whilst cultivating his field upon the Janiculum, found a chest containing the books of Numa, on paper, perfectly well preserved by means of citron leaves. These books contained the philosophy of Pythagoras. The Prætor Quintus Petilius, who it should seem was no friend to philosophy, had them burned.

<sup>a</sup> Esther, chap. ii. verse 23.

<sup>b</sup> Id. chap. vi. verse 1.

<sup>c</sup> Agathias, lib. ii. p. 66, A.

<sup>d</sup> The Geographical System of Herodotus, p. 247, note.

<sup>e</sup> Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres,

tom. xxvi. p. 267, &c.

<sup>f</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xii. cap. xi. Vol. i. p. 689. lin. 14.

<sup>g</sup> Id. ibid. cap. xiii. Vol. i. p. 692. lin. 14, &c.

Lucius Piso relates the same anecdote in the first Book of his Commentaries, with this difference, that he mentions seven books on the rights of the priesthood, and seven others on the philosophy of Pythagoras.

It were out of place to object here, that Pythagoras was considerably posterior to Numa. These works were nevertheless found in a chest, which likewise enclosed the remains of a man commonly supposed to be that prince.

It does not appear to Mr. Bruce \* " ever to have been a plant that could have existed in the Nile, or, as authors have said, been proper to it. Its head is too heavy, and in a plain country the wind must have had too violent a hold of it. The stalk is small and feeble, and likewise too tall; the root too short and slender to stay it against the violent pressure of the wind and current; therefore I believe it never could be a plant growing in the Nile itself, or in any very deep or rapid river."

Had Mr. Bruce possessed as thorough an acquaintance with the ancient authors as he flatters himself he does, he would have seen in Herodotus (Book II. § XCII.) that the byblus grows in marshes, and in Theophrastus † that it does not grow in deep waters. This plant was found in the canals, and in the stagnant pools formed by the overflowing of the Nile. The reason alleged by Mr. Bruce, therefore, is worth nothing.

Πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων] *There are many barbarians.* It is difficult to get rid of ancient habits. The barbarians could have procured the papyrus from Egypt, as the Greeks did; but they were accustomed to write on skins. It is not long since it was discovered, says Pliny, ‡ that the papyrus grows in the Euphrates, near to Babylon, and that paper can be made from it, as from the papyrus of Egypt; and nevertheless the Parthians still prefer writing on skins.

LIX. Ἀμφιτρυῶν μ' ἀνέθηκε] *Amphitryon has dedicated me.* The Thebans § celebrated, in honour of Ismenian Apollo, a festival called Daphnephoria. The priest of this god was annually chosen from amongst the most robust and well-formed children of the most illustrious families. Amphitryon consecrated this tripod to the divinity, whilst Hercules was 'daphnephorus,' that is to say, laurel-bearer, for he who performed the office of priest wore a crown of laurel. Proclus ¶ in his Chrestomathia speaks of the origin of this festival, and describes

\* Travels to discover the source of the Nile, Vol. vii. p. 118. 8vo. edit. lin. 17.

† Theophrast. de Plantis, lib. iv. p. 54.

‡ Plin. lib. xiii. cap. xi. Vol. i. p. 696.

§ Procl. in Chrestomath. apud Phot. p. 988. lin. 25, &c.

¶ Her. No.

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it at great length. According to that author, the person who presides at this festival is a child whose parents are both living. His nearest relation carries a rod, crowned with laurel, and certain sacred bandages called 'copo.' He is followed by the daphnephorus, who touches the laurel. His hair hangs loose; he wears a crown of gold; his robe is splendid, and reaches down to his feet, on which he wears shoes called 'iphicratidæ,' from the inventor Iphicrates, an Athenian general, who flourished about the year 4321 of the Julian period, 393 years before our era. I have spoken of this sort of shoe in my Memoir on the Thiericléau Vases. See Memoirs of the Academy of Belles-Lettres, Vol. XLIII. p. 200.

Νέων ἀπὸ Τηλεβοῶν] *On his return from the Teleboans.* By this is meant, after his victory over that people. See the notes of Wesseling and Valckenaer. The Aristarchus of Cambridge,\* whom I suspect to be Dr. Richard Bentley, proposes to read νέων.

This is a very happy conjecture. Wesseling and Valckenaer do not mention it in their notes, as very probably they were not acquainted with it. M. Brunck has admitted it into the text of his *Analecta*, Vol. III. p. 179; but he should have informed the public who was the author of the correction. M. Danse de Villosion<sup>b</sup> has published it as if it were his own, though he was perfectly acquainted with Chishull's *Asiatic Antiquities*, and the *Analecta* of M. Brunck. It is astonishing that M. Heyne, who had all these works at hand, should have ascribed it to M. Villosion.<sup>c</sup>

Κατὰ Λαίον] *Of the time of Laius.* Amphitryon was<sup>d</sup> contemporary with Laius, as he was purified from a murder by Creon, the brother-in-law of that prince. Hercules was also<sup>e</sup> contemporary with Œdipus, as we find in the *Bibliotheca* of Apollodorus.

It is surprising that Herodotus should have omitted to mention a tripod, which, to use the words of Pausanias,<sup>f</sup> was no less remarkable for its antiquity than for the celebrity of the person who presented it. It was an offering of Amphitryon for his son Hercules, who was daphnephorus. The daphnephoroi were priests of Iaménian Apollo, whose priesthood continued only for a year. They were so called because they wore crowns of laurel-leaves. They were always young, of illustrious families, remarkable for beauty and strength. All the

\* *Ad calcem Antiquit. Asiatic. Edm.* § vi. p. 93. Chishull.

<sup>b</sup> In *Anecdota Græcis*, p. 129, not.

<sup>c</sup> In notes ad Apollodori *Biblioth.* p. 223.

<sup>d</sup> Apollodori. *Biblioth.* lib. II. cap. iv.

<sup>e</sup> Hercules was the son of Amphitryon, and consequently contemporary with Œdipus, the son of Laius.

<sup>f</sup> Pausan. *Boeotic.* seu lib. ix. cap. x. p. 730.

daphnephori did not consecrate tripods to the divinity; but those only whose relations were very rich.

LX. Τεῖν περικαλλῆς ἀγαλμα] *To serve as an ornament.* The Dorians say τεῖν for σοί, 'tibi.' Hesychius on this word says: τεῖν, σοί Δωριεῖς. Τεῖν is Dorically for σοί.

Κατὰ Οἰδίπου τὸν Λαῖον] *Contemporary with Œdipus, son of Laius.* This Scæus was contemporary with Œdipus, as Hercules\* killed him together with his father.

Ἰπποκόωντος] *As the son of Hippocoon.* I read, agreeably to the marginal correction of the edition of Stephens, the Mss. of Sancroft, of Dr. Askew, of Cardinal Passionei, one in the Imperial Library at Vienna, and two in England, τῷ Ἰπποκόωντος, instead of τοῦ Ἰπποκόωντος. I find the same reading in the excellent Mss. A and B in the Royal Library.

LXI. Λαοδάμας . . . μοναρχεῖν] *The tyrant.* In the Greek there is μοναρχεῖν, the monarch. But in Herodotus, the monarch is a despot, which he makes synonymous with tyrant. These princes of the house of Cadmus might be considered kings by the Phœnicians who accompanied that monarch, and as tyrants by the people of Bœotia whom they had subjugated. On the word Tyrant, see note 2. on § 1. of Book III.

Ἐνὶ τούτῳ δὲ τοῦ Λαοδάμαντος] *Under this prince.* Laodamas,<sup>a</sup> son of Eteocles, succeeded his father on the throne of Thebes. During his minority he was under the guardianship of Creon, son of Menœceus, who was regent of the kingdom. Laodamas<sup>c</sup> was of age, and held the government himself, when the Argians undertook a second campaign against Thebes. The Thebans on this occasion went as far as Glissas to meet them. Laodamas killed Egialeus, the son of Adrastus, in the battle; but the Argians nevertheless gained the victory. Laodamas retired, in the course of the succeeding night, amongst the Illyrians, with such of the Thebans as were willing to follow him. The Argians having taken Thebes, restored it to Thersander, the son of Polynices.

Cadmus<sup>d</sup> had also, before Laodamas, retired into Illyria, amongst the Encheleans.

Herodotus says, that the Cadmeans (the same with those whom Pausanias calls Thebans) retired amongst the Encheleans. These Encheleans are the same as the Illyrians of Pausanias, or at least they formed a part of the Illyrians. See the Geographical Table.

<sup>a</sup> Apollodor. Biblioth. iii. cap. 1. § 17. p. 94.  
p. 200.

<sup>c</sup> Pausan. Attic. sive lib. i. cap. xxxix.

<sup>d</sup> Id. Herotic. sive lib. iv. cap. v. p. 722.

<sup>e</sup> Id. ibid. cap. v. p. 719.



*Ἐκ Ἀθῆναις*] *To Athens.* They were permitted to settle on the borders of the Cephissus, which separates Attica proper from the territory of Eleusis. A bridge was built at this place to open a communication between the opposite sides of the river. I am inclined to believe that bridges, γέφυραι, took their name from this people. The author of the *Etymologicum Magnum* says, that the people were called Gephyræi because of the bridge; but it is very certain that they had that name before they came into Attica.

*Ἀχαιῆς Δήμητρος*] *Achaean Ceres.* This name had been given to the goddess on account of the grief, ἄχος, occasioned to her by the carrying off of Proserpine, according to the author of the *Etymologicum Magnum*: εἶπται παρὰ τὸ ἄχος τῆς Κόρης. She was also called Gephyrean, because she was particularly honoured by the Gephyræi.

LXII. *Φερίγοντες*] *And who had fled from their country.* "Though they" were relations of Pisistratus, and had lived familiarly with him before he had seized on the sovereign power, they would have no share in his tyranny. They preferred banishing themselves from their country to seeing their fellow-citizens slaves. During forty years that these troubles continued, they were so much hated by the tyrants, who were very numerous, that when the latter were masters, they razed their houses and destroyed their tombs." Isocrates had reason to say that the tyrants were numerous, for he comprehends under this term not only Hipparchus, Hippias, and the children of Hippias, but all the abettors of the tyranny. This is what escaped the Abbé Auger, who has changed *τοσοῦτων θυτῶν* to *συγγενῶν θυτῶν*, and has introduced this ill-founded conjecture into the text, without the authority of any edition or any Ms. Herodotus has said (Book VII. § VI.) in the same sense as Isocrates, that Xerxes was importuned by the Pisistratidæ, though of these Hippias alone remained, and perhaps even he was then dead.

*Προσέπεισον μεγάλως*] *Had received a check.* Lipsydrium formed part of Attica, above Pæonia and Mount Parnes.\* The exiles, and all those who were dissatisfied with the government of the Pisistratidæ, had taken refuge in this place. The Alcæmonidæ, who were at their head, had fortified it. The Pisistratidæ besieged and became masters of it. This is no doubt the check of which Herodotus speaks. This misfortune gave rise to the following scholium or song. See the *Etymologicum Magnum*, under the word *ἐπὶ Λεψυδρίῳ μάχη*, or *ἐπι-*

\* Isocrat. de Bigis, Vol. ii. p. 431.

† This account of Isocrates is not altogether correct. See Herodotus, Book i. § 12, &c.

‡ Hesych. Suidas. *Etymol. Magn.* voc. *Λεψυδρίον*, ἐπὶ Λεψυδρίῳ μάχη. Eustath. ad Homer. 461, 23.

*Λειψυδρία μάχη*, as we read in the first edition. We must also correct *ὑπὲρ Πάριον*, with Kuster upon Suidas. A place destitute of water, as its name imports, could never be at the foot of Mount Parnes. This song or scholium is also found in Suidas, under the word *ἐν Λειψυδρίᾳ μάχη*; and in Eustathius on Homer, p. 461. lin. 23: but the last verse is wanting. This verse is given more correctly in *Athenæus*, than in Suidas and the *Etymologicum Magnum*. M. Brunck, in his *Analecta*, has given 'this song from Athenæus.

Αἱ αἰ Λειψυδρίον προδοσέταρον,  
Οἷον ἀνδρᾶς ἀπώλεσας, μάχεσθαι  
Ἀγαθοῦς τε, καὶ εὐπατριδας,  
Οἱ τὸν ἔδειξαν οἶον πατέρων κύρησαν.

'Alas! alas! Lipsydrium, which hast betrayed thy friends; what illustrious and brave warriors hast thou not lost! by their deaths they proved from what fathers they were descended.'

*Παιονίης*] *Pæonia*. M. Kuster was, I believe, the first who proposed to alter the text of this passage, and in a note upon Suidas, voc. *ἐν Λειψυδρίᾳ μάχη*, he proposes to change *Πάριον* to *Παιονίης*. He has been followed by Wesseling and Valckenær. These critics ground their opinion on the distance of *Pæonia* from Attica, that country being in Macedonia. They have forgotten, that in Attica there were certain *Pæonidæ* of the Leontine\* tribe. These *Pæonidæ* were no doubt inhabitants of a town called *Pæonia*. They may have taken their name from *Pæon*, son of *Antilochus*. "Under the reign of *Tisamenus*," says *Pausanias*,<sup>d</sup> "the *Heraclidæ* having returned to the Peloponnesus, drove *Tisamenus* from *Lacedæmon* and *Argos*, and drove from *Messenia* the descendants of *Nestor*, viz. *Alcmæon*, son of *Sillus*, and grandson of *Thrasymedes*; *Pisistratus*, son of *Pisistratus*; and the sons of *Pæon* . . . *Tisamenus*, with his children and his troops, passed into the country now called *Achaia*; all the *Neleidæ* came to *Athens*, except *Pisistratus* . . . and it is from them that the houses of the *Pæonidæ* and the *Alcmæonidæ* take their names."

Upon this authority I am led to conclude, that the *Pæonidæ* of Attica, and *Pæonia* their town, derived their name from this *Pæon*.

There was at Athens a statue of *Pæonian Minerva*:<sup>e</sup> *Ἀθηναῖς Παιωνίας δῶγμα*. *Pausanias*, speaking of *Oropus*,<sup>f</sup> a town situate be-

\* *Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. xv. cap. xv. p. 603. F*; *Canterus Variarum Lectionum, lib. ix. p. 712.*

<sup>d</sup> *Analecta Vct. Post. Græc. Vol. i. p. 165. vi.*

<sup>e</sup> *Harpocrat. voc. Παιωνία.*

<sup>f</sup> *Pausan. Corinth. sive lib. li. cap. xviii.*

<sup>g</sup> *Id. Attic. sive lib. i. cap. ii. p. 7.*

<sup>h</sup> *Id. ibid. cap. xxiv. pp. 83, 84.*

tween Attica and the territory of Tanagra, mentions both Pæonian Apollo and Pæonian Minerva. Plutarch says,\* that the orator Lycurgus, with some of his descendants, were interred at the public expense opposite to the statue of Pæonian Minerva, in the garden of the philosopher Melanthius. This Minerva was called Pæonian, doubtless because she was adored at Pæonia, as they said the Minerva of Assesos, &c. See Book 1. § XIX. These authorities induce me to believe, that there was in Attica a town named Pæonia, and that it is not necessary to change Παιονίης to Πάριον.

[Ἀμφικτυόνων] *The Amphictyons*. I had considered whatever concerned the Amphictyons as a subject completely exhausted; but after reading, with great attention, the work entitled, 'des Anciens Gouvernemens Fédératifs,' I discovered that the subject had till then been merely touched on, that all the authors who had previously written on it were in error, and that I had been misled by them as to the principal object of the Amphictyons. It is at once a duty and a pleasure to me to acknowledge, that I have rectified my opinions by the excellent work above named.

The name of Amphictyons was given to the most illustrious assembly of Greece. It should appear, that its only object was to protect the temple of Delphi, and to administer justice to the multitudes that repaired from all parts of Greece to consult the divinity. Androction,<sup>†</sup> in his History of Attica, says, that the nations of the neighbourhood of Delphi meeting together in that city, that assembly thence took the name of 'Amphictiones,' and that in the sequel it became the custom so to call them. Καὶ ὀνομασθῆναι μὲν Ἀμφικτιόνας τοὺς συνελθόντας, ἐκινήσας δὲ ἀνὰ χρόνον τὸ νῦν ὀφίσιν ὄνομα. For so we must read, and not Ἀμφικτύονας. Ἀμφικτιόνας signifies 'neighbours.' But in note 2. to § CC. Book VII. I have given another etymology, which appears to me more natural.

This assembly cannot be considered as the states-general of Greece; since the different nations of that country were perpetually at war with each other, and the Athenians, in particular, sustained a war of twenty-seven years duration against the Lacedæmonians, without this assembly having ever interposed its authority to bring it to a termination. Ambassadors were never sent to it; and when Philip was declared generalissimo of the Greeks, it took place at Corinth. "If the assembly of the Amphictyons," says the learned and ingenious De St. Croix,<sup>‡</sup> "had been a true federative diet, would it not have made this appointment itself? Philip would doubtless have preferred their

\* Plutarch. x. Orat. Vit. p. 842. E.

† Des Anciens Gouvernemens Fédératifs.

‡ Pausan. Phocic. sive lib. x. cap. viii. tit. p. 96. p. 515.

election, being secure of a majority of suffrages, as he could command all those of the nations of Thessaly, and the two which had been granted to the Macedonians." Demosthenes, it is true, quotes a decree,<sup>a</sup> in which the council of the Amphictyons is termed the Common-council of the Greeks, τὸ κοινὸν Ἑλλήνων συνέδριον, and Cicero,<sup>b</sup> who calls it 'Commune Græcæ Concilium.' But these expressions must be understood as applying to the affairs of religion only. The temple of Delphi was common to all the Greeks. The principal object of the Amphictyons was to watch over the interests of this temple. I had, in my first edition, adopted the opinion of MM. Valois, Gouget, and others; but after having read the work entitled, 'des Anciens Gouvernemens Fédératifs,' I have been most anxious to retract that opinion.

This assembly was held twice a year; in spring and in autumn. The spring meeting is mentioned in two decrees preserved to us by Demosthenes,<sup>c</sup> and both the spring and autumn meetings in Strabo.<sup>d</sup>

Every town that had the right of Amphictyonia sent two deputies to this assembly, the one of whom was called Hieromnemon, and the other Pylagorus. The number of the Pylagori was sometimes greater; and we find from the oration of Æschines against Ctesiphon,<sup>e</sup> that the Athenians sent three of them to the Amphictyonic council. The Hieromnemones were a sort of sacred secretaries, / οἱ πεμπόμενοι εἰς τελεῖν ἱερογραμματεῖς: they took charge of the sacrifices and of the expenses of those ceremonies, as may be inferred from a passage of the scholiast of Aristophanes,<sup>f</sup> corrupt as it is. The Pylagori had not, as I believe, any peculiar functions; but, in concert with the Hieromnemones, they decided on all matters pertaining to the public welfare and tranquillity. They alone spoke where an oration was necessary, and it is perhaps for this reason that Hesychius<sup>g</sup> terms them the presidents of the assembly, though the Hieromnemones were in fact above them. It was the latter who collected the votes, and pronounced the decision, as we learn from Demosthenes. Æschines,<sup>h</sup> says he, persuades the 'Hieromnemones to ordain by a decree' the visitation of the country cultivated by the Amphissæi, as belonging to them, according to their own account. We see also, from a passage of Æschines, that Cottyphus, who was a Hieromnemon, (as Ulpian,<sup>i</sup> in his remarks on the oration of Demosthenes for

<sup>a</sup> Demosth. pro Coronâ, p. 166. segm. 276.

<sup>b</sup> Cicero de Invent. lib. ii. § xxiil.

<sup>c</sup> Demosth. pro Coronâ, p. 165. segm. 275 et 276.

<sup>d</sup> Strab. lib. ix. p. 643. C.

<sup>e</sup> Æsch. cont. Ctesiph. p. 446. B.

<sup>f</sup> Hesych. voc. ἱερογράμματα.

<sup>g</sup> Ad Nub. vers. 623.

<sup>h</sup> Hesych. voc. Πυλαγόρου.

<sup>i</sup> Demosth. pro Coronâ, p. 165. segm. 268.

<sup>k</sup> Accession. ad Ulpian. Comment. p. 1171. col. l.

the crown, asserts,) convoked \* the assembly of the Amphictyones, and collected the votes. Now this was the especial office of the president.

The Hieromnemon was chosen by ballot, *καρπυρία*; but the Pylagori were elected by a majority of votes,<sup>d</sup> which was declared by a show of hands.

Though there were some towns which sent several Pylagori, yet these had but two votes. M. De Valois<sup>e</sup> appears to give himself a great deal of trouble to elucidate this point, which to him seems very obscure, and to me very simple. The Hieromnemon had one vote, the Pylagori another. The latter, on their arrival at Thermopylæ, offered<sup>f</sup> a sacrifice to Ceres. M. De Valois<sup>e</sup> joins the Hieromnemon in this ceremony; but Strabo speaks only of the Pylagori.

With regard to the oath taken by the Amphictyons on their admittance, I have no knowledge of it, and I doubt whether they took any. That which is quoted at length by M. De Valois,<sup>f</sup> on the authority of Æschines, was not taken by the new Amphictyons, nor was it conceived in terms so general as that critic, one of the greatest ornaments of France, supposes. The Cirrhæi and the Acragallidæ<sup>g</sup> plundered the temple of Delphi, and committed many outrages on the Amphictyons. The god, who was not very long-suffering, commanded that war should be made on them day and night, and that after they had been reduced to servitude, and their country laid waste, it should be consecrated to Pythian Apollo, to Diana, to Latona, and to Minerva; that the Amphictyons should never cultivate that country, nor suffer it to be cultivated by others. The Amphictyons executed the mandate of the god; and afterwards took an oath never to cultivate the territory of Cirrha, nor to suffer others to do it, and to defend the god to the utmost of their power. Not content with this oath, they added to it dreadful imprecations. This oath and these imprecations, however, applied only to the first war respecting Cirrha, which was carried on in the time of Solon, as may be seen in the harangue of Æschines against Ctesiphon, p. 445. B. But I will give the passage of that author on which M. De Valois rests his opinion. "At the same time I related this history of the temple from its very foundation, the first assembly held by the Amphictyons, and I read the oaths by which the elders formed themselves, &c." <sup>h</sup> "Ἀμα δὲ δὲ ἀρχῆς διεξῆλθον τὴν πρῶτην τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καὶ τὴν πρῶτην σύνοδον γενομένην τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους αὐτῶν ἀνέγνων, ἐν οἷς ἑταίρων ἦν τοῖς

\* Æschin. contra Ctesiph. p. 447. D.

<sup>b</sup> Demosth. pro Coroniâ, p. 164. segm. 207.

<sup>c</sup> Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. tom. iii. p. 211.

<sup>d</sup> Strab. lib. ix. p. 643. C.

<sup>e</sup> Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. tom. iii. p. 214.

<sup>f</sup> Id. ibid. pp. 202, 203, &c.

<sup>g</sup> Æschin. cont. Ctesiph. p. 444. E. p. 446.

<sup>h</sup> Æschin. de fidei Legat. p. 401. B.



*ἀρχαίους, &c.* Literally, 'I read the oaths of them;' but as that immediately follows the mention of the first assembly of the Amphictyons, it is very clear that he means the oaths of that assembly: else why mention that first assembly? It seems to me that Æschines speaks of it, merely for the purpose of expatiating on the oaths they took and the imprecations they pronounced. Besides, had the Amphictyons been obliged, as M. De Valois supposes, to take an oath on their admission, Æschines would have said, 'I read the oaths that we have taken,' or 'that each of us has taken,' for he himself was one of the Amphictyons. It is most likely, however, that these oaths were considered binding on their successors, though the latter did not renew them.

*Ἐν Δελφοῖσι] At Delphi.* "This temple of Delphi<sup>a</sup> in its origin was only a chapel, made with branches of the laurel that grows near Tempe: a certain Pterias, of Delphi, afterwards built it on a more solid plan. It was subsequently constructed of brass; but<sup>b</sup> it was either swallowed up, or melted by fire. It was built for the fourth time of stone, by Trophonius and Agamedes. This temple was burned in the first year of the 58th Olympiad, under the archonate of Erxichides." The Amphictyons contracted<sup>c</sup> to rebuild it for 300 talents,<sup>d</sup> and taxed the Delphians at a quarter of this sum. Spintharus<sup>e</sup> of Corinth was the architect. And when the Delphians went about collecting from city to city, Amasis, king of Egypt, gave them 1000<sup>f</sup> talents of alum. There was, no doubt, some obstacle to the immediate rebuilding of this temple, as about 36 years afterwards the Amphictyons entered into a fresh contract for the same purpose with the Alcmonidæ. That family were not driven from Athens till after the murder of Hipparchus, which Eusebius fixes in the first year of the 65th Olympiad, and Petavius in the fourth year of the 66th: I place it in the third year of the same Olympiad. Dodwell<sup>g</sup> fixes the burning of this temple in the second year of the 63rd Olympiad, because Hippias and Hipparchus succeeded Pisistratus, and this conflagration<sup>h</sup> was imputed to them. But the testimony of Pausanias, which I have cited in the commencement of this note, suffices to overthrow the opinion of that writer; and if the Pisistratidæ were really guilty of setting it on fire, could they not have done this in the life-time of their father?

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Phœnic. sive lib. x. cap. v. finem.  
p. 810.

<sup>b</sup> Id. ibid. p. 811.

<sup>c</sup> Herodot. lib. ii. § clxxx.

<sup>d</sup> 1,620,000 li. (£67,500.)

<sup>e</sup> Pausan. Phœnic. sive lib. x. cap. v. sub

*Her. No.*

<sup>f</sup> 51,432 lbs. 4 oz. 5 dwts. 24 grs. Paris

weight.

<sup>g</sup> Ann. Thucyd. p. 23. ad calcem

Thucydides Duker.

<sup>h</sup> See Book ii. § clxxx. note 589.

[Πορφυρον λιθον] *Stone of Porus*. M. De Valois,<sup>a</sup> who I suppose did not at the moment recollect what Porus was, says that the Alcæonidæ constructed the façade of the temple of marble of Paros, though it was intended to be only of stone. The Porus<sup>b</sup> resembles both in colour and density the Parian marble, but it possesses the lightness of the Tophus. Pliny merely translates Theophrastus: "Pario, similis candore et durtie, minus tamen ponderosus, qui Porus vocatur."

This marble, which is not now known, was brought from Elis: as we learn from Pausanias, who says<sup>c</sup> that the temple of Jupiter Olympus was built of Porus, the marble of the country. In the sacred grove there was an enclosure fenced<sup>d</sup> by a balustrade of this material. In other authors we find mention of statues of this marble; for instance, that of Silenus,<sup>e</sup> opposite to which Andocides placed the tripod he had gained in the combat of the Dithyrambus. We must take care not to confound this stone with the Tophus, as has been done by the commentators on Julius Pollux;<sup>f</sup> the latter is a porous stone similar to pumice, and easily friable.

There is a stone in Burgundy which takes the polish of marble, but which does not come near to it either for colour or durability.

[Λαπίον] *Marble of Paros*. This marble was held in the highest estimation; Phidias, Praxiteles, and all the first-rate sculptors have used it for all their best works. It was dug out of the quarries by lamp-light, which procured for it the name of Lychnites. "Quem<sup>g</sup> lapidem (Parium) cœpère Lychniten appellare, quoniam ad lucernas in cuniculis cœderetur, ut auctor est Varro." The Greek authors frequently call it Lychnias, Lychneus; amongst others, Plato, the comic poet, in his piece entitled "the Sophists;" Callixenus<sup>h</sup> of Rhodes, in his history of Alexandria, Book 1., and St. Clement of Alexandria.<sup>i</sup> Hyginus, the freed-man of Augustus, also calls it "lapis" Lychnicus.<sup>j</sup> The scholiast of Pindar<sup>k</sup> informs us, that this marble was also called 'Lygdiaius.' Hence the expression of Anacreon, περὶ Αὐγύδιον ῥα-  
χάλη, is rendered 'around his neck of alabaster.' Philostratus ex-

<sup>a</sup> Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. tom. Hi. Hist. p. 74.

<sup>b</sup> Theophrast. de Lapid. p. 264. verso, lin. antepenult.

<sup>c</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvi. cap. xvii. Vol. ii. p. 747. lin. 23.

<sup>d</sup> Pausan. lib. v. sive Eliac. prior. cap. x. p. 398.

<sup>e</sup> Id. lib. vi. sive Eliac. post. cap. xix. p. 497.

<sup>f</sup> Plutarch. Vit. x. Ornorum, p. 833.

<sup>g</sup> Ἀντίκρος τοῦ Πορφυροῦ Σελήνου: for as we must read, and not Σελήνου.

<sup>h</sup> Pollucis Onomast. lib. vii. segm. 123. p. 776.

<sup>i</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxvi. cap. v. Vol. ii. p. 725. lin. 1.

<sup>j</sup> Pollucis Onomast. lib. vii. Segm. 109. Vol. ii. p. 760.

<sup>k</sup> Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. v. cap. viii. p. 206. F.

<sup>l</sup> Clemens Alexandr. Cohortat. ad Gent. p. 41. lin. 18.

<sup>m</sup> Hygm. Fab. 223. p. 342.

<sup>n</sup> Ad Pindar. Nem. Od. iv. vers. 131. p. 357.

presses himself as clearly as the scholiast of Pindar, *ἔστρεψεν τὴν Λυγδίνην ἢ τὴν Παρίαν λίθον*, 'polishing the stone of Lygdinus or Paros.' In Hesychius, we find *Λύγδος λίθος, ὁ Πάριος*, 'the stone of Lygdus is the Parian.' Salmasius was the first<sup>a</sup> who corrected Pliny, 'Lygdinus in *Paro* repertos,' where we formerly read 'in Tauro.' This correction is supported by Isidorus,<sup>c</sup> who usually merely copies Pliny. This error of the copyists has misled the annotator to the Delphin edition of Martial; who, in a note on the following verse,

<sup>d</sup> Candida non tacitè respondet imagine Lygdon—

says that this marble was found in Mount Taurus. The Lygdus was also found in Arabia, as we see in Arrian's *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, p. 14. Perhaps this was some stone which had received its name from its resemblance to the true Lygdus of Paros.

Pliny asserts<sup>e</sup> that marble has since been found even whiter than that of Paros, and amongst other places, in the quarries of Luna in Etruria. This is true, and M. De Tournesfort<sup>f</sup> does not hesitate in giving to the marbles of Italy a preference over those of Greece. It appears, however, by all the works of the ancients, and even from Pliny, that for statues, the latter have always been preferred to the former, and of them that of Paros was considered the best. For this there is an obvious reason; the Luna marble, now called Carrara, being too brilliant, causes a reflexion of the light at once disagreeable to the eye and detrimental to the general effect of the object.

LXIII. *Χίλιν τε ἵππων*] *A thousand horsemen*. The Thessalian cavalry<sup>g</sup> was very renowned. The Thessalian horses were no less so, as we see by the following lines of Theocritus:

*Ἡ κάρυ κενάριος, ἢ ἄρματι Θεσσαλὸς ἵππος·  
Ὡς καὶ βοδύχρως Ἑλένη Λακεδαιμονι κόσμος.*

'As the cypress is the ornament of the garden, and the Thessalian horses of the chariots, so is the beautiful Helen that of Lacedæmon.'

Witness also the oracle delivered, according to some, to the inhabitants of Megaris, and according to others, to those of Ægæ, in Achaia,

<sup>a</sup> Philostrat. *Proem. Icon.*  
<sup>b</sup> *Exercitat. Plin. ad Solin. Polyhist. p.*  
394. col. 2. D.  
<sup>c</sup> *Isid. Orig. lib. xvi. cap. v.*  
<sup>d</sup> Martial. *Epigr. lib. vi. Epigr. 13.*  
vers. 2.

<sup>e</sup> Plin. *Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvi. cap. v.*  
Vol. ii. p. 725. lin. 3.  
<sup>f</sup> *Relation d'un Voyage au Levant,*  
Lett. v. p. 202.  
<sup>g</sup> Herodot. *lib. vii. § cævi.*  
<sup>h</sup> Theocrit. *Idyll. xxiii. vers. 30.*

which has been preserved by Suidas,<sup>a</sup> by the scholiast of Theocritus,<sup>b</sup> and by Tzetzes,<sup>c</sup> and which begins by the following verse :

Ἴππον Θεσσαλικὴν, Λακεδαιμονίην τε γυναῖκα.

‘The Thessalian cavalry and the women of Lacedæmon.’

Κονιαίων] *Who was a Conian, &c.* Κονιαῖος, ‘Conianus,’ may come from ‘Conim’ or ‘Conion,’ as from ‘Athenæ’ has been made Ἀθηναῖος. But I do not know of any such town in Thessaly. There is one in Phrygia, which Pliny<sup>d</sup> calls ‘Conium;’ and it is also mentioned amongst the towns of Pacatian Phrygia, in the Synecdemus of Hierocles.<sup>e</sup> But what can that town have to do with Thessaly?

Mount Bermion or Bermius was in Macedonia, according to Herodotus<sup>f</sup> and Strabo,<sup>g</sup> and according to Pliny<sup>h</sup> in Thessaly. The neighbourhood of this mountain was inhabited by the Bryges or Brigiæni. Midas, their king, having persuaded them to follow him, left Europe, passed the Hellespont, and established himself above Mysia, in a country where his subjects, by a slight change of name, were called Phrygians, as we learn from Conon.<sup>i</sup>

These Bryges spread from Phrygia into Bithynia, to which they gave the name<sup>j</sup> of Thessalis. There was some relationship therefore, and perhaps an open intercourse between the Thessalians and some of the people of Asia Minor, namely, the Phrygians and others; so that the Thessalians might have for their king a prince born in Phrygia, in the city of Conium, or at least his family might be of that place.

This conjecture must serve till a more plausible one is suggested.

LXIV. Οὐ μερὶ πολὺ ἐπράπητο] *Was soon put to the rout.* Cleomenes obstructed the plain by the trees which he cut down, and by this means rendered it impassable for cavalry. “Cleomenes Lacedæmonius adversus Hippia[m] Atheniensem, qui equitatu prævalebat, planitiem, in qua dimicaturus erat, arboribus prostratis impedivit, et inviam equiti fecit.”

Aristophanes alludes to this victory of the Lacedæmonians, when he makes Lysistratus,<sup>k</sup> the principal character in the piece of that name, say, “Do you think, Athenians, that I can absolve you? Have you forgotten that when you wore the habits of slaves, the Lacedæ-

<sup>a</sup> Voc. Τραῖς, & Μεγαρεῖς, Vol. III. p. 529.

<sup>b</sup> Scholiast. Theocrit. ad Idyll. xiv. vers. 48.

<sup>c</sup> Tzetzes Chil. ix. cap. ccxcl.

<sup>d</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. v. cap. xxi. Vol. i. p. 290. lin. 1.

<sup>e</sup> Hierocles Synecdemus, p. 668.

<sup>f</sup> Herodot. lib. viii. § cxxviii.

<sup>g</sup> Strabonis Excerpta ex lib. vii. p. 510.

<sup>h</sup> Pan. lib. iv. cap. vii. Vol. I. p. 190. lin. 11.

<sup>i</sup> Conon in Phot. Cod. clxxvi. p. 422.

<sup>j</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. v. cap. xxi. Vol. i. p. 290. lin. 6.

<sup>k</sup> Frontini Strategemat. lib. ii. cap. ii. § ix.

<sup>l</sup> Aristophan. Lysistr. vers. 1140 et seq.

monians took up arms in your cause, and killed a great number of Thessalians, and of the friends and allies of Hippias; that they came single-handed to your assistance, that they restored you to liberty, and again clothed you in the garb of freemen?"

[*Ἀπαλλάσσοντο, ὥς εἶχον*] *Retired immediately.* So in the text, which the Latin translator has rendered, 'ut erant rediere;' whereas it should have been 'statim, continuo rediere;' which was perceived by Burgess,\* who adduces two examples to prove it, one from the romance of Achilles Tatius, and the other from the Antigone of Sophocles.

[*τῇ Πελασγικῇ τοίχῃ*] *The citadel built by the Pelasgians.* We have before seen that *τοίχος* signifies a fortress. The Pelasgo-Tyrrhenians, driven from Tyrrhenia, took refuge in Attica 61 years after the taking of Troy. They constructed the wall<sup>†</sup> which surrounded the citadel, and which was for that reason called the Pelasgic wall. Seven hundred and fifty-five years after the erection of this wall, the propylæa or vestibules of the citadel were built, in the third year of the 85th Olympiad, 437 years before the vulgar era. Mnesicles was the architect, as we learn from Philochorus, Book iv. Heliodorus<sup>‡</sup> asserts, in his first Book concerning the citadel of Athens, that they were commenced under the archontate of Euthymenes, and finished five years afterwards. They cost 2012 talents, (486,033*l*.) See Harpocration, at the word *Προτείλαια τείχη*, and the Travels of Anacharsis, Vol. 1. p. 405. edit. 4to.

[*Οἱ παῖδες τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν ἔλθουσιν*] *The children of the Pisistratidæ were taken.* Andocides speaks of a victory gained over the Pisistratidæ at Pallenum, which absolutely restored liberty to the Athenians. Herodotus does not mention it, nor do I recollect any other who does. I should have suspected that Andocides alluded to the capture of the children of the Pisistratidæ, had these children been escorted by any considerable body of troops. But as it was an attempt to send them secretly from Attica, we may presume that there were few persons with them. Andocides, however, thus expresses himself: "Whilst the tyrants were masters of the city, and the state was suffering the greatest evils, the people took to flight. Our ancestors gave battle to the tyrants, and gained a victory at Pallenum, under the conduct of Leogoras my great-grandfather, and of Chabrias,<sup>§</sup> who had married his daughter, who was mother of my grandfather. On their return to their country, they put to death some of those who

\* In Appendice ad Ric. Dawes. Miscellanea Critica, p. 355.

† Herodot. lib. vi. § cxxxvii.

‡ Heliodorus of Athens wrote a description of the citadel of Athens, and of the

curiosities which it contained, in fifteen Books. See note 3. on § lxvii. infra.

§ Andocid. de Mysternis, p. 14. lin. 21. &c.

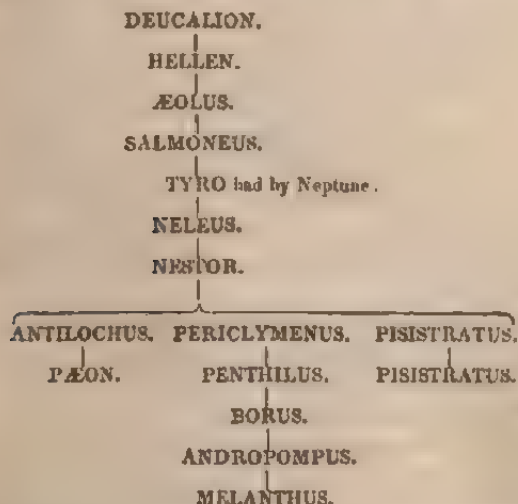
• This is the marginal reading.



had sided with the tyrants, banished others, and declared incapable of holding any office under the republic, those whom they permitted to remain."

"Ἀφ'αυτῶν ἐν' ἔτεα ἔξ ἑκα καὶ ῥηήκορτα] *After having governed thirty-six years.* The tyranny of Pisistratus commenced under the archontate of Comias, in the year 297 of the Attic era, according to the Oxford Marbles.\* His reign, according to Aristotle,<sup>d</sup> lasted 33 years; but we must reduce these 33 to 17, as he was twice expelled the country. His children reigned 18 years, which together make 35. Herodotus counts 36, as the 36th year had probably commenced. See the Dissertation of the late President Bouhier,<sup>c</sup> Father Corsini,<sup>d</sup> and my Chronological Essay, chap. xx.

LXV. Νηλεΐδαι] *Of the family of Neleus.* His genealogy was as follows:



The sons of Pæon and Pisistratus\* having been driven from Messenia by the Heraclidæ, took refuge at Athens, and Melanthus, the father of Codrus, became king of that place. I have spoken of the ancestors of Codrus, note 1. on § cXLVII. Book I. See also, as to this prince, note 2. on § LXXVI. of this Book, and the note on § xcvi. Book ix.

Pisistratus therefore was descended from Neleus, father of Nestor. Alcæmon, who expelled the tyrant Pisistratus, was also descended

\* Marmora Oxon. Epoch. 41. p. 27.

Herodotus, p. 154, &c.

<sup>b</sup> Aristot. de Republicâ, lib. v. cap. xli. p. 411. C.

<sup>d</sup> Fasti Attici, Vol. iii. p. 96.

<sup>c</sup> Recherches et Dissertations sur Hé-

<sup>e</sup> Pausan. Corinth. sive lib. ii. cap. xviii. p. 151.

from Neleus, by Periclymenus, son of Nestor. They were therefore of the same house, though from different branches. On the genealogy of Alcemon, see the note on § cxxv. in Book vi.

[LXVI. *Δὲ Κάρῳ*] *To Carian Jupiter.* The Carians were very much despised; they were considered as vile slaves, because they were the first who let out troops to hire. They were exposed therefore on all the most perilous occasions. Hence the proverb quoted by Pausanias\* in his *Lexicon*, *ἐν Κάρῳ τὸν κτεῖνον*, signifying that a desperate enterprise was to be attempted by means of a vile instrument. This people<sup>a</sup> had a temple for their use in common with the Lydians and the Mysians, who were of the same origin, and which was called the temple of Carian Jupiter. Those who sacrificed to this deity, acknowledged themselves to be of Carian origin. So that, to say that Isagoras offered sacrifices to Carian Jupiter, would be assigning him to a family of Carians and slaves.

Plutarch has not failed to notice this satirical trait.\* "Herodotus, according to his custom," says he, "mixes some praise with his reproaches, that he may be the better believed."

It should seem that this was a common report; and therefore our historian cannot be blamed for repeating it. See the *Treatise on the Malignity of Herodotus*, § xxvii. note.

*Τετραφύλους . . . δεκαφύλους ἐποίησε*] *He divided the four tribes into ten.* The names of the four ancient tribes has varied at different times. Under Cecrops,<sup>d</sup> they were called Cecropis, Autochthon, Actæa, and Paralia. Under Cranaüs, they were called Cranaïs, Athis, Mesogæa, and Diacris. Under Erichthonius, they took the names of Dias, Athenias, Poseidonias, and Hephæstias; and lastly, under Erechthens, they were called Geleontes, Ægicores, Argades, and Hopletes, from the names of the sons of Io.<sup>e</sup> Julius Pollux<sup>f</sup> and Stephanus of Byzantium agree in this. We know too, from Apollodorus,<sup>g</sup> that one of the sons of Io was called Hoples, and that Hoples married his daughter Meta to Ægeus. Strabo<sup>h</sup> and Plutarch,<sup>i</sup> however, have asserted, that Io divided the Athenians into tribes according to their different occupations, and that from these occupations they took their names. It is quite certain<sup>j</sup> that the division into four tribes was long anterior to the sons of Io; but that prince,

\* Eustath. Comment. in *Iliad*, lib. ii. p. 268. lin. 6. a line.

<sup>a</sup> Strab. lib. xiv. p. 974. A. Herodot. lib. i. § clxii.

<sup>d</sup> Plutarch. de Herodoti malignitate, p. 860. D.

<sup>e</sup> Pollux Onomast. lib. viii. cap. ix. segm. 109, 110.

<sup>f</sup> Herodot. lib. v. § lxxvi. Euripid. io

Iono vers. 1576, &c.

<sup>f</sup> Pollux Onomast. lib. viii. cap. ix. segm. 109. p. 921. Stephan. Bysant. voc. *Ἀργυρόμοι*.

<sup>g</sup> Apollodor. lib. iii. cap. xiv. § vi. p. 234.

<sup>h</sup> Strab. lib. viii. p. 588. A. B.

<sup>i</sup> Plutarch. in Solone, p. 91. C.

<sup>j</sup> See note 2. on § lxxix. infra.

being desirous of exalting his children, named them after the four tribes. The various authors do not agree as to the signification of the names of these tribes. I shall have occasion to speak of the Geleontes, in a subsequent note (vide infra.) The Ægicoræ had the care of the flocks, according to Plato;<sup>a</sup> but according to Strabo,<sup>b</sup> they were priests. I am the more inclined to the opinion of the geographer, as<sup>c</sup> Euripides makes Minerva to say, that the Ægicoræ shall take their name from her Ægis; which appears to have more reference to religion than to tending of flocks. We know besides, that Io<sup>d</sup> greatly changed the manners of the Athenians, directing them from pastoral cares to religious ceremonies, as Numa afterwards did by the Romans. The Hopletes, or Hoplitæ as Plutarch calls them, were certainly warriors. The Ergadeis were artificers. These tribes, on being divided into ten, received<sup>e</sup> the names of Erechtheis, Ægeis, Pandionis, Leontis, Acamantis, (Encis, Cecropis, Hipothoontis, Æantis, and Antiochis.

There were afterwards added two other tribes, viz. Antigonis and Demetrias, which were subsequently changed to Attalis and Ptolemais.

Clisthenes divided the four tribes into ten, lest any two of them conspiring together should gain the mastery over the other two. See the Ms. scholiast of Aristides, quoted in Valckenaer's note.

Τῶν τέτρων παίδων] *The sons of Io.* He shall have<sup>f</sup> four children, says Minerva, in the tragedy of Io, who shall give their names to the people of the country. The first shall be called Geleon,<sup>g</sup> the Hopletes shall own the second for their chief, the Argades the third, and the Ægicoræ shall take their name from my Ægis.

Γελέωντος] *Of Geleon.* There has been a great difference of opinion as to the way in which this word should be written; some deciding for Geleon, and others for Teleon. In all the editions previous to that of Gronovius, we read Γαλέωντος; but that critic has in his version written Τελέωντος, because the word is so found in Plutarch<sup>h</sup> and in Stephanns of Byzantium.<sup>i</sup> The marble of Cyzicum, quoted by Count Caylus,<sup>k</sup> is in favour of Geleon. The scrupulous attention with which the colonies preserved the names of their metropolis, is matter of notoriety. Now Cyzicum was a colony of Miletus, and Miletus a colony of Athens. It is therefore not at all surprising that

<sup>a</sup> Plutarch, in Solone, p. 91. C.

<sup>b</sup> Strab. loco laudato.

<sup>c</sup> Euripidis Ion. vers. 1580.

<sup>d</sup> Plutarch. advers. Coloten. p. 1125.

D.

<sup>e</sup> Corvini Fasti Attici, Vol. i. Dissert. iv. p. 154 et seq.

<sup>f</sup> Euripid. Ion. vers. 1576 et seq.

<sup>g</sup> There are some editions of Euripides in which we read, 'Teleon.'

<sup>h</sup> Plutarch, in Solone, p. 91. C.

<sup>i</sup> At the word Αἰγυόεσσας.

<sup>k</sup> Recueil d'Antiquités Egyptiennes, &c. tom. ii. p. 204, &c.

the name of the four ancient tribes of Athens should be found at Cyzicum.

But what is the meaning of this term Geleontes? Plutarch, who calls them Teleontes, says that they were labourers. But how can Teleon signify a labourer? This name is appropriate to illustrious families, from which the magistrates were chosen, *οἱ τὴν Τέλει*, at least down to the times of Theseus and of Solon.<sup>a</sup> Geleontes, which seems to be the ancient term, as we have seen in the commencement of this note, does not come from γῆ, the earth, as might be imagined. This tribe was the first and most illustrious as well in Athens as in Cyzicum. According to Hesychius,<sup>b</sup> γελεῖν was anciently said for 'splendore'; γελᾶν, which signifies to laugh, was also taken in the same sense.<sup>c</sup> Thus the term Geleontes might be rendered by 'splendidi,' 'illustres,' illustrious families, and therefore the same with Teleontes.

Apollonius Rhodius<sup>d</sup> calls this son of Ion, Teleon. This Teleon was father of Butes, one of the Argonauts, who in all probability was the stock of the sacerdotal family of the Butiadæ.

Αἶαντος] *Ajax*. From this name comes the tribe of *Æantia*. Ajax, son of Telamon, had been king of Salamina, an island adjacent to Attica.

Μητροπόροια, Κλεισθέτρεα] *Clisthenes, his maternal grandfather*. Pausanias<sup>e</sup> says, that he was chosen by the Amphictyons to conduct the war against the Cirrheans, who had pillaged the temple of Delphi, and committed other acts of sacrilege. It seems, however, that at the siege of Cirrha, he commanded only those troops which he had himself raised and conducted thither, less by virtue of any decree of the Amphictyons, than from his own zeal in the cause of the god. See note 4. on § cxxvi. of Book vi.

This tyrant<sup>f</sup> of Sicily was the son of Aristonymus, and grandson of Myron.<sup>g</sup> All the members of this family treated<sup>h</sup> their subjects with moderation, observed the laws, and endeavoured to gain the affections of the people, and by these means maintained their dominion for a century. The first of this house who reigned at Sicily was named Orthagoras. The Abbé Gedoy<sup>i</sup> gives us to understand that Clisthenes was the first who seized the government, and that Cleon

<sup>a</sup> Plutarch. in Theseo, p. 11. A. in Solone, p. 57. F.

<sup>b</sup> The remainder of this note I have borrowed from M. Weasling.

<sup>c</sup> Eustath. in Homer. Iliad. p. 159. lin. 26.

<sup>d</sup> Apollon. Rhod. lib. i. vers. 90.

<sup>e</sup> Pausan. lib. x. cap. xxvii. p. 804.

<sup>f</sup> Id. lib. ii. cap. viii. p. 129.

<sup>g</sup> For so we must read, as appears clearly enough by Herodotus, Book vi. § cxxvi. and Plutarch de Serâ Numius Vindictâ, p. 553. A.

<sup>h</sup> Aristot. de Republicâ, lib. v. cap. xii. p. 411. A.

<sup>i</sup> Pausanias François, liv. ii. chap. viii. tom. i. p. 163.

was his contemporary, though the one was the fifth tyrant who had enjoyed that dignity by regular descent from father to son, and the other immediately preceded Aratus. Orthagoras, if we may believe Helladius<sup>a</sup> and Libanius,<sup>b</sup> was a cook. Plutarch also mentions this Orthagoras. Orthagoras, says he,<sup>c</sup> having become tyrant of Sicyon, and Myron and Clisthenes after him, they repressed the insolence of the Sicyonians. I find only these four passages concerning Orthagoras in the ancient writers. The tyranny<sup>d</sup> continued in this family for 100 years. It commenced about the 31st Olympiad, that is to say, in the year 655 B. C.; and I prove this in the following manner. Pisistratus obtained the supreme power, for the second time, about the third year of the 56th Olympiad. Megacles then gave him one of his daughters in marriage. Megacles had himself married a daughter of Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon. That tyrant must either have been dead, or near his death, when Pisistratus rendered himself for the second time master of Athens. This tyranny having endured 100 years, must therefore have commenced near the time that I have mentioned.

Thus stood my note in my first edition. It was impossible for me to foresee all the objections that might be urged to my mode of computation, and still less that a dissertation having no other object than to refute it, should be read before a learned company. I should have suffered the author<sup>e</sup> of this dissertation quietly to have enjoyed his fancied triumph, had he contented himself with opposing my opinions. But he having asserted that Herodotus was in error, and having thence concluded, that if that historian had fallen into serious mistakes as to facts so near to his own times, he was entitled to little confidence as to those which were more remote, I have thought it the more material to undertake his defence; since, if the veracity or accuracy of our historian be disputed, historical scepticism will have no bounds; all history ancient and modern will be proscribed as a collection of fables intermingled with some small portion of truth, and perhaps this proscription may be impiously extended to the sacred writings themselves. Such an abuse cannot be too strenuously combated; and this motive has alone induced me to break that silence, which I had at first resolved to maintain. I shall not, however, follow this author, step by step, through his dissertation; but shall content myself with proving, that Herodotus is consistent with himself, and with the other authors who have spoken of the same facts.

<sup>a</sup> Photii Biblioth. Cod. cclxxix. p. 1579. lin. 51.

<sup>b</sup> Liban. Orat. xiii. p. 215.

<sup>c</sup> Plutarch. de Serâ Numinis Vindictâ,

p. 553. B.

<sup>d</sup> Aristot. de Republicâ, lib. v. cap. xii.

p. 411. A.

<sup>e</sup> M. De Vauvilliers.



Megacles was archon in the 42nd Olympiad, 612 years B.C. The conspiracy of Cylon broke out under his archontate, and it was<sup>a</sup> he who tore from the altars and punished with death such of the conspirators as had taken refuge there. The violation of an asylum so sacred was considered as sacrilege. About the same time a contagious malady made great ravages in Athens. This was considered a visitation from the gods; the minds of the people became heated, and quickly all Athens was in a ferment. Cylon and Megacles were both dead;<sup>b</sup> but the rancour of their partisans was in no wise abated. The Cylonians exciting the cry of superstition on their side, obtained the expulsion of the Alcmeonidae from Attica, and Epimenides was brought from Crete to expiate the city. This expiation took place<sup>c</sup> in the 46th Olympiad, 596 years before our era. Megacles therefore cannot be the same who married the daughter of Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, 570 years before our era. He was his grandfather. When he died, his son Alcmeon was not very young; and being at Delphi at the time when the deputies from Croesus came to that city to consult the oracle, showed them many marks of courtesy. Croesus,<sup>d</sup> in return, loaded him with riches. We know, from the Oxford Marbles, that the celebrated deputation sent by Croesus to consult the oracle of Delphi, on the subject of the war he was about to undertake against the Persians, occurred<sup>e</sup> in the first year of the 56th Olympiad, 556 years before our era. The deputation mentioned in the passage of Herodotus now under consideration cannot be that which was so splendid: 1. Because the latter preceded only by two years the restoration of Pisistratus, and Megacles, the son of Alcmeon, two years afterwards gave in marriage to Pisistratus the daughter which he had had by Agarista, daughter of Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon. 2. Because Megacles, who married his daughter to Pisistratus two years after this famous deputation, was not himself married till some years after the deputation mentioned in this passage of Herodotus.

The silence of other historians on this deputation is by no means surprising; for it was attended by no remarkable circumstance which should distinguish it from a multitude of other such deputations which were constantly occurring, and which history has not transmitted to posterity. This silence is therefore no reason for disputing its authenticity. Who can undertake to affirm that Croesus did not send to consult the oracle of Delphi as soon as his father had associated him in the sovereignty? It is the more likely that he did so, as he already meditated conquests, and in the second year of his association

<sup>a</sup> Plutarch. in Solone, p. 84. Thucyd. segm. cx. p. 71.

lib. i. § cxvii.

<sup>b</sup> Thucyd. lib. i. § cxvii.

<sup>c</sup> Dugan. Laert. in Epimenide, lib. i.

<sup>d</sup> Herodot. lib. vi. § cxv.

<sup>e</sup> Marmor Oxon. Epoch. ala.

to the throne, subjugated the greater part of Asia Minor. This association took place in the year 574 before our era, as I have proved in note 2. on § XXVII. of Book 1. We must therefore take care not to confound this obscure deputation with that recorded by the Marbles.

Alcmaon had a son named Megacles, as well as his grandfather, according to the custom of the Greeks. Megacles wished to become the son-in-law of Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon. This tyrant conducted troops to the siege of Cirrha, commanded by the Amphictyons. This war took place in the first year of the 46th Olympiad, 596 before our era, as the learned Corsini has proved in his *Fasti Attici*, and, according to all appearance, Clisthenes had just ascended the throne. When this war was ended, Clisthenes obtained the prize at the Olympic games.\* Herodotus, from whom we learn this circumstance, has not mentioned the Olympiad in which it occurred. No other author speaks of this victory, nor does the name of Clisthenes appear among the Olympionics. But if we have not the precise date of this event, we may infer it by a very simple computation. Megacles married to Pisistratus the daughter which he had had by Agarista, the daughter of Clisthenes; and on marrying her he engaged to restore Pisistratus. This restoration took place in the year 554 before our era. This daughter was therefore at least fifteen years old, and Megacles had married her mother about sixteen years previously, that is to say, about 570 years before the vulgar era, and consequently about four years after Croesus had loaded with favours his father Alcmaon. Now, as Megacles married Agarista only one year and sixty days after the victory obtained by Clisthenes at the Olympic games, it follows that this victory was in the first year of the 52nd Olympiad. Julius Africanus, who has preserved the names of the Olympionics, has not named the victor in the race of four-horsed chariots in this Olympiad. Pausanias<sup>b</sup> informs us that Clisthenes obtained the prize in the chariot-race, in the Pythiad in which that prize was contested for the first time. Now we know that this was the second Pythiad, consequently the year 582 before the vulgar era. But Herodotus speaks of a victory obtained at the Olympic games, which is not the same thing as a victory at the Pythic games.

All these facts and all these dates have been strangely distorted by the author of the dissertation; who next proceeds to advance an objection, which at first sight may seem rather serious. Pausanias, says he, supposes that Myron was tyrant of Sicyon, in the 33rd Olympiad, that is to say, the year 648 before our era. Orthagoras having, according to my account, attained the tyranny of Sicyon in the year 655 before our era, I am supposed to allow but seven years

\* Herodot. lib. vi. § cxxvi.

<sup>b</sup> Pausan. Phocic. sive lib. cap. vii. p. 814.

for the reigns of both Orthagoras and Andreas, which is scarcely reconcilable to probability.

To this I answer, 1. That supposing the reign of Myron to have begun in the year 648 before our era, there is nothing contrary to probability in supposing that the reigns of Orthagoras and of Andreas his son may have been very short. Orthagoras having been a cook, it must have required many changes and lucky events to bring him to the throne. He was no doubt, therefore, advanced in years when he ascended it, and his son was by no means young. Had the latter even succeeded his father in the prime of his youth, what is to convince us that his reign exceeded three or four years? The life of man is so uncertain in its duration, that unless the author of the dissertation can adduce some passage from an ancient author, to show positively that the reigns of the princes were longer, his opinion will share the fate he is anxious to invoke on mine. I know that he has endeavoured to prove that these two princes reigned longer, from Plutarch's saying\* that Orthagoras, Myron, and Clisthenes, repressed the insolence of the Sicyonians. But a long reign was by no means necessary to effect this object. A tyrant knows that he can maintain his power only by means of troops devoted to his service, and by disarming his subjects. That done, (and it is the work of but a few months at most,) no one dare stir in his dominions; he is absolute master.

2. Should it even be considered contrary to all probability that these two reigns were so short, and that Pausanias has positively said that Myron reigned in the 33rd Olympiad, still this would not be sufficient to induce me to change my opinion. There are numerous errors in Pausanias, some of which arise from his own negligence, others from that of his copyists; and why may not this be one of the passages in which they have erred? Or if the copyists be correct, how are we to be satisfied that the historian himself is not mistaken? Herodotus was born 71 years only after the death of Clisthenes; consequently it would have been an easy matter for him to obtain accurate information relative to this family, which had not filled the throne more than a century. On the other hand, Pausanias<sup>†</sup> wrote in the year 174 of our era; since he himself says, in the margin of the passage quoted, that from the restoration of Corinth to the time of his writing was a period of 217 years, and we know that Julius Cæsar had repeopled that city 44 years before our era. Pausanias therefore lived in the year 174 of our era, 728 years after the death of Clisthenes, the last tyrant of Sicyon. Can we conclude that an historian who lived more than seven centuries after

\* Plutarch. de Serâ Nummâ Vindictâ, p. 653. B.

† Pausan. Hlinow. prior, sive lib. v. cap. i. p. 375.

the events which he relates is more exact than he who lived less than one century after them? Plutarch, moreover, who never missed an occasion of correcting Herodotus with the utmost acrimony on the most trifling subjects, would not have failed to do so in the present instance, if our historian had been open to censure.

3. But it is not necessary to resort to this ground for the justification of our historian. Pausanias does not say that Myron was tyrant of Sicyon in the 33rd Olympiad, but that Myron, who was tyrant of Sicyon, built the treasury of the Sicyonians in the 33rd Olympiad. \**Ἔστι δὲ θησαυρὸς ἐν Ὀλυμπίῳ Σικυνίων καλούμενος, Μύρωνος δὲ ἀνάθημα τυραννήσαντος Σικυνίων. Τοῦτον ᾠκοδόμησεν ὁ Μύρων νικήσας ἄρματι τὴν τρίτην καὶ τριακοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα.*

It is therefore evident that the account of Pausanias does not contradict that of Herodotus; and even should the passage of the former be interpreted as the author of the dissertation interprets it, it would not follow that Herodotus is in error. 1. Because the reigns of Orthogoras and of Andreas may have been very short: 2. Because the testimony of an historian who lived less than a century after the death of Clisthenes, and who has often conversed at Athens with the grandchildren of that very Clisthenes, is of greater weight than that of an author who lived more than seven centuries after the extinction of that family.

There had been kings of Sicyonia before that time. It was indeed the most ancient kingdom of Greece. It is supposed to have subsisted for more than 1000 years, under about 26 kings, and under 33 pontiffs. According to Pausanias,<sup>a</sup> Ægialeus Autochthon, (that is, born in the country,) was the first who inhabited Sicyonia; he reigned there, and built in the plain a city which was called Ægiali; that part of the Peloponnesus called Ægialea also took its name from him. Strabo, however, gives another reason for this, which seems to me more natural, and which we shall consider in note 2. on § LXVIII. However that may be, Europus his son succeeded him; and he was succeeded, in regular descent from father to son, by Telchin, Apis, (who gave to the Peloponnesus the name of Apia,) Thelxion, Ægyrus, Thurimachus, and Leucippus. This last had no male children, but Calchinia his daughter had by Neptune a son named Peratus, to whom Leucippus at his death left his crown. Peratus had Plemusæus, and the latter Orthopolis, whose daughter Chrysorthe, had by Apollo a son named Coronus. Coronus had Corax and Lamedon. Corax<sup>c</sup> died without children; and Epopeus, having at that time arrived from

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Eliacor. posterior, seu lib. vi. p. 123.

cap. xix. p. 197.

<sup>b</sup> Pausan. Corinth. sive lib. ii. cap. v.

<sup>c</sup> Id. ibid. p. 124.

Thessaly, obtained the crown. Under his reign, the Sicyonians, who had before lived in profound peace, for the first time experienced the misfortune of a hostile incursion into their territories. Antiope, the daughter of Nycteus, or as others say of the river Asope, possessed extreme beauty. Epopeus, captivated by her charms, carried her off. This abduction kindled the flame of war between the Thebans and the Sicyonians. Nycteus and Epopeus were both wounded in the battle, but victory declared for the latter. Nycteus died shortly afterwards, and Epopeus did not survive him. Lamedon, the son of Coronus, succeeded him, and restored Antiope. He married Pheno, daughter of Clytius, who was of Athens. A war having arisen between him and Archander and Architeles, sons of Achæus, he called Sicyon from Attica to his assistance, and gave him his daughter Zeuxippe in marriage. Sicyon succeeded him, and from his name the country was called Sicyonia, and the city Sicyon, instead of Ægiali. Chthonophyle, his daughter, had by Mercury. Polybius; Phlias afterwards married her, and had by her Androdamas. Polybius married his daughter Lysianassa to Talaus, son of Bias, king of the Argians. Adrastus having been driven from Argos, retired to Sicyon, and succeeded Polybius. He afterwards returned to Argos; and Janiscus, grandson of that Clytius who married his daughter to Lamedon, came from Attica, and reigned over Sicyonia. On the death of Janiscus, Phæstus, who was said to be one of the sons of Hercules, succeeded him; but he afterwards went to Crete, and left the crown to Zeuxippus, son of Apollo and the nymph Syllis. After the death of Zeuxippus, Agamemnon subdued the Sicyonians, and reduced their country to a province; but they afterwards threw off the yoke, and, what is not very astonishing, ever after held the Argians in aversion. See also, on Clisthenes, note 4. to § cxxvi. of Book vi.

Some critics, and amongst others Marsham,<sup>6</sup> do not believe the kingdom of Sicyonia to be so ancient as is represented, and consider this long succession of kings as somewhat suspicious; and I am inclined to coincide with them.

LXVII. *Ῥαψῳδός*] *The rhapsodists*. This word is composed of *ῥάπτω*, 'I sew,' or of *ῥάπδος*, a 'wand' or 'branch,' and of *ᾠδή*, a 'song,' 'canto,' or 'poem.' According to the first etymology it signifies a Poet, author of several cantos or books of poetry, which are joined together and form a whole, or entire poem, the parts of which may be disjoined, and sung or recited separately. According to the second, it signifies a singer who, holding in his hand a laurel-branch, sings his own poetry, or that of some celebrated poet.

<sup>6</sup> Pausan. Corinth. five lib. li. cap. v. p. 123.

<sup>6</sup> Chronicon Canan, &c. p. 16.



Hesiod adopts the first etymology. The scholiast of Pindar<sup>a</sup> quotes three hexameter verses, which are found amongst the fragments of Hesiod,<sup>b</sup> in which that poet says that Homer and himself were the first who sang at Delos new hymns which they had composed (sewed together) in honour of Apollo. Homer, Hesiod, &c. were in this sense rhapsodists. They composed their poems in several books or cantos, and these parts being joined together, formed a whole. The ancient poets travelled from country to country, and from town to town, to instruct and amuse the people by singing their poetry. They received the highest honours, and the liberality of the people furnished them with ample funds for their subsistence: we find this in the life of Homer attributed to Herodotus. The most ancient rhapsodist that we know of, is that Phemius whom Homer, who had been his disciple, has immortalized in his *Odyssey*. Plato<sup>c</sup> gives him the name of Rhapsodist; but whether these ancient poets, singers, or rhapsodists, who recited and sung verses of their own composition, carried a rod or branch of laurel, has been a point of controversy amongst critics. The most probable opinion is, that whilst singing their own compositions they did hold in their hands a branch of laurel, especially when they did not accompany themselves on any instrument. "We see from the verses of Hesiod," says Pausanias,<sup>d</sup> "that he recited his verses, holding in his hand a branch of laurel."

The rhapsodists of the second kind, that is to say, those who held in their hands a branch of laurel, came to the assistance of the poets, and were termed also 'hypocrites,' or actors. They were in request at the festivals and public sacrifices, to sing the poems of Orpheus, of Musæus, of Hesiod, of Archilochus, of Mimnermus, of Phocylides, and especially those of Homer. Of these, some were rhapsodists only in the sense of the second etymology. They contented themselves with reciting or singing the poetry of others, without adding any thing of their own. The others were doubly rhapsodists, like the ancient poets, but in a somewhat different sense. They had not the talents to compose, but they added to the productions of the ancients; they bound or sewed them together, forming them into a whole, by joining either exordia or epilogues, and when thus finished they sang them, holding a laurel-branch in their hands. "Those of the Boeotians who dwell in the vicinity of Helicon think, and it is a tradition which they hold from their ancestors, that Hesiod composed only the poem of the Works and the Days, but not the preamble or invocation to the

<sup>a</sup> Ad Nem. Od. li. vers. 1. p. 331. col. 1. lin. ult.

<sup>b</sup> Hesiod. ex edit. Robinson, p. 304.

<sup>c</sup> Plat. in *Luce*, Vol. i. p. 533. C.

<sup>d</sup> Pausan. Boeot. sive lib. ix. cap. xxi. p. 768.

<sup>e</sup> Id. *Ibid.* cap. xxi. p. 771.

Muses." It is considered that this preamble was the addition of some rhapsodist: we cannot therefore blame the learned Brunck for excluding it from the excellent edition of the Gnomic poets, which he published at Strasburg in 1784. He would perhaps, however, have done better, to print this exordium, placing it between brackets. These rhapsodists were also called Homerides, or Homerists, because they most frequently sang fragments of Homer. Pindar calls\* them *παρ-  
ρῶν ἐκείων δαιμόνιαι*, 'singers of verses sewed together.'

The descendants of Homer were<sup>d</sup> the first rhapsodists. After them, Cynæthus of Chios acquired considerable celebrity; it is supposed even that he interpolated many verses of his own, and that the hymn in honour of Apollo is of his composition. But Nicocles affirms<sup>e</sup> that Hesiod is the most ancient of the rhapsodists.

The rhapsodists when they sung were seated on a stage, and accompanied themselves on the cithara or some other instrument, and in recompense received a crown of gold.<sup>f</sup> It was their endeavour not only to pronounce each poem in the rhythm which was appropriate to it, but to enter into the spirit of the poet, and to be so deeply imbued with his feeling as to be able to illustrate it; and as the poets speak of all the sciences and all the arts, the rhapsodists fancied themselves possessed of knowledge superior to that of all mankind; by which they rendered themselves ridiculous. Plato pointedly rallies them in his *Ion*, pp. 539, 540, 541.

The poems of Homer have been termed rhapsodies, either because he sang them himself, holding a branch of laurel in his hand, or because the Homerides sang them in that manner; and in that sense rhapsody comes from *ῥάβδος*, 'a rod' or 'branch;' or because Homer, having conceived and arranged the entire poem in his mind, only produced it book by book, which he fastened together till the whole was completed. In fact this poem was only to be met with in detached portions, till Pisistratus had it collected into one volume, and arranged in order: and even long after this the *Iliad* appeared only in distinct portions, each of which had a different title, prefixed to it by some of the rhapsodists or grammarians.<sup>g</sup> Perhaps, too, these poems might be so termed, because the Homerides added verses of their own, which served as prologues and epilogues. In this sense, rhapsody comes from *ῥάπτω*, 'I sew.' In process of time, the terms rhapsody and rhapsodists, from the abuse of the art, became terms of reproach; insomuch that rhapsody came to signify, a collection of wretched pieces tacked together. This perhaps arose from the rhapsodists attaching to the works of Homer

\* Pindar. *Nem. Od. ii. vers. 1.*

<sup>d</sup> Plat. in *Ionæ*, Vol. i. p. 541 C.

<sup>e</sup> Schol. Pindar. ad *Nem. Od. ii. vers. 1.*

<sup>f</sup> See Herodotus, Book ii. § cxvi. note.

<sup>g</sup> Id. *ibid.* col. 2. lin. 2.

irrelevant and insipid prologues and epilogues, or because certain parodies, termed by their authors Ὀμηροκεντρα, or Centos of Homer, entitled them rhapsodies. Perrault (in his Parallels between the Ancients and Moderns) takes occasion from the first etymology to cast some sort of ridicule on the poems of Homer, which he admired no more than he understood them. Boileau, in refutation of him, rejects that etymology, though supported by the authority of the greatest and most ancient poets, as I have shown; and he advocates the second, which he considers more favourable to the cause he defends.

This kind of etymology, or tracing the signification of words to their origin, should not be too much dwelt on: still less is any inference of commendation or censure to be drawn from it. For instance, there are words which in their origin were eulogistic, and have subsequently become contemptuous, and amongst these are the terms 'rhapsodists' and 'rhapsody.' Again there are others, which from signifying an ordinary or profane object have become venerable with the Romans, and hence adopted into the Latin church. Of this number is the word 'Pontifex,' which originally and etymologically means, 'a constructor of bridges:;' this name was applied by the Romans to the minister of sacred things, to the high priest, because it was one of his duties to cause to be kept in good repair the wooden bridge over the Tiber.

Τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ὑπέρταται] *Above all the other Greeks.* I read with M. Valckenaer, διὰ πάντων. See his note.

Ἀδρήσταν . . . τοῦτον ἐπεθύμησε ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρας] *To banish Adrastus from his dominions.* Adrastus, the son of Talaus, king of Argos, took up arms in favour of Polynices, whom his brother Eteocles had driven from Thebes. He lost the battle, and the greater part of his chiefs were killed; but he was fortunate enough to escape, through the swiftness of his steed\* Arion, so celebrated by the poets. As the Thebans would not allow the rites of burial to the seven Argian chiefs who fell before the walls of their city, Adrastus implored the protection of Theseus, and it was perhaps from this circumstance that the Athenians† built a chapel in honour of him at Colonos, a celebrated village of Attica, where the interview between those two princes took place. Having afterwards been driven from that part of Argos which belonged to him, he retired to Sicyon; but to comprehend the motive for his doing so, we must know by what means he had become king of that territory.

Prætus reigned over the whole of Argolis. His daughters having become insane, he sent for the soothsayer Melampus, who traced his

\* Apollodori Biblioth. lib. iii. cap. vi. p. 180.

† Pausan. Attic. sive lib. i. cap. xxx. p. 76.

Descent from Hellen. This soothsayer cured the daughters of Prætus, for the recompense of two-thirds \* of the kingdom. Melampus † kept one of these thirds for himself, and gave the other to his brother Bias, to whom he was strongly attached. Thus the kingdom of Argos was divided amongst the Melampodides, the Biantides, and the Prætides. Melampus had a son named Anuphates, who was father of Œcles, and Œcles of Amphiarans. Bias was the father of Talaus, and the latter of Adrastus. The descendants of Prætus were Megapenthes, Hipponus, Capaneus, and Sthenelus. A difference arose between Amphiarans the descendant of Melampus, and Adrastus grandson of Bias. Amphiarans was killed by Talaus; and Adrastus his son was obliged to fly on account of this murder. He took refuge in Sicyon with Polybius, who was its king; and was so successful in gaining the good-will of that monarch, that the latter gave him his daughter in marriage, and, having no male children, named him his successor. Adrastus having succeeded Polybius, governed his subjects mildly, and they, out of gratitude, erected a temple or chapel in honour of him, which still subsisted in ‡ the time of Herodotus.

They also instituted a festival with a chorus, in which his misfortunes were commemorated, and in which a tribute of praise was offered to him, without addressing themselves to Bacchus. This festival was celebrated with much magnificence, and sacrifices were offered to its hero.

It was this festival which Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, was so anxious to abolish in his dominions. I do not know whether, after his death, it was revived.

[Ἡρώς] *A chapel.* Thus was the name given to the chapels that were consecrated to heroes. In all probability, the ashes of Adrastus were deposited there. Dientychidas § relates, in the third Book of his History of Megara, that Adrastus was buried in that city, and that it was his cenotaph only which was at Sicyon.

[Λευστήρα] *And he a robber.* So in the Greek, which I had translated, 'he was the tyrant.' With Hesychius, I took the word in an active sense, φορέα λίθους ἀναποδύνα, 'a murderer who puts to death with stones,' 'who stones.' Ælian ¶ employs it in this sense. Τοῦ Κασσαρέδων Λευστήρα. The Latin translator seems to have read λυγρήρα, as he renders it by 'prædonem.' If we take it in the passive sense, it should be translated, 'and that he deserved to be stoned.' Littlebury, the English translator, has taken it in this sense; and by

\* Scholiast. Pindari ad Nem. ix. vers. 20. p. 401. col. 1. l. n. 26.

† Herodot. lib. v. § lxxv.

‡ Id. ibid.

§ Schol. Pindari, ad Nem. vii. vers. 30. p. 401. col. 1. l. n. 72.

¶ Ælian. Hist. Animal. lib. v. cap. xv. p. 259.

no means deserves the reproof bestowed on him by M. Bellanger, who gives to the word a meaning it has never yet borne. See his *Critical Essays*, p. 165.

After having maturely reflected on it, however, I have come to the conclusion that *λευστήρα* is an error of the copyists, or rather of those who read the *Mss.* What they have taken for an 'u-pсилon' is an 'iota,' joined by a dash to a 'sigma.' I have observed a hundred examples of this in *Mss.* I give one from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Vol. II. p. 259. lin. 22. We read *σῖ στήρ*, though, in the editions of Thucydides, we have *σῖ περ*. It had not been observed that the 'iota' being placed close to the 'o-mega,' and joined to the 'pi' by a hyphen, had occasioned some one who was not accustomed to read *Mss.* to think that it was an 'u-pсилon.' We must therefore read *λευστήρα*. A like inattention has frequently caused the mistake of a dative for an accusative. See my translation of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, Book II. note 61., where I give an example of it. Mr. Brunck has cited many others, in his excellent editions of Apollonius Rhodius and of Aristophanes.

*Μελάνιππον τὸν Ἀστάρου*] *Melanippus, son of Astacus.* "They show" on the highway the tomb of Melanippus, the greatest warrior that the Thebans ever had. When the Argians came to attack Thebes, he killed Tydeus and Mecisteus, the brother of Adrastus; and it is said that he fell by the hands of Amphiaraus."

*Μηκιστέα . . . Τυδέα*] *Mecisteus . . . Tydeus.* The Greeks said indifferently *Μηκιστης* or *Μηκιστεως*, according to the dialect in which they spoke. See Maittaire on the Dialects, p. 183. M. Bellanger<sup>a</sup> therefore appears to me wrong in blaming Valla and Du Ryer, one of whom has translated 'Mecistem . . . Tydeum,' and the other 'Mecistes.' The rest of his remark, in which he corrects the Abbé Terrasson, appears to me more just.

*Τραγικοὶ χοροῖσι*] *In their tragic choruses.* From this it might be inferred that Thespis was not the inventor of tragedy. Themistius also has said: "the Sicyonians were the inventors of tragedy, but the Athenian poets brought it to perfection." See also Suidas, under the word *Θέσπις*, where he says that Epigeneus of Sicyon was the first tragic poet, and Thespis only the sixteenth. See likewise the same writer, under the word *οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον*.

It is nevertheless true that tragedy cannot be traced farther back than Thespis; but to prove this, would require a dissertation exceeding the limits of a note.

With regard to the passage of Herodotus, as that historian lived at

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. lib. iv. cap. xviii. p. 746.

<sup>b</sup> *Essais de Critique*, &c. p. 166.

<sup>c</sup> Themist. Orat. xxviii. p. 337. B



a time when tragedy had attained its perfection, he gives, by a prolepsis, to the chorus in honour of Adrastus the name of tragic chorus, though tragic composition was not known at the time. This figure was frequently employed by the most approved authors.

LXVIII. Ἐνὶ γὰρ ὅς τε καὶ ὄνους τὰς ἐπωνυμίας μετατίθει, αὐτὰ τὰ τελευταία ἐπέθηκε] *For from Hys and Onos, to which he added the termination atai.* M. Wesseling explains αὐτὰ by μόνα, 'solus et non nisi terminationes addidit.' In my first edition, I adopted this explanation, and cited a verse of Homer, in which αὐτός is taken for 'solus.' But further reflection has induced me to prefer the opinion of Coray, whose note is as follows:—

"I correct ἀπὸ instead of ἐνὶ, and αἰται instead of αὐτὰ, and I read: ἀπὸ γὰρ ὅς τε καὶ ὄνους τὰς ἐπωνυμίας μετατίθει, αἰται τὰ τελευταία ἐπέθηκε. I write αἰται without any accent, and consider it as the termination of the nouns which commence with ὅς and ὄνους, as appears from what follows: ἑτέροι δὲ, ἰάτραι· ἄλλοι δὲ, ὀνέαται· ἑτέροι δὲ, χοιρεῖαται."—CORAY.

Ἐκ τούτων Ὑλλεῖς] *Into those of Hylleī, Pamphylīi, &c.* Stephanus of Byzantium, at the word Δυμῶν, tells us, that amongst the Dorians there were three tribes, that of the Hylleī, which took<sup>a</sup> its name from Hyllus, the son of Hercules, the Pamphylīi, and the Dymanates, which were derived from Pamphylus and Dymas, sons<sup>b</sup> of Ægimius, king of the Dorians of the Tetrapolis. See the Geographical Table, article DORIANS. Herodotus terms Dymanates those whom Stephanus of Byzantium calls Dymanes. With regard to the fourth tribe, Euphorus,<sup>c</sup> in the 1st Book of his History, gives it the name of Hynithian. I should suppose that it was so called, or rather Hymethian, from<sup>d</sup> Hymetho, whose daughter Orsobia married Pamphylus, son of Ægimius.

Herodotus says that this tribe was called Ægialean, from Ægialeus, son of Adrastus; but the original name of Sicyonia was Ægiales,<sup>e</sup> which seems to have been given to it from its being built on the borders of the sea. The people who inhabited the maritime districts of Argolis, and especially the Achæi, were for this reason called Ægialei, a name frequently given to them by the poets, because it suits their verses.

LXIX. Πρώτερον ἀνωσμένον, τότε πάντων] *Who had previously lost all the privileges, &c.* So in the Greek. M. Reiske<sup>f</sup> changes πάντων to πείθειν, or to ἐπαινεῖν, or to ἐπαγαγόν, which he thinks still better.

<sup>a</sup> Hens. Valesii Emend. lib. i. cap. xxiij. pp. 37. 38.

<sup>b</sup> Schol. Pindari ad Pyth. 1. vers. 121. p. 174. col. 1. lin. 8. et Pyth. v. vers. 92. p. 256. col. 1. lin. penultimā.

<sup>c</sup> Steph. Byzant. voc. Δυμῶν.

<sup>d</sup> Pausan. Corinth. sive lib. ii. cap. xxviii. p. 176.

<sup>e</sup> Strab. lib. viii. p. 587. A.

<sup>f</sup> Miscellanea Lipsiensia nova, Vol. viii. p. 306.

M. Wesseling is content with a slight transposition, *πρότερον ἀποσμένον πάντων, τότε . . .* I found amongst the papers of M. Bellanger the remark of a critic, who proposes the same alteration; and I am of opinion that it is necessary. In the Ms. A of the Royal Library, there is no comma after ἀποσμένον.

Δεκα δὲ καὶ τοὺς δήμους κατένεμε ἐς τὰς φυλάς] *Distributed the villages amongst the ten tribes.* Valla has translated, 'atque etiam decem demos distribuit in Tribus.' Gronovius did not detect this mistake. Father Corsini<sup>a</sup> was, I believe, the first who rectified it. The Abbe Bellanger interpreted the passage correctly.

Attica was originally divided into four tribes. Under Cecrops<sup>b</sup> they were named Cecropis, Autochthon, Actæa, Paralia; these appellations were changed under Cranaus for those of Cranaïs, Atthis, Mesogæa, Diacris; under Erichthonius, they were called Dias, Athenais, Poseidonias, Hephestias; under Erechtheus they were named, after the sons of Ion, Telcontes, Hopletes, Ægicores, Ergadeis; finally, in accordance with the answers of Apollo, the descendants of Alcæmon established ten tribes, under the names Erechtheis, Cecropis, Ægeis, Pandionis, Acamantis, Antiochia, Leontis, Ceneis, Hippothoontis, and Æantis. Afterwards, in the year 307 before the vulgar era, two other tribes<sup>c</sup> were added, that of Antigonis and that of Demetrias, in honour of Antigonus and his son Demetrius. About 110 years subsequent to this, that is to say, 197 years before our era, one of these tribes<sup>d</sup> changed its name for that of Attalis; and some time afterwards, the other took the name of Ptolemæis.

Πολλῶ κατεπερθε] *He completely took the lead.* Clisthenes and Isagoras did not aspire to the tyranny; and though they had united for the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ from Athens, they were by no means of one mind. The first wished for the restoration of the democratic government; and as a means of promoting this, he gave to the people a larger share of authority than they had formerly had, by distributing them into a greater number of tribes, which for that reason were the more difficult to be gained over. Isagoras, on the other hand, wished to establish an aristocracy; and as there was no means of attaining this object but by force, he called to his assistance the Lacedæmonians.

LXX. Ἐξέρπαλλε] *To expel Clisthenes, &c.* See note 1. to § LXXII. infra. The Alcæmonidæ returned<sup>e</sup> afterwards to Athens, and their families resided there in the time of Thucydides. The Lacedæ-

<sup>a</sup> Fanti Attici, Vol. III. p. 128. ad Olympiadem lviij.

<sup>b</sup> Pollucis Onomast. lib. viii. sect. 109, p. 110.

<sup>c</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. ix. § xlvj. p. 139.

<sup>d</sup> Polybii Excerpta ex Legation. No. 3.

p. 1093.

<sup>e</sup> Thucyd. lib. i. §§ cxxvi. et cxxvii.

monians, under the pretext of religion, wished to drive them away at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war; their real design, however, was to remove from the helm of government Pericles, who was descended by his mother's side from those who were stained with the murder of the partisans of Cylon. Megacles, maternal grandfather of that Alcibiades so famous for his virtues and his vices, and Alcibiades, father of Clinias and grandfather of the other Alcibiades, were of that house, and were accordingly exiled. It is to this banishment that Andocides alludes in his oration against Alcibiades, when he says: ἄλλὰ μὲν, εἰ δεῖ καὶ τὸ γένος σκοπεῖν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδαμῶθεν προσήκει τοῦτον τοῦ πράγματος. Mr. Taylor takes occasion from this passage to ascribe this oration, not to Andocides, but to Phœax.<sup>c</sup> The orator, observes he, whoever he may be, says, that he was rather of an ignoble than an illustrious family. "Deinde 'Orator, quicumque fuerit, memorat se domo esse humili potius et ignobili quam illustri.'" It can scarcely, continues he, in the succeeding column, be Andocides who thus speaks of the meanness of his birth, as in so many other passages he has boasted of its distinction, and that he was descended from Ulysses. This reasoning is founded on the passage under consideration only, which Mr. Taylor does not appear to have understood. The orator does not deny his birth; he merely says, that if Alcibiades and himself were to be judged by their birth, exile would better become Alcibiades, whose two grandfathers had been banished, than himself, no member of whose family had ever incurred that penalty.

In translating this passage, I have followed the alteration made by Stephens. But if the ordinary reading be preferred, (ἄλλὰ μὲν, εἰ δεῖ κατὰ γένος σκοπεῖν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδαμῶθεν προσήκει τοῦτον τοῦ πράγματος· οὐδὲ ἐστὶν οὐδεὶς, ὅστις ἂν ἀποδείξειε τῶν ἡμετέρων οὐδένα τῇ συμφορᾷ ταύτῃ χροσάμενον,) it must be rendered, 'But if it be necessary in this matter to refer to the circumstance of birth, the affair of the ostracism cannot affect me, no one being able to prove that my family ever experienced that misfortune.' That is, that no one of my family was ever banished by a sentence of ostracism. But which ever reading we adopt, it will not bear the interpretation put upon it by Mr. Taylor, or authorise him in attributing the oration to Phœax instead of Andocides.

LXXI. [Ὀλυμπιονικῆς] *Having been victorious in the Olympic games.* According to Eusebius,<sup>c</sup> he obtained the prize of the double stadium, in the 35th Olympiad. This is confirmed by Pausa-

<sup>c</sup> Andocid. contra Alcibiadem, p. 23. lin. 31, &c.

<sup>d</sup> Id. ibid. lin. 28, &c.

<sup>c</sup> Eusebii lysis, &c. cap. vi. pp. 694-5.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. col. I. p. 694.

<sup>e</sup> Euseb. Chronic. prior. p. 69.

nias,\* who does not however mention in what Olympiad it occurred.

[Ἑσέμνηε] *Carried his ambition.* The ancient Greeks took particular care of their hair, and were proud of having it very long. Homer, for this reason, betows on them the epithet of *καρχηρόμωρες*, 'long-haired.' Hence the verb *κομᾶν* is applied, according to Eustathius,<sup>b</sup> to those whose vanity is inflated by success, and who fix their ambition upon any office, &c. and in confirmation of this he cites the above passage from our historian.

Our kings (i. e. of France) of the first race wore their hair peculiarly long: and when a desire existed to render them incapable of reigning, it was cut off.

[Κατολαβεῖν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν] *To render himself master of the citadel.* Cylon was of one of the most illustrious families in Athens, and very rich; he had married a daughter of Theagenes, tyrant of Megara. On the faith of a deceiving oracle, he attempted to seize the citadel of Athens, at the head of a few troops sent him by his father-in-law. A statue of bronze<sup>c</sup> had been erected to him in the citadel; which is a subject of some surprise, and so it seemed to Pausanias, who conjectures, however, that it was because he was one of the finest men in Athens, and had obtained at the Olympic games the prize of the double stadium.

[Ἔσταλμα] *The statue of Minerva.* There is in the Greek, 'he sat down as a suppliant by the statue.' This statue could be no other than that of Minerva, protectress of the citadel; and I have therefore thought right to express it.

[Οἱ πρυτάνεις τῶν Ναυκράρων] *The prytanes of the Naucrari.* To understand who the prytanes of the Naucrari were, it is necessary to know something of the government of Athens. There were several kinds of magistrates in that city; the archons, the senate of the Areopagus, and that of the Five Hundred. This passage refers only to the latter. At the time when the republic of Athens was divided into four tribes, a hundred men were chosen by ballot from each of them;<sup>d</sup> so that the senate was then composed but of 400. Clisthenes having afterwards instituted ten tribes,<sup>e</sup> 50 were then chosen from each tribe, and the senate comprised 500 persons. But when the number of the tribes was increased to twelve, that of the senate amounted to 600.<sup>f</sup> To be admitted into this senate, a person must have attained the age

\* Pausan. Attic. sive lib. i. cap. xlviii. p. 67.

<sup>b</sup> Eustath. ad Homer. Iliad. lib. ii. p. 168. lin. 15.

<sup>c</sup> Thucyd. lib. i. § cxxvi.

<sup>d</sup> Pausan. Attic. sive lib. i. cap. xlviii.

<sup>e</sup> Plutarch. in Solone, p. 68. D. E.

<sup>f</sup> Herodot. lib. v. § lxxi.

<sup>g</sup> Pausan. apud Oratores. § Βουλὴ τῶν Πεντακοσίων, at the head of the Five Hundred.

which Libanius terms <sup>a</sup> βουλευτικὴ ἡλικία, the age of a senator, and which I suppose to be the same as was necessary to hold the office of a judge, that is to say thirty years, as we find from the oath of the Heliasts.<sup>b</sup> This senate was annual,<sup>c</sup> and was thus distinguished from the Areopagus, which was perpetual; it took cognizance<sup>d</sup> of public matters, and no affair could be carried before the people without<sup>e</sup> a 'senatusconsultum,' Προβούλευμα, because the people were liable to be misled by first appearances.

But as the nature of the present work does not permit me to expatiate at great length on this senate, I will pass to the Prytanes, who are the immediate objects of this note. To form a clear idea of them, we must bear in mind that the Athenian year<sup>f</sup> was not a solar but a lunar year. The solar year contains 365 days, the lunar 354. This difference of 11 days between the two years, was thrown together every three years, and constituted an intercalary month of 33 days, ἐμβόλιμον μήνα.

As the great number of senators only served to embarrass the public business, and retard its progress, they were divided into 10 parts, 50 to a tribe. Each of these divisions was in office for 35 days; thus the 10 tribes administered the government for 350 days. But as there remained four days of the year, they were divided between the four tribes whom chance had allotted to come first into office.<sup>g</sup> These four first tribes therefore presided for 36 days, whilst the others governed only 35. Libanius, or the author, whoever he be, of the Oration of Demosthenes against Androtion,<sup>h</sup> says, that these four days were appropriated to the election of the new magistrates, and that during that time there was an anarchy. He has led into error two writers of the first merit, Scaliger<sup>i</sup> and Father Petavius;<sup>j</sup> but Dodwell<sup>k</sup> has completely refuted them. The fifty senators in office were called Prytanes,<sup>l</sup> and the time during which they exercised their functions, Prytanea; there were ten<sup>m</sup> Prytanem in each year, agreeing with the number of the tribes. This is very clearly explained by Julius Pollux.<sup>n</sup> "The Prytanea," says he, "is the time

<sup>a</sup> Argument. in Orat. Demosth. contr. Androt. p. 380. lin. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Demosth. advers. Timocrat. p. 470, 238.

<sup>c</sup> Argument. Orat. Demosth. in Androt. p. 380. lin. 28.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid.

<sup>e</sup> Liban. Argument. in Orat. Demosth. contr. Androt. ibid.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid. p. 340. lin. 30.

<sup>g</sup> Suidas, voc. πρυτανεία, Vol. iii. p. 320. Harpocration voc. πρυτανείας, p. 156. Dodwell de Cyclis, Dissert. i. sect. ii. p. 13. Corradi, Fast. Att. pars i. Dissert. ii. Vol. i. p. 103.

Herr. No.

<sup>h</sup> Liban. Argum. in Orat. contr. Androt. p. 380.

<sup>i</sup> Canon Isagog. lib. iii. cap. vii. p. 234. de Eusebius. tempor. ii. p. 62. et iii. p. 220.

<sup>j</sup> Doctrin. Temp. lib. i. cap. v. p. 6. col. 1, cap. xv. p. 19. col. 1, lib. ii. cap. i. p. 46. col. 2.

<sup>k</sup> De Cyclis, Dissert. i. sect. ix. p. 15.

<sup>l</sup> Argument. in Orat. Demosth. contr. Androt. p. 380. lin. 10 à fin.

<sup>m</sup> Suidas, voc. πρυτανεία, Vol. iii. p. 320.

<sup>n</sup> Pollux. Onomast. lib. viii. cap. ix. segm. 115. p. 938.

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during which each tribe presides. When they were but ten, each tribe presided for a longer time; but now they are twelve, each presides for one month only."

This also appears from an inscription found in the citadel of Athens, upon a marble in the possession of the Count De Choiseul Gouffier, formerly ambassador to the Porte, and commented on by the late Abbé Barthelemy. This inscription is of the 22d year of the Peloponnesian war, from the 14th July of the year 410, to the same day in the year 409. B. C. At that period there were but ten tribes, and consequently but ten Prytanæ, each of which governed 35 days, excepting the four first, which continued in office for 36 days. The order in which each tribe presided was determined by lot. The Prytanæ<sup>a</sup> were maintained at the public expense in a hall of the Prytaneum, called Tholus, probably because<sup>b</sup> it was vaulted. Their functions were to convene the senate, to take charge of the business to be brought before them, to convoke the assemblies of the people, and to preside over them. But as these functions<sup>c</sup> could not be conveniently executed by the 50 Prytanæ, they were divided into five classes of 10 in each, called Proedri. From amongst these Proedri 7 were elected, each of which presided in turn over the other Prytanæ and the 6 Proedri. He was called Epistatæ. Thus amongst the 50 Prytanæ, there were only 35 who could be Epistatæ, and consequently the same senator could not be Epistatæ twice in one year. The Athenians being exceedingly jealous of their liberty, assigned to the Epistatæ but one day's authority, that he might have no opportunity of abusing it. He had, while in office,<sup>d</sup> the keys of the citadel, the seal, and the treasury of the republic under his command. Besides this authority, his principal duties were, to propose to the senate matters for their discussion, to ask their advice, and put the different questions to the vote.

Since I have been led to say so much of the senate of Five Hundred, it may be as well to remark, that there was another kind of Proedri and of Epistatæ, less known than those of which I have spoken, who presided over the assemblies of the people, and ascertained the decision on matters put to the vote. They were elected in the following manner. The Epistatæ of the Prytanæa drew by lot a Proedrus from each of the nine tribes then out of office, and from these nine Proedri he selected an Epistatæ. This is clearly explained by Suidas. "When the Prytanæ assemble the senate or the people, the Epistatæ chooses by lot nine Proedri from each tribe,

<sup>a</sup> Polluc. Onomast. lib. viii. cap. xv. cogn. 155. p. 972; Harpocrat. et Hesych. in Tholus.

<sup>b</sup> Harpocrat. p. 88.

<sup>c</sup> Argum. in Orat. Demosth. advers. 839.

Androt. p. 380. lin. 15. à fine.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. lin. 12. à fine. Suidas voc. 'Επιστάτης, Vol. i. p. 830.

<sup>e</sup> Suidas, voc. 'Επιστάτης, Vol. i. p.

excepting the one in office, and from these nine Proedri an Epistates, to whom he commits the public business. This officer introduces the various proceedings, and takes care that every thing is conducted according to law." These Proedri and this Epistates subsisted only during the time of the assembly of the people, whereas the other Proedri exercised their functions for seven days, and their Epistates for one. But on these points it may be well to consult the learned Father Corsini,<sup>a</sup> from whom I have abridged the above remarks.

Let us now proceed to the Naucrari. The people of Athens were originally divided into four tribes, but Clisthenes separated them into ten; and in the third year of the 118th Olympiad, two new tribes were added. These tribes were subdivided into cantons, or Δήμοι. These Δήμοι or cantons<sup>b</sup> were anciently called Naucrariæ, and their magistrates, who were afterwards called Demarchi, then bore the name of Ναύκληροι.

This has been pointed out by M. De St. Croix in the Tables of the Travels of Anacharsis, Vol. vii. p. 166. These tables, which are the fruit of intense labour and deep study, are not the least valuable part of those Travels.

Other authors call these magistrates Ναύκαραι, and contend that there is an essential difference<sup>c</sup> between the Ναύκαραι and the Ναύκληροι; but I am of opinion that there is none at all, and that Ναύκαραι is only a corruption of Ναύκληροι. The Naucraria then constituted the<sup>d</sup> twelfth part of a tribe. There were four to each *πατρις*, or third of a tribe. The Naucrari had the management of the contributions of each canton or Demos, of which they regulated the expenses. Each Naucraria furnished two horsemen and a vessel; and it is perhaps from this vessel that it derives its name. Some, however, think that the word Ναύκληρος signified 'the master of a house,' as Julius Pollux<sup>e</sup> understands it, and that *ναῖς* comes from *ναίειν*, 'to inhabit.' But upon this passage of the Onomasticon, see the note of the late M. De Hemsterhuis, one of the most learned men that Europe has produced since the revival of letters.

Before Theseus had united into a single body the different senates of Attica, each canton or Demos<sup>f</sup> had its own, which was governed, most probably, by the same rules as were observed in that of Athens. Thus the Prytanes of the Naucrari were merely the portians of each of these little senates, for the time being, in office. As these senates however had long been merged in that of Athens, some per-

<sup>a</sup> Fast. Att. pars i. Dissert. ii. § xviii. p. 101, Dissert. vi. § xv. v. &c. p. 365, &c.  
<sup>b</sup> Jul. Polluc. Onomast. lib. viii. cap. ix. segm. 108. Vol. ii. pp. 929, 930.

<sup>c</sup> Ammon. de Differentiis vocum. voc.

Ναύκληροι, p. 98.

<sup>d</sup> Jul. Poll. loco laudato.

<sup>e</sup> Id. lib. x. cap. iii. segm. xx. p. 1104.

<sup>f</sup> Plutarch, in Theseo, p. 11. A.

sons will be inclined to think that our historian has taken these terms, 'Prytanes of the Naucrari,' in a sense peculiar to himself, and that by Naucrari he means the people of Athens in general, the householders; and by the Prytanes, their magistrates. We know that in some of the Dorian cities the Prytanes were the first magistrates, and indeed what the Archons were at Athens. Livy, speaking of Hegesilochus, says,\* "Cum in summo magistratu esset, *Prytanin* ipsi Rhodii vocant." The first magistrates of Corinth<sup>†</sup> likewise bore this name, and remained in office only for a year. Herodotus being a Dorian, though he wrote in the Ionian dialect, was consequently in the habit of giving the name of Prytanes to the first magistrate, and may therefore have done so in speaking of those of Athens. And what convinces me of this is, that Thucydides, in relating the same story, attributes to the Archons what Herodotus advances of the Prytanes of the Naucrari. "Those," says this historian,<sup>‡</sup> "to whom the people had confided the keeping of the citadel, seeing the partisans of Cylon perish at the feet of the statue of Minerva, caused them to go out of the citadel, promising them that no harm should be done to them." Now he had said, a little before,<sup>§</sup> that it was to the nine Archons that the people had entrusted the care of the citadel. These Archons, therefore, were the same with the Prytanes of the Naucrari: for Pausanias expresses himself<sup>||</sup> in the same manner as Thucydides, *Oi echontes tas archas*. Harpocration says that the name of Naucrari was given to the Archons, and cites the above passage in confirmation of it; and to this he adds the testimony of Aristotle, who, in his treatise on the Government of Athens, says, "they established Demarchi, whose functions were the same as had formerly been committed to the Naucrari." / *Ναυκράρους τὸ παλαιὸν τοὺς Ἀρχοντας ἔλεγον, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ Ἡρόδοτος δηλοῖ. Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ φησὶ· Κατέστησαν δὲ Δημάρχους τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντας ἐπιμέλειαν τοῖς πρότερον Ναυκράροις.* See also the end of note at p. 216. where it appears clearly from a passage of Plutarch, that they were the Archons who punished the accomplices in the conspiracy of Cylon.

*Υπεγγύους πλὴν θανάτου]* After having promised not to punish them. In the edition of Stephens, the comma placed after *ὑπεγγύους* makes the sentence to signify, that the Prytanes of the Naucrari administered justice in Athens, except in criminal cases. This cannot be the meaning of the sentence; because, had not their authority ex-

\* Tit. Liv. lib. xlv. § xlv.

† Pausan. Corinth. sive lib. ii. cap. iv. p. 120.

‡ Thucyd. lib. i. § cxxvi. p. 61. lin. 88.

§ Id. ibid. p. 81. lin. 78.

|| Pausan. Achaic. sive lib. vii. cap. xxv. p. 588.

/ Harpocrat. voc. *Ναυκράριος*.

tended to the latter, the offenders would not have quitted their asylum. I have therefore placed the comma before *ἱεργεύς*, and made that word relate to *νόστος*. This punctuation is confirmed by the Ms. A in the Royal Library. The Mss. A and B, two words before, have *ἑρμῶν*.

This conduct of the magistrates excited great tumults in Athens; some considering it as sacrilegious and an offence against religion, others as an act of justice against traitorous citizens who would have sold their country to slavery. This animosity was inflamed to such a pitch that the Athenians were on the point of slaughtering each other; and to these misfortunes was added a contagious malady, which depopulated not only the city of Athens, but all Attica. The Athenians, a very religious people, in these calamities had recourse to the gods. They sent to<sup>a</sup> consult the oracle, which answered them, that if they would be relieved from these scourges, Epimenides must purify their city.

Epimenides<sup>b</sup> of Phæstum, in the island of Crete, then enjoyed the highest reputation. He was<sup>c</sup> a celebrated soothsayer, who expiated cities and people by certain ceremonies,<sup>d</sup> which he accompanied with mysterious words for the purpose of imposing on the people. The Athenians sent for him,<sup>e</sup> and they deputed for this purpose Nicias, son of Nicarchus, one of the most distinguished citizens of Athens. Epimenides having, on his arrival, purified the city, the contagion abated, and tranquillity was restored. He purified it in the following manner. He took with him a number of black and white sheep, and when he was near the Areopagus, he suffered them to go their own way; ordering that they should be followed, and that they should sacrifice to the 'suitable god,' *τῷ προσήκοντι θεῷ*, each sheep on the spot where it should first lie down: and hence it is, that to the present day altars are found in Attica without any name inscribed on them. These altars were erected to perpetuate the memory of the expiation made on that occasion. They were dedicated, as Pausanias says, to the unknown gods, *Βουνοὶ δὲ θεῶν τε ἀνοραζομένων ἀγνώστων*; and to this authority may be added that of Philostratus. "It is the wisest course to speak well of all the gods, and especially at Athens, where altars have been erected even to the unknown gods, οὗ καὶ ἀγνώστων θεῶν βουνοὶ ἱδρύονται." Suidas, under the word Timasion, quotes this passage from Philostratus, but without naming the authority.

It was these altars which gave occasion to St. Paul, when before

<sup>a</sup> Diogen. Laert. lib. i. segm. cx.

<sup>b</sup> Strab. lib. x. p. 734. B, C.

<sup>c</sup> Pausan. Att. viii. lib. i. cap. xiv. p.

35. Strab. lib. x. p. 731.

<sup>d</sup> For so I explain the word *ἑρμῶν*,

used by Strabo.

<sup>e</sup> Diogen. Laert. lib. i. segm. cx.

<sup>f</sup> Pausan. Attic. viii. lib. i. cap. i. p. 4.

<sup>g</sup> Philostratus, in vit. Apollonii, lib. vi.

cap. iii. p. 233.

the Areopagus, to deliver that eloquent discourse on the true God, the exordium to which is so striking.\* “Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious.<sup>b</sup> For as I passed by, and beheld your devotions, I found an altar with this inscription, To *THE UNKNOWN GOD*. Whom, therefore, ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you.”

The infidels have seized with avidity on this passage of the Apostle to accuse him of want of faith, and of having designedly misrepresented the inscription on these altars, by attributing to ‘an unknown God,’ an altar dedicated to the *UNKNOWN GODS*. By their eagerness to decry all things, sacred they have been betrayed into an absurdity, from which either of the following reflections, and they are such as naturally suggest themselves, would have preserved them. The first, when St. Paul says to the Athenians—I saw, as I passed by, an altar with this inscription, ‘to the unknown god:’ had this been false, either through mistake or design, would not the senators of the Areopagus, with one voice, have contradicted him, and referred him to the inscription itself, to show his deception or his ignorance?

The second reflection is equally important. It is admitted that on occasion of the calamities which befel Athens in consequence of the murder of Cylon’s conspirators, altars were erected to the unknown gods, with the view of arresting the progress of the epidemic which desolated the city. This is affirmed by an ancient author, whose testimony it would not be easy to refute. But can it be made certain that on no other occasion an altar or altars were erected, ‘to the unknown god?’ Ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ. To be able to deny this positively, we should have before us all the writings of the ancients, whereas it is well known that a very small proportion of them has reached us.

But decisive as these reasons are, there are others still more directly to the point. In the passage of Diogenes Laertius above reported, we read ‘to the suitable god,’ τῷ προσήκοντι Θεῷ, which means the same thing as ‘the unknown God.’ Had this inscription been in the plural, it must have stood τοῖς προσήκουσι Θεοῖς, ‘to the suitable gods.’ But as the expression might afford room for some equivocation, I will cite two other passages still more positive; they are both from the dialogue entitled *Philopatriis*, erroneously attributed to Lucian. In the first, it is said,<sup>c</sup> “I swear by *the unknown god* adored at Athens, that the Gorgon preserved her virginity to the moment

\* Acts, chap. xvii. verse 22 et seq.

<sup>b</sup> I doubt whether the Greek expression, *δεισιδαίμων*, has been properly rendered by the Vulgate. It is often taken to signify a religious man, in a favourable sense, and I doubt not that such is its

meaning in this passage. It would not have been consistent with St. Paul’s knowledge of the art of oratory to have begun by addressing insults to that body, whose good-will it was his business to conciliate.

<sup>c</sup> Lucianus operum, Vol. iii. p. 594. § ix.



when her head was cut off, *ὣν τὸν ἄγνωστον ἐν Ἀθήναις, παρθεὺς διέμεινε μέχρι τῆς ἀπορομῆς.*" The second runs thus:—"As for us who have found the god unknown to the Athenians, let us adore him, with hands uplifted to heaven, &c. *ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν ἐν Ἀθήναις ἄγνωστον ἐξευπόρτες, καὶ προσκυνησάμεντες, χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν ἐκτεινάντες, &c. τ. λ.*"

Were the infidels susceptible of shame, they would blush to have recourse to arguments so easily overthrown.

*Φοβεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς αἰτίῃ ἔχει Ἀλκμαίωνιδας*] *The Alcmaeonidae were accused of these murders.* Thucydides relates the same transactions in a more clear and circumstantial manner, which the reader will probably not be displeased to see quoted. "Cylon of Athens,"<sup>a</sup> says that author, "had gained the victory at the Olympic games; he was of illustrious birth, and possessed considerable influence. He had married the daughter of Theagenes, tyrant of Megara. Having consulted the oracle of Delphi, the god directed him to seize on the citadel of Athens, on the day of the grandest festival of Jupiter. With the assistance of his friends and of some troops sent him by his father-in-law, he rendered himself master of the citadel, with the view of making himself tyrant, on their arrival at the Olympic games held in the Peloponnesus, thinking that it was the great festival of Jupiter, and that he was in some degree connected with it, as having been victorious in the games. But Cylon omitted to consider whether the oracle spoke of the grandest festival of Jupiter celebrated in Attica, or elsewhere, nor did the god explain himself on the point. The Athenians have a festival called Diasia, which is a grand sacrifice in honour of Jupiter Meilichius, and is celebrated without the city. Cylon imagining that he had seized the true meaning of the oracle, commenced his enterprise. The Athenians ran in from the country, and besieged him and his accomplices in the citadel. But as the siege was protracted to some length, and they became tired of it, they retired for the most part, and entrusted the custody of the citadel to the nine archons, with the charge of finally determining the affair as to them might seem best. The greater part of the public affairs was then under the direction of the archons. The besieged suffered greatly from hunger and thirst, but Cylon and his brother escaped. With respect to the remainder, some perished with hunger, whilst others took sanctuary round the altar that is in the citadel. Those to whom the care of the citadel had been confided, finding that these died in the sacred precinct, forced them to leave it, promising them that no harm should befall them; but having led them forth, they massacred them, with several others whom they found in the attitude of supplicants

<sup>a</sup> Luciani opera, Vol. iii. p. 617. § 211.

<sup>b</sup> Thucyd. lib. i. § cxxvi. p. 89 et seq.

round the altar of the Eumenides. These magistrates and their whole posterity were consequently anathematized. The Athenians expelled them from their city. Cleomeues, king of Lacedæmon, at a subsequent period, when Athens was divided into factions, again caused their expulsion. Not content with exiling the survivors, the ashes of the dead were dug up, and cast out of Attica. The exiles afterwards returned, and their families still subsist in that city."

Plutarch\* says that their bodies were disinterred, and cast out of Attica, and that the grandchildren of those who had been massacred were not witnesses of this punishment. Plutarch does not name the Alcmaeonidæ; but by comparing the passage with the latter part of that which I have quoted from Thucydides, it will be seen that it can only refer to them.

Plutarch, who had barely touched on this story, gives it more at length in his life of Solon; and as he there gives some particulars which we do not find in Thucydides, I have thought it right to subjoin his account. "The anathema<sup>c</sup> incurred by the murder of Cylon, had long caused great calamities to the city. They began at the time when the accomplices of Cylon took refuge in the temple of Minerva. Megacles, who was then archon, persuaded them to quit it, and to meet the demands of justice. They tied a thread to the statue of the goddess, and held it in their hands. When they were near the altar of the Eumenides, the thread broke, and Megacles with his companions immediately fell upon them, as if the goddess had rejected their supplications. Those who were without the temple were immediately stoned, and those who had taken refuge at the foot of the altar were put to the sword. None were spared but those who implored the protection of the wives of the archons. The authors of this massacre were from that time held in abhorrence, and considered as under an anathema."

The conspiracy of Cylon took place in the year 4102 of the Julian period, 612 years before our era, as we learn from the above passage of Plutarch, in which we see that Megacles was then archon. His archontate comprised the six last months of the fourth year of the 41st Olympiad, and the six first months of the 42nd.

LXXII. *Ἀνὴρ ἐνεχέσθης*] *The latter retired.* Ælian<sup>c</sup> says that Clisthenes was the author of the Athenian law of Ostracism, and that he was the first person banished in virtue of it. But that opinion is peculiar to Ælian. Clisthenes was indeed banished, but not by virtue of that

\* Plutarch, de Serâ Numinis Vindictâ, p. 549. A.

<sup>c</sup> Idem in Solone, p. 84. A, B.

<sup>c</sup> Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xii. cap. xxiv. p. 890.

law, but because he was one of the descendants of those who punished with death the accomplices of Cylon, in violation of a pledge of faith. The various writers differ greatly in opinion as to <sup>a</sup> the author of this law. It should seem that the first who incurred the penalty of ostracism was Hipparchus,<sup>b</sup> the son of Charmus, or rather of Timarchus, as Lycurgus says.<sup>c</sup>

*Ἐστέρια Ἀθηναίων*] *Athenian families.* This epithet is not superfluous, although it might appear so to a cursory reader. Herodotus has used it, because there were at Athens many foreigners who were domiciled and enjoyed all the rights of citizenship, except that they could fill no office of authority in the state. They were called *Μετοίκαι*, a term which properly signifies, 'persons who have changed their domicile from one place to another, who have quitted their country to settle elsewhere.' Their descendants, however remote, were disqualified from holding office equally with their ancestors, unless, in consideration of some especial services, the disability was done away. M. De St. Croix read a memoir on this subject to the Academy of Belles-Lettres; and as this writer is capable of producing nothing but what bears the stamp of excellence, it is matter of regret that the circumstances of the times prevented him from publishing it.

*Φήμη*] *The presage.* It is what the Latins termed 'omen.' "Omen," says Festus, "quasi oremen, quia fit ab ore." The ancients paid attention to the words of all whom they met, with a view to draw from them some presage of the future. "Neque <sup>d</sup> solum Deorum voces Pythagorei observitaverunt, sed etiam hominum, quæ vocant omina." Xenophon says, *χρῶνται καὶ φήμαις*, 'they observe presages;' and two lines further on, he adds, *οὗτοι γὰρ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν . . . ὅτι τοὺς ἀπαρτῶντας εἰδέναι τὰ συμφέροντα*: 'Not that they believe that those who meet them know what will be useful to them.' Homer <sup>e</sup> employs this word in a more definite sense, *φήμην τίς μοι φάσθω ἐγχερόμενον ἀνθρώπων*, 'that some man may speak a word to me, which may serve as a presage.'

*Πρὶν ἢ τὰς θύρας αὐτὸν ἀμείψαι*] *Before he had passed the gate.* 'Αμείψω signifies not only 'muto,' but also 'prætereo,' 'transseo.' 'Muto' is also sometimes used by the Latins in the same sense; as we find in the following verses of Lucretius: <sup>f</sup>

Denique quam suavi devinxit membra sopore  
Squallus, et in summa corpus jacet omne quiete ;  
.....

<sup>a</sup> Meursii Atticæ Lectiones, lib. v. cap. xviii. p. 280.

<sup>b</sup> Harpocrat. voc. Ἱππάρχης, p. 61.

<sup>c</sup> Lycurg. in Leocratem, p. 164. lin. 26.

<sup>d</sup> Cic. Divinat. lib. i. § xlv.

*Her. No.*

<sup>e</sup> Xenoph. Socrat. Memorab. lib. i. cap.

1. § iii. p. 2.

<sup>f</sup> Homeri Odysæ. lib. xi. vers. 100.

Conf. vers. 105.

<sup>g</sup> Lucret. lib. iv. vers. 455 et seq.

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2 E

Concluso . . . loco caelum, mare, flumina, montes  
Mutare, et campos pedibus transire videmur.

'Although when sleep has bound our members in its grateful chains, and our bodies are extended in the arms of a profound sleep . . . we fancy . . . though enclosed in a narrow space, that we pass from one climate to another, over seas, rivers, and mountains, and traverse on foot immense plains.'

Κληδόνι] *The presage.* Κληδών, or κληδών, is the same as φήμη, which, as we have seen, signifies a presage. The scholia attributed to Didymus explain the word φήμην, quoted in the preceding note, by κληδόνα.\* Moreover, what Herodotus, Book ix. § xcix. calls φήμη, he, in § c. of the same Book, names κληδών. Gronovius, therefore, has done wrong to leave the translation of Valla, 'admonitio,' uncorrected.

Πάλιν] *For the second time.* See § lxiv. and lxv. supra. The Lacedæmonians, after having vainly besieged the Pisistratidæ in the citadel of Athens, returned to Sparta. Aristophanes alludes to this forced retreat of Cleomenes. "Cleomenes," says he,<sup>b</sup> "who first seized our citadel, did not get off safe and sound, but, in spite of his Spartan pride, left his arms behind him."

Τὸν Δελφόν] *Of Delphi.* I read with<sup>c</sup> Paulmier de Grentemey, τὸν Δελφόν, instead of τὸν ἀδελφεόν, a happy conjecture, approved by both Wesseling and Valckenæer, and founded on the account given by Pausanias. "Not far from the statue of Promachus," says that historian,<sup>d</sup> "is seen that of Timasitheus of Delphi, which is the work of Agelades of Argos. He gained the prize of the Pancratium three times in the Olympic, and three times in the Pythic games. In war also he performed actions remarkable for their boldness, and for their success, excepting the last, which proved fatal to him. Isagoras having made himself master of the citadel of Athens, with the intention of becoming tyrant of the country, Timasitheus took part in the attempt, and being one of those who remained in the citadel, the Athenians punished him with death."

Λήματος] *Of greatness of soul.* There is a great difference between λῆμα and λήμμα. Λῆμα comes from Λῶ, θέλω, θελήσω; λήμμα, from λήβω, for λαμβάνω. Ammonius<sup>e</sup> explains this difference perfectly well. Λῆμα, with a single μ, signifies 'strength, or impetuosity of soul;' λήμμα, with two μ, signifies 'what is taken,' 'gain.'

\* Ad Odys. lib. xi. vers. 100. et 105.

<sup>b</sup> Aristoph. Lysistrat. vers. 273 et seq.

<sup>c</sup> Palmerii Exercitationes in Auctores Græcos, p. 26.

<sup>d</sup> Pausan. lib. vi. sive Eliac. posterior, cap. viii. p. 472.

<sup>e</sup> Ammonius de adfinitum vocabulorum differentiâ, p. 80.

See the notes of the learned Valckenær\* on this grammarian. We must therefore read here *λήμας*, with the Ms. of Sancroft, and the Ms. A in the Royal Library.

LXXIV. *Συνθήμας*] *In concert with him*. See the note of the Abbe Bellanger, in his *Critical Essays*, p. 166.

*Kai Yeras*] *And Hysia*. It does not appear that Hysia ever made a part of Attica. Mount Cithæron was between that town and Œnoë. When the Plataeans entered Attica, they first† took the road which led direct to Thebes; afterwards turning to the right, towards Mount Cithæron, they reached Erythra and Hysia, and having afterwards crossed that mountain, they entered Attica. Herodotus himself (lib. ix. § xv. and xxv.) places that town at the foot of mount Cithæron, in the territory of Plataea. This therefore cannot be the same place which he here mentions as near Œnoë. I should prefer reading Phylê, which was not far distant, and which the Boeotians must have reached after having passed Mount Parnes. See M. Wesseling's

*Ἀντρία ἰσθμῶν τὰ ὅπλα*] *In order of battle to meet, &c.* The Greek expression, which we so often find in Thucydides, both in the retreat of the Ten Thousand and elsewhere, signifies, 'they took up their arms, or put on their armour, to go to meet', . . . *Θέμενο τὰ ὅπλα* is explained by the scholiast of Thucydides‡ by *περιθέμενοι ταυ- τῶν*, and Suidas interprets *θέμενος τὰ ὅπλα, περιθέμενος καὶ ὅπλα* ἡ μένος, 'arming themselves.' *Ἔμενοι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τὰ ὅπλα*, 'repaired in arms to the place,' or 'in order of battle.'

LXXV. *Τῶν Τυνδαριδῶν τὸν ἑκρον*] *One of the two Tyndaridae*. Castor and Pollux. This passage is obscure, because we possess very little knowledge of the customs of Sparta. We know generally, that the Lacedæmonians called to their assistance the Tyndaridae, and that they considered themselves as marching under their auspices. When the Epizephyrian Locrians§ sent to Lacedæmon to ask succours, they were answered that no troops should be sent, but the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux). As these two brothers were the protectors of Sparta, it is natural to think that when one of the two kings marched with the army, the image of one of the two Tyndaridae should accompany him, whilst the other remained in the city with the other king. But as these two heroes were represented by two pieces of wood exactly alike,⁹ and joined together by two others placed crosswise, it

\* Animadvers. ad Ammon. lib. ii. cap. xv. p. 141.

† Thucyd. lib. iii. § xiv. p. 181.

‡ Schol. Thucyd. ad lib. ii. § ii. p. 99.

§ Thucyd. lib. ii.

⁹ Zenob. Cent. ii. 17.

⁹ Plutarch. Περὶ Φιλαδέλφειας, p. 478, A.



became necessary to separate them. These effigies were called *Dorcana*. This manner of representing the two brothers, was doubtless adopted as emblematic of their union and concord.

*Ἐπὶ τελευτῇ*] *To the assistance.* *Ἐπὶ τελευτῇ* signifies *σύμμαχοι*, according to Hesychius; and I have preferred this explanation to that of the Latin translator.

LXXVI. *Δωριεῖς*] *The Dorians.* These are the Dorians established in the Peloponnesus. If he does not call them Peloponnesians, it is because that term would comprise the Arcadians, who were Autochthones, and who had no share in this expedition.

*Κόδρου βασιλευσσοτος*] *Under the reign of Codrus.* "A famine having\* been experienced in the Peloponnesus under the reign of Codrus, the Peloponnesians resolved to march against Athens, to drive out the inhabitants, and share the country amongst them. They first sent to Delphi to inquire of the god whether they should take the city. The god having answered them that they would take it, if they did not kill Codrus, who was king of it, they began their march. This oracle having come to the knowledge of Cleomantis of Delphi, he secretly sent notice of it to the Athenians . . . .<sup>†</sup> Kings were then so generous, that they preferred dying for the welfare of their subjects, to surviving the fall of their country, and passing into a foreign land. Thus it is related that Codrus ordered the Athenians to watch the moment of his death, and taking the habit of a mendicant for the purpose of deceiving the enemy, he mingled with those who were picking up branches of trees, and began to pick up some that were in front of the town. Two men from the enemy's camp having approached him, and having asked him what was passing in the town, he immediately attacked one of them with his bill-hook, and killed him; the other, irritated by this action, and mistaking Codrus for a beggar, slew him with his sword. The Athenians thereupon dispatched a herald to demand the body of their king, for the purpose of interment, and thus discovered the truth to the Peloponnesians. The latter immediately returned the body, and, convinced that it was now impossible for them to obtain possession of Attica, withdrew. The republic ordered that Cleomantis of Delphi should be maintained at the public expense, in the Prytaneum, himself and his posterity for ever."

If this generous prince thus devoted himself for the safety of his country, the people on their part granted him divine honours.<sup>‡</sup> Suidas relates the same thing, under the word *Ἀδελώσας*.

*Ἐς Ἐλευσίνα*] *Against Eleusis.* In the Greek, after these words,

\* Lycurg. contra Leocrat. p. 168. lin. 20, &c.

† Id. *ibid.* lin. 32, &c.

‡ Lycurg. contra Leocr. p. 169. lin. 3 et 4.

we find: 'Thus it was now for the fourth time that the Dorians penetrated into Attica.' But I have omitted this for the reasons already more than once assigned.

LXXVII. 'Ἐπὶ τῶν ἱπποβορέων τῇ χώρῃ] *The territories of the Hippobotes.* Hippobotes is a word compounded of ἵππος, 'a horse,' and βόρω, 'I nourish.' As the pasturage of Eubœa was not abundant, none but very rich persons could maintain horses. Good pasturage was still more scarce in Attica; and the keeping of horses was there ruinous. Thus Strepsiades, when he reflected\* on the debts he had contracted by buying a horse for twelve minæ of his son, exclaims,

Οἱ πᾶτες] *The richest inhabitants.* So in the Greek, which signifies the largest or fattest, a term peculiar to the Athenians. Varius Phavorinus, under the word πᾶτες, says: πᾶτες, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς πλουσίους καλοῦσι συνήθως. 'The Athenians in familiar language term rich people πᾶτες,' (fat or large). The comic Poet, who delights in the use of Attic expressions, says:†

Καὶ γὰρ ἀνὴρ πᾶς ἔχει τῶν προδόντων  
Τᾷ ὀφέει.

\* There is a rich man, one of those who delivered Thrace.'

Διμνέως ἀποτιμησάμενος] *For a ransom of two minæ a head.* The two minæ are about 180 liv. (French). It was the common price of ransom in the Peloponnesus. See Book VI. § LXXIX. This ransom appears to me the more exorbitant, as the Greeks were far from rich at that period.

Ἀρτίον δὲ τοῦ μεγάρου] *Opposite to the temple.* Μέγαρον is taken sometimes for a 'temple,' sometimes for a 'palace,' and sometimes for the 'house of a private individual.' It seems to me, that it here means some temple particularly known by this name.

I at first imagined that it was that of Ceres, because the temples\* of that goddess were frequently called Μέγαρα. But having since reflected that there was no temple of Ceres in the citadel, and that there were two on the west side of it, one of Agrauios, daughter of Cecrops, and the other of Victoria Apteros, or without wings; I am the rather inclined to think that Herodotus alludes to one of these, as he says it was towards the west. But in any case, our historian's expression, which perhaps in his own time was not obscure, is very much so now. See the plan of the citadel of Athens, in the second Vol. of the Ruins of Athens, by MM. Stuart and Revette,

\* Aristoph. Nub. vers. 24.

† Pausan. Attic. sive lib. i. cap. xl p.

‡ Aristoph. Vesp. vers. 268. ex edit. 177. lib. ult.

Brunch.

in folio. Nothing, however, can be decided with certainty on these points, for the monuments and curiosities of the citadel of Athens were so numerous, that Heliodorus, an Athenian,<sup>a</sup> has filled fifteen books with the description of them. The subject was so rich and so abundant, that not having been exhausted, Polemon Periegetes wrote four other books by way of completing it.<sup>b</sup> The statues were so very numerous, that though the Romans, and especially Nero, had taken away an immense number of them, there remained in Pliny's time more than three thousand.

Τέθριππον χάλκεον] *A car of bronze with four horses.* The propylæa of the citadel were rebuilt by Pericles, in the most magnificent style, with white marble, and equestrian figures were erected on pedestals at each extremity. Pausanias, who has furnished us these particulars, and who speaks also of this car of bronze,<sup>c</sup> has omitted to mention the spot where it was placed. The plan of the propylæa may be seen in the Ruins of Athens, by MM. Stuart and Revett. The Venetians destroyed the roof and the pediment, when they attacked the citadel in 1687.

Παῖδες Ἀθηναίων] *The Athenians, &c.* This inscription is in four elegiac verses. Stephens has published them in the Appendix to the Anthologia, p. 508. and M. Brunck in the third Vol. of his *Analecta*, p. 181.

LXXVIII. Ἰσότητι] *That equality, &c.* This does not signify equality of rank, riches, or honours, but in rights, in the administration of justice, in the dispensation of honours, and other rewards for services performed.

ἑαυτῷ] *For himself.* There should be a period after ἐκτελεστέον, and not merely a comma, as in the edition of Wesseling. The *Mss.* of the Royal Library, as well as the Greek edition of Stephens, have also a period. M. Borbeck has suffered the erroneous punctuation to remain in his edition.

LXXIX. Ἐς πολύφημον] *To the assembly of the people.* Though the Pythic oracle usually employed enigmatical modes of expression, I do not think that in this instance it enveloped itself in any very impenetrable obscurity. The deputies immediately make their report to the people; and if any embarrassment arises out of the answer of the Pythoness, it can be only as to the following terms. Πολύφημον cannot be a proper name, and has therefore been erroneously rendered by Polyphemum, with a capital letter. It is here taken substantively, and signifies the assembly of the people, where various matters were

<sup>a</sup> Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. vi. cap. iii. p. 229. E.

<sup>b</sup> Strab. lib. ix. p. 607. A.

<sup>c</sup> Pausan. Attic. sive lib. i. cap. xxviii. p. 67.

frequently discussed, and considerable debates arose. Hesychius says, Πολύφημον; . . . Ἑκκλησία ἐν ᾗ πολλὰ φῆμαι καὶ κληρόνες εἶσιν.

Τῶν ἀγγιστῶν] *Their nearest connexions.* (Leurs plus proches.) "The Greek is ambiguous, and may mean either 'nearest neighbours,' or 'nearest relations.' Ἀγγιστεία, says Hesychius, συγγένεια ἀγγιστείουσα, ἐγγύς οὖσα πρὸς τὸ γένος ἀγγιστεῖ, συγγενής. The Pythoress by this ambiguity maintained her reputation for infallibility and inspiration from the god."—BELLANDER.

Θεορῆτοί] *The envoys.* We must remark that this word signifies not only 'soothsayers' and 'prophets,' but also those who are sent to consult an oracle; and it is then, as in the present passage, synonymous with θεοποί. Herodotus sometimes uses it in this sense, as in Book 1. § LXVI. where it occurs twice, though I have not noticed it.

Γε] *At least.* I have endeavoured to express the particle γέ, which is omitted by the Latin translators, as though it were merely an expletive. I subjoin a very pointed instance of the force of this particle: τοὺς δὲ θεοὺς οὐρ' ἂν ἐπισηκῆσαι τις λάθοι, οὐρ' ἂν ἐσφύγοι τὴν ἀπ' αἰῶν τιμωρίαν· ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς, οἱ παῖδες γε καὶ τὸ γένος ἅπαν τὸ τοῦ ἐπισηκῆσαντος μεγάλοις ἀτυχήμασι περιπίπτει. 'The perjurer' can neither conceal himself from the gods, nor escape their vengeance. If he be not himself the victim of it, *at least* his children and his whole posterity incur the most dreadful misfortunes.' See also note 2. on § XXXVII. of Book III.

LXXX. Ἀσωποῦ θυγατέρες Θήβη τε καὶ Αἴγινα] *Thebe and Ægina were daughters of Asopus.* "Oceanus, as the fable runs,<sup>a</sup> had by Tethys several children, celebrated by the names of the rivers which were given to them, and amongst others Peneus and Asopus. Peneus inhabited the country now called Thessaly, and gave his name to the river which waters it. Asopus lived at Phlius, and married Metope, daughter of Ladon, by whom he had two sons, Pelasgus and Ismenus, and twelve daughters, Cercyra, Salamis, Ægina, Pirene, Cleone, Thebe, Tanagra, Thespie, Asopis, Sinope, Ænia, and Chalcis. Ægina was carried off from Phlius by Jupiter, to the island to which she gave her name. Asopus' being apprised of this abduction by Sisyphus, went in pursuit of her, but was struck by Jupiter with a thunderbolt." Hence Callimachus calls this river βαρύγυρος, 'the lagging Asopus.' See also the scholiast of Pindar, on the 6th Olympic, verse 141. p. 68. col. 2. lin. 15. and following.

Τοὺς Ἀλακίδας συμπεῖπειν] *To send to them the Æacides.* The Medici Ms. has συμπεῖθειν; according to which we should translate, 'that

<sup>a</sup> Lycorg. in Loerc. p. 167. lin. 28.

<sup>b</sup> Scholiast. Callimachi ad Hymn. in

<sup>c</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. iv. § lxxxi. Vol. I. p. Del. vers. 78.

they would persuade the Æacides to come to their assistance.' I have, with M. Wesseling, preferred the other reading, which I find in the three Mss. of the Royal Library, because it appears that in fact it was the statues of the gods that were sent with those they wished to favour. This is confirmed by the following paragraph, in which it is said that the Æginetæ delivered up to them the Æacides. See also the note of Wesseling, which places this matter beyond a doubt.

LXXXI. Τῶτε, Θηβαίων δεηθέντων, &c.] *To the entreaties of the Thebans.* Τῶτε refers to πόλεμον ἀήρκετον Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπέφερον: but I prefer the reading of the Mss. B in the Royal Library, in which we read τῶν τε Θηβαίων, &c. &c.

LXXXII. Προφειδομένη] *A debt, &c.* I have endeavoured to express the force of the word προφειδομένη, which appears to me the true reading, and which is authorized by the three Mss. in the Royal Library.

Δαμῖς τε καὶ Αὐξήσις] *To Damia and to Auxesia.* Damia and Auxesia were the same with Ceres and Proserpine. We learn this from a commentary of Aristides, which has never been printed, and which was in possession of the late M. Burmann. "The Epidaurians," says this scholiast, "were perishing with hunger; the Pythoness directed them to erect to Ceres and Proserpine statues made from the wood of the sacred olive-trees which were in the citadel" (of Athens).

These two goddesses, Ceres and Proserpine, produced fertility; they had a temple at Tegrea,<sup>a</sup> where they were termed Carpophoræ, that is to say, who produce abundant harvests. Pausanias relates the same story as Herodotus;<sup>b</sup> but he calls these goddesses Auxesia and Lamia. Kuhnus properly judged that we should read Auxesia and Damia.

They were equally honoured at Træzene,<sup>c</sup> but for reasons different from those of the Epidaurians and the Æginetæ.

Damia was the same as the 'Bona Dea' of the Romans. At Rome she was worshipped with secret mysteries; which agree with the secret ceremonies practised by<sup>d</sup> the Epidaurians. "Damium" sacrificium, quod fiebat in operto in honorem Bonæ Deæ . . . Dea quoque ipsa Damia et sacerdos ejus Damatrix appellabatur." It appears that she was the same also as the goddess Maia<sup>e</sup> of the Romans. See M. Valckenaer's note.

Ἀθήνῃσι] *Attica.* It is not true that olive-trees at that time grew no where but in Attica. Herodotus knew this well; but was

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Arcadic. sive lib. viii. cap. lili. p. 707.

<sup>b</sup> Id. Corinthiac. sive lib. ii. cap. xxx. p. 181.

<sup>c</sup> Id. ibid. cap. xxxii. p. 186.

<sup>d</sup> Herodot. lib. v. § lxxiii. sub finem.

<sup>e</sup> Festus, voc. Damium sacrificium, p. 113.

<sup>f</sup> Macrobi. Saturnal. lib. i. cap. xii. p. 220.



unwilling to shock the vanity of the Athenians; to save his credit, however, he has qualified the assertion by, 'they say.'

The olive-tree flourishes in warm climates; and there is every appearance that this tree is of oriental origin, and from the east was transplanted into Greece. I know not, therefore, what could have led Pindar<sup>a</sup> to say that Hercules brought it from the banks of the Ister (Danube), to serve as an ornament in the finest games of the Greeks.

Δώσιν ἑσθάν] *Permitted them.* I should consider *ῥαυτῶσαι* as understood with *δῶσιν*, as we find, two lines above, *δοῦναι ῥαυτῶσαι*. These words, however, may be interpreted, 'they said that they would give them,' &c.

Ἀράτους] *That they should bring every year, &c.* Whether these victims were sacrificed by the Epidaurians themselves, or by the Athenian priests, still it was a species of subjection from which they were desirous of being freed.

Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Πολιάδι] *Minerva Polias.* See Book i. note 3. to § cix. The title of Polias given to Minerva, which we meet with in numerous passages of the ancients, has been rarely understood. M. Brunck has properly rendered it in the following passage of Sophocles: <sup>b</sup> Νίκη τ' Ἀθηνά Πολίαις, 'et victrix Minerva arcium præses.' Other versions have 'urbium custos.' Minerva Polias, or protectress of the citadel, was adored not only at Athens, but by various other nations. She is mentioned in the treaty between the people of Hierapytna, and of Priansius in Crete, and in the oath<sup>c</sup> taken by the inhabitants of Gortyna and of Priansius. The statue of this goddess was kept at Athens in the temple consecrated to her in the citadel. It was seen there as late as the time of Plutarch.<sup>d</sup> It was, as we learn from Tertullian,<sup>e</sup> a shapeless log of wood. "Quod si de hoc differentia intercedit, quanto distinguitur à crucis stipite Pallas Attica et Ceres Pharia, quæ sine forma rudi palo et solo staculo ligni informis representantur."

The same Tertullian, in his Apologeticum, cap. xvi. p. 16. says, "Quanto distinguitur à Crucis stipite Pallas Attica? et Ceres Pharia quæ sine effigie rudi palo et informi ligno prostat?"

The priestess of Minerva Polias<sup>f</sup> was always of the family of the Butades, or Eteobutades. They were descended from Butes, son of Pandion, who, on the death of the king his father, was made priest<sup>g</sup> of Minerva and of Neptune, and the priesthood was perpetual in his family.

LXXXIII. Ἐόντας διάποροι] *Declared themselves their enemies.* So

<sup>a</sup> Pindar. Olymp. iii. vers. 24 et seq.

<sup>b</sup> Sophocles. Philoctetes. vers. 134.

<sup>c</sup> Chisabull Antiqu. Asiatic. p. 132.

<sup>d</sup> Id. ibid. p. 132.

<sup>e</sup> Fragm. Phil. in Eusebii Præparat.

<sup>f</sup> Euseb. lib. iii. cap. viii. p. 92. B.

<sup>g</sup> Tertull. lib. i. ad Nationes, cap. xii. p. 49. C.

<sup>h</sup> Æsch. περί Παναγνερῶν. § 22. Edit. Taylor, p. 320. vxo.

<sup>i</sup> Apollodorus. lib. iii. cap. 26. p. 220.

in the Greek, which the Latin translator has rendered by 'potentiores.' I do not think he has expressed the meaning of Herodotus, though I am aware that the word is often taken in that sense. See the note of M. Wesseling.

Χοραῖσι γυναικείοισι κετύμοισι ἰλάσκοντο] *Choruses of women who uttered invectives against each other.* There is no excess, however absurd, to which the unassisted reason of mankind is not capable of leading them. Is it possible that these people could have believed that they were doing honour to the divinity in directing sarcasms against each other? In the island of Anaphe,\* Apollo was propitiated, by the women uttering indecent railleries against the men, during the sacrifice. The Hebrews, who had been directed by God himself to the species of worship with which he would be honoured, are perhaps the only people who did not fall into these wretched absurdities.

Χορηγῶν δέκα ἀνδρῶν] *Ten Choregi.* The Choregi presided over the choruses, and regulated the expenses incurred for the actors, dancers, and musicians, in the public festivals.

Αἱ τοιαῦται ἱουργίαι] *Similar ceremonies.* In the Mss. A and D of the Royal Library, we read αὗται αἱ ἱουργίαι, 'these ceremonies,' and in the Ms. B. αἱ αὗται ἱουργίαι, 'the same ceremonies.'

LXXXIV. Ἐμήμιον] *Irritated.* In all the editions previous to that of M. Wesseling, we read ἐμήμιον; he has restored ἐμήμιον, on the authority of two Mss. in England. This reading, which is the true one, is also found in the Mss. A and B of the Royal Library, and has been adopted by M. Borheck in his edition.

LXXXV. Ἐπειρῶντο] *They endeavoured, &c.* M. Valckenaer reads ἀποσταλῆναι τρίηρῃ μὴ τῶν ἀστών (nempe τίνος) τοῦτον, ἐπεὶ πεμφθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Αἴγινα, τὰ ἀγάλματα ταῦτα . . . . περῶν ἐκ . . . . We find περῶν also in the Ms. B of the Royal Library: but I prefer the former reading; and I understand by τοῦτον, that those who had before been deputed to Ægina, were sent again on this occasion.

Ἀλλοφρονήσαι] *Their wits destroyed.* So in the Greek. Herodotus but imitates Homer, who has used this expression\* in the same sense:

Καὶ δ' ἄλλοφρονέοντα μετὰ σφίσιν εἶσαν ἄγοντες.

Pseudo-Didymus explains this word, οὐκ ἐν αὐτῷ ὄντα, ἀλλ' ἐξιστάμενον τῇ διανοῇ, 'one who is not himself, who has lost his senses.' One of the scholiasts of Venice renders it by παραφρονεῖντα. See also

\* Apollon. Rhod. lib. iv. vers. 1725.

cap. xv. p. 73. E.

δ Pottier. Archæologia Græca, lib. i.

\* Homer. Iliad. lib. xxiii. vers. 698.

the commentary of Eustathius\* on the 10th Book of the Odyssey, where this learned prelate confirms the explanation which he gives of this word by this passage of Herodotus.

LXXXVI. Παῖσινα βρεθτοράς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀργεῖους] *The Argians immediately came to their assistance.* Douris of Samos† says, in his 12th Book on the Limits of the Samians, that it was the Spartans who came to the assistance of the Æginetæ. But this is the less probable, as the Spartans had no connexion whatever with them. It is probably an error of the copyist. I think that we should also read ἐν τῇ ἡρῇ ὅπου, instead of ὅπου, and so I have expressed it. But however this may be, Douris agrees with Herodotus in his account of the result of this war of the Athenians against the Æginetæ, although he differs from him as to the cause of it. According to Douris, “the commerce of the Athenians being interrupted by the pirates of Ægina, the Athenians undertook an expedition against them; but the Spartans (read Argians) having come to the assistance of the Æginetæ, they killed the whole party of their assailants, with the exception of one only.” In every other particular he agrees with Herodotus.

LXXXVII. Λινοὺν κῆθυνα] *Tunics of linen.* These tunics had sleeves. The robes\* of the Dorian women had none; they were thrown over the shoulders, and fastened in front with clasps. Thus Venus† having been wounded in the hand by Diomedes, Minerva rallies her on the subject, and attributes her wound to the clasp of some Greek woman's robe, whom that goddess would have induced to follow a Trojan. I cannot here refrain from transcribing the words of a scholiast quoted by Sylburgius, on the following expression of St. Clement\* of Alexandria: ‘This arm is beautiful, but it is not public.’ “The Lacedæmonian women wore tunics without sleeves, so that they exposed their arms from the shoulder. We see this in the ancient statues of women. It was said of those who wore these tunics without sleeves, that they were dressed after the Dorian fashion, as the Lacedæmonians were Dorians; and, on the other hand, it was said of those who wore the garments with sleeves, that they were clothed in the Ionian fashion. These women were Athenians: for the Athenians were called Ionians, before they sent colonies to Ionia. The Lacedæmonians adopted the one mode to render their women masculine, and the Athenians the other, to render theirs effeminate.”

LXXXVIII. Ἐκ τῆ πόλεως κατ’ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων] *This opposition was carried so far, &c.* Stephens has perfectly well rendered this

\* Eustath. Comment. Vol. iii. p. 1061. lin. 45, &c.

† Scholiast. Euripidis ad Hecub. vers. 534.

\* Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. I. cap. xviii.

Vol. i. p. 30. et Eustath. ad Homer. Iliad. Vol. i. p. 567. lin. 35.

\* Homer. Iliad. lib. v. vers. 422, &c.

\* Clemens Alexand. Pædagog. lib. II.

cap. x. p. 238. lin. 24.

passage in his Thesaurus: "Ex tantâ cum Atheniensibus contentione." I have in my translation suppressed the word Athenians, without losing any thing in point of clearness, and to avoid loss of time in considering some other turn of expression.

LXXXIX. 'Απὸ τοῦ Αἰγυπτέου ἀδίκου] *Reckoning from the first insults which they had received from them.* Before Gronovius the reading was αἰκίον. That critic, on the authority of a Florentine Ms., has restored ἀδίκου. This reading is also found in the Ms. B of the Royal Library, which proves that the person entrusted by M. Wesseling with collating his copy with those Mss. executed his commission negligently. 'Αδίκου τῶν Αἰγυπτέων, signifies 'injuria ab Ægyptiis illata Atheniensibus,' as M. Wesseling perceived. 'Απὸ does not connect with ἐπισχόρους, but with ἐπίσχορτα ἔτα. Thus ἐπισχόρους ἐπίσχορτα ἔτα ἀπὸ τοῦ, &c. signifies, 'suspending for thirty-three years, counting from,' &c.

KC. Οἱ χρηνομοί] *Oracles.* I agree with M. Wesseling, that amongst these oracles there were certain verses of Musæus interpolated by Onomacritus, who was for this reason "driven from Athens by Hipparchus; but I think that there were also some of Bacis and of Amphilytus. The whole of these oracles did not fall into the hands of the Lacedæmonians; or at least part of them were recovered, or some false ones manufactured, the care of which was confided to the senate of the Areopagus. Thus much, I think, may be inferred from the following passage of Dinarchus.<sup>a</sup> "This senate (that of the Areopagus) which guards the sacred books, in which the safety of the state consists." It was imagined that the safety of the state was connected with these oracles.

M. Coray, in a dissertation which has appeared in one of our journals, expresses an opposite opinion. He thinks that it was the secret testament of Œdipus, on which the safety of the republic of Athens was conceived to depend. Œdipus confided it to Theseus, who was enjoined to communicate it only to his successor, this successor to the next, and so on. It is possible, and even probable, adds this writer, that Codrus, before exposing himself to a certain death, confided this document to the Areopagus.

But, 1. there is no mention in Sophocles of a will, but of a verbal injunction. It is there said<sup>d</sup> that Œdipus, having arrived with Theseus at the place where he was to terminate his career, confided to

<sup>a</sup> Herodot. lib. vii. § vi.

<sup>b</sup> Dinarch. Demosth. p. 91. lin. 17.

<sup>c</sup> For so I translate τὰς ἀνεσθότους βιβλίας. I suspect that this word formerly signified the books of the Oracles. We

know that the books which contain the oracles of the Christians, are called βιβλία.

<sup>d</sup> Sophocles. Œdip. col. 1520 et seq. ex Edit. Brunck.

this prince a secret, on which depended the safety of the state. He enjoined him to keep it inviolably, and to communicate it only 'in articulo mortis' to his successor, and he, when he was about to die, to his successor, and so on.

I ask if this can be termed a will? If it be a will, it is but an oral one at all events.

2. Let us suppose for a moment that it was actually a will. How could it reach the successors of Theseus? It is possible, says M. Coray, that that magnanimous prince, before departing for the place of his exile, committed it to the person appointed to succeed him. But to this it may be answered, that Theseus in all probability did not imagine that his exile would be of long duration, and still less that a successor to him would be appointed. But even let us admit this supposition. Thymætes, who was the fifteenth king of Athens, not expecting to be dispossessed, neither could nor ought to have committed so important a secret to the usurper of his crown. But were we even to admit that he did so, improbable as it would seem; this testament must then have passed from Melanthus to Codrus: and this latter prince, who devoted himself to death for the good of his country, not being able to foresee, that in return for such a sacrifice the people would abolish royalty, would doubtless place the testament in the hands of his eldest son Medon; the latter would leave it to his successors the perpetual archons, the last perpetual archon to the decennial archon, and the last decennial archon to the annual archon, and so on. If this was actually the case, as it is natural to suppose it would be, how came this testament in the custody of the Areopagus? M. Coray supposes that Codrus committed it to that body before he quitted Athens. But what proof of this does he adduce? not the slightest, but contents himself with supposing it. Had Codrus committed this testament to the Areopagus, as M. Coray supposes, he would have expressly transgressed the injunction of Œdipus; for this testament was to be confided only to the sovereign, and the Areopagus never exercised the functions of sovereignty. The archons alone were invested with them.

Could M. Coray, however, produce the shadow of an authority for his conjectures, I would pass over their improbability. But far from proving any thing, he goes on from one supposition to another, and then, as if all these suppositions were so many indisputable facts, he draws a conclusion from them possessing no solidity whatever.

It appears to me better to confess our ignorance as to these secret books, than to pretend to fathom a mystery which has hitherto been inscrutable.

[*Ἐν τῇ ἱερῇ*] *The temple of Minerva.* The Greek has only, 'in the



temple: I have added that it was that of Minerva, for the sake of clearness, and because in fact it was the statue of that goddess. See note on § LXXII. *supra*.

XCI. Ἐπαρθένεις κίβδηλοις μανθίοισι] *Impelled by deceitful oracles.* This is a metaphorical expression. The Athenians marked bad money with a χ, and called them χίβδηλα νομίσματα; but it afterwards became a custom to change the χ to κ, for the softness of the pronunciation, and to say κίβδηλα. See the scholiast of Aristophanes on verse 158 of the Comedy of the Birds. As to the word ἐπαρθένεις, see Timæus's Lexicon of the words of Plato, p. 119. of the last edition.

Δεξαι] *Inflated with a vain glory.* See the note of Valckenaer.

Ἀρριόμενοι] *Let us repair it.* I read with M. Wesseling ἀρριόμενοι, instead of ἀρριόμενοι, which not only makes better sense, but is also countenanced by three Mss.

XCII. Ὁ τε οὐρανός] *The heavens.* The reading ἡ δὲ δ, τε οὐρανός, &c. is likewise that of the Ms. in the Royal Library, and is confirmed by Eustathius,\* who so quotes the passage.

Ἰσοκρατίας] *The isocracy.* This word signifies equality between the constituent bodies of the state. It is opposed to monarchy; but more especially to tyranny, which recognises no laws.

Βακχιάδαι] *The Bacchiadæ.* The first of this branch who reigned at Corinth was named Bacchis,<sup>a</sup> and was the son of Pruvinis. He succeeded the Aletiadæ, who had filled the throne of Corinth for five generations. The Bacchiadæ, who took their name from Bacchis, reigned over that city for the same period of time. The last of them was Telstes, son of Aristomedes. He was killed by Ariæus and Perantas, who hated him. With him ended royalty. Prytanæ, or annual magistrates, were afterwards chosen from amongst the Bacchiadæ, who governed the state till Cypselus, son of Eëtion, seized on the tyranny, and expelled them.

Diodorus relates the same facts, with some slight variation. According to that historian,<sup>c</sup> almost all the different nations of the Peloponnesus had been driven out of that peninsula by the Heraclidæ, with the exception of the Arcadians. The Heraclidæ having partitioned it, set apart Corinth with its territory, and gave the dominion of it to Aletes. This prince acquired great renown; he considerably aggrandized Corinth, and died after a reign of 38 years. After him came Ixion, who reigned 38 years, Agelas, 37, Prumnis, 35, and Bacchus the same number of years. This last, being

<sup>a</sup> Ad Homer. *Iliad.* lib. viii. Vol. ii. p. 120.

095. bn. 20.

<sup>c</sup> Diodor. Sicul. *Fragm.* vi. lib. vi. Vol.

<sup>b</sup> Pausan. *Corinth.* sive lib. ii. cap. iv. n. p. 635.

the most illustrious of all this line of kings, gave his name to his successors. After him reigned Agelas 30 years, Eudemos 25, and Aristomedes 35.\* This last, at his death, left a son, who was a minor, named Telestes. Agemon, his uncle and guardian, deprived him of the crown, and wore it himself for 16 years. To him succeeded Alexander, who reigned 25 years. On his death, Telestes ascended the throne, and retained it 12 years. He having been killed by his relations, Automenes reigned one year. The Bacchiadae, all descendants of Hercules, more than two hundred in number, seized on the sovereign power, and governed the country in common. They chose from amongst them every year a prytanis, who filled the office of king. This government subsisted ninety years, when it was destroyed by Cypselus. From the time of the return of the Heraclidae to the tyranny of Cypselus, they reckon 447 years.† See my Essay on Chronology, chap. xviii. p. 619. and following.

Λάβδα] *Labda*. This was not her real name, but a kind of surname, or nickname, applied to her by the Delphian oracle in the answer quoted at the end of this paragraph, because she was lame, and her legs and feet turned somewhat in the form of the Greek 'lambda.' Observe, that the letter since called 'lambda,' was then called 'labda.' It was a common custom amongst the ancients, to give nicknames taken from the letters of the alphabet. We are told that Esop was called 'Theta,' by his master Iadmon, because he was of an acute intellect, and that the slaves were called Θῆρες; that Galerius Crassus, a military tribune under the Emperor Tiberius, was surnamed 'Beta,' because he was fond of beet; that Orpyllia, a courtesan of Cyzicum, was called 'Gamma;' that Antenor, who wrote the history of Crete, was called 'Delta,' because he was a good man, and loved his country; for Deltos in the idiom of Crete signifies the same thing as 'Agathos;' that Apollonius, who lived in the time of Philopator, and who was a celebrated astronomer, was called 'Epsilon,' &c.

Τὰ ἀρκάδες Λαπίθης re καὶ Καυρίδης] *A Lapithan by origin, and descended from Cæneus*. Oceanus and Tethys had several children, who gave their names to rivers. Of this number was Peneus, from whom the river in Thessaly so called took its name. Peneus was father of Hypseus and of Stilbe. Of Stilbe and Apollo were born Lapithus and Centaurus. Lapithus settled near the river Peneus, and was king of the neighbouring districts. He had two sons, Phorbas and

\* I have restored this number from the edition of Syncellus in the Louvre.

† All these numbers together make but 417. I will not quote the learned remarks of Scaliger, Petavus, and Marsham, on this point; but the reader may refer to them, and especially to the note of M. Wesseling on this passage of Diodorus.

A solution of this difficulty will be found in a subsequent note on this chapter, (p. 237.)

\* Ptolem. Hephest. ad calcem Apollodori, ex edit. Gale, 8vo. 1673. p. 330.

† Id. ibid. p. 329.

\* Diodor. Sic. Vol. i. lib. iv. § lxxix. pp. 313, 314.

Periphas, who reigned after him, and the various nations of this country were called Lapithæ from the name of Lapithus their king... Phorbas had two sons, Ægeus and Actor, who were kings of the Eleatæ. Periphas, the other son of Lapithus, had, amongst other children, Antion. This latter married Perimele, daughter of Amythaon; by whom he had Ixion, father of Pirithous.

This Lapithan, Cæneus, was the son of Elatus. He lived in the time of Hercules;\* he was king of the Lapithæ,<sup>†</sup> was of a fine figure,<sup>‡</sup> brave, and invulnerable. In a combat which took place between the Centaurs and the Lapithæ, the earth having opened under his feet, he was swallowed up. The poets feigned that the Centaurs having fallen upon him, and not being able to pierce, or otherwise put him to death, had beat him into the earth<sup>§</sup> with their clubs. The most ancient ancestor of Cypselus known is Elatus,<sup>||</sup> father of Cæneus. Cæneus had a son named / Coronus, who accompanied Jason in his expedition after the Golden Fleece, about the year 3364 of the Julian period. The descendants of Coronus are not known. History<sup>¶</sup> passes on to Antasus, who was father of Melas. This Melas was contemporary with Alates, first king of Corinth, of the race of the Heraclidæ, about the year 3554 of the same period. From Melas to Echecrates, father of Eëtion, and grandfather of Cypselus, there is a chain of eleven generations. Pausanias reckons<sup>‡</sup> only six from Melas to Eëtion; but as Echecrates, of whom Herodotus speaks, must have been born about the year 3940, and as from Melas, contemporary of Alates, that is from the year 3554, there is a space of 386 years, there must have been between those two persons eleven generations.

Τοῖσι ἐπεσὶ] *These words.* In the Greek, 'these verses.' The answer of the Pythoness is in three hexameter verses.

Ἐν δὲ πᾶσι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι μονάρχοισι] *Which shall crush despots.* So in the Greek. 'It shall fall upon monarchical men,' that is to say, 'it shall crush monarchs.' The word is taken in this sense in Plutarch:<sup>§</sup> προῦλεγεν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ τρήχλητον ἀναλαμβάνων Καίσαρα, τὸν μὲν οὐκ ᾔδειν, ὅταν δὲ ἀρχῆται βαρύνεσθαι καὶ κρατεῖσθαι, μῆτε ἀποθεσθαι δυνάμειν, μῆτε φέρειν ὑπομένειν, εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἰμπεσεῖται σὺν αὐτῷ. 'He forewarned him (Pompey) that he was taking the yoke of Cæsar on himself without perceiving it; but that when this yoke should begin to grow heavy on him, unable either to support it or shake it off, he, together with the city, would be crushed be-

\* Apollodor. lib. ii. cap. v. § iv. p. 104.

† Schol. Hom. ad Iliad. lib. i. vers. 264.

‡ Eustath. ad Hom. Vol. i. p. 101. lin. 9.

§ Apollon. Rhod. lib. i. vers. 61 et seq.

¶ Schol. Hom. ad Iliad. lib. i. vers. 264.

‡ Apollon. Rhod. lib. i. vers. 57.

§ Pausan. Corinth. sive lib. ii. cap. iv. p. 120, Eliacor. prior. sive lib. vi. cap. xviii. p. 424.

¶ Id. ibid. p. 424. lin. 6.

‡ Plutarch. in Catoe Minore, p. 790. C.

death it.' The Abbé Bellanger, in his *Critical Essays on the Translations of Homer*,<sup>a</sup> has written a long note to prove that we ought to translate, 'it shall fall amongst the monarchs,' or 'shall be of the number of the monarchs.' And he maintains this by the following reasons: "The preposition *ἐν* does not indicate motion, it governs the ablative. We cannot therefore translate, 'it shall fall upon' . . . but 'amongst the number of . . .' In fact, Cypselus, who was meant by this stone, did not crush the monarchs, he fell only upon the Corinthians, and not upon the monarchs; and tormented the Corinthians by establishing the monarchic or tyrannic government."

But, 1. M. Bellanger ought to have adduced some example of *πίπτω ἐν* or *ἐμπίπτω* being used to signify, 'I am of the number;' but I am very certain he would never find one.

2. The preposition *ἐν* is used for *eis*, and then does signify motion. We find it a hundred times in this sense in Thucydides and elsewhere: *ἡ ἀποστελούμενος ὁπλίτας ἐν τῇ Συκελίᾳ*, 'having sent heavy-armed troops into Sicily.' *Ἀποστέλλει Κύρος ἐν Περσίδι Περισάκην*, 'Cyrus sends Petisacas into Persia.' And in Plato we find, *ἡλεκτήριός τις ἐμπεσὼν ἀνομίᾳ*, for *eis ἀνομίαν*, 'in flagitium delapsus.' Remark that the verb *ἐμπίπτω* is the same as *πίπτω ἐν*.

3. Cypselus did crush the Bacchiadæ; whom the oracle obscurely designated by the word Monarchs. Monarchs and Despots were, with the Greeks, as I have before proved, synonymous terms. The government of Corinth was oligarchic, and entirely in the hands of the Bacchiadæ.

It was therefore, if not literally a monarchy, a complete despotism, shared amongst many persons; and it was all these despots or petty monarchs that were crushed by Cypselus. He put some to death, and drove others into banishment, as is expressed by another oracle on the subject of this same Cypselus, *πολλῶν δ' ἐπὶ γούνατα λύσει*.

*Αἰετός*] *An eagle*. This oracle is by no means obscure with reference to the Bacchiadæ, because the word *Ἡερίων*, Eetion, comes from *ἀετός*, 'an eagle.' In like manner as from *ἀμαθός* has been made, not *Ἀμαθία* nor *Ἀμαθίων*, but *Ἡμαθία* and *Ἡμαθίων*. See M. Valckenaer's note 56.

*Πέτρες*] *The rocks*. I have not been able to convey in my translation the équivoque of the Greek. *Ἐν πέτρῃσι* signifies 'amongst the rocks,' and alludes to the town of Petra, where Eetion lived.

*Πολλῶν δ' ἐπὶ γούνατα λύσει*] *Who shall cause the death of many*.

<sup>a</sup> *Essais de Critique*, &c. p. 170.

<sup>c</sup> *Ctesias*, p. 2. lln. 5. rz edit. Hens.

<sup>b</sup> *Thucyd.* lib. vii. cap. xvi. p. 455. *Stephan.*

<sup>d</sup> *Plat. Epist.* vii. Vol. iii. p. 326. B.

lin. 54.

*Her. No.*

*Vol. II.*

2 G

The Greek expression, equivalent to 'multorum genus resolvet,' is very frequent in Homer, of whom Herodotus is a great imitator.

Ἐπεὶ πολλῶν τε καὶ ἐσθλῶν γούνατ' ἔλυσεν.

'For he has caused the death of many of our bravest warriors.' *Iliad*. Book v. verse 176.

Μὴ σφί μεταδόξῃ] *Lest they should change their resolution*. Labda did not stop to hear to the end the reproaches they were uttering against one another: fearing for her son, she ran and concealed him on the first intimation of his danger; and this was done before the deputies of the Bacchiadæ had taken the resolution to return.

Ἐς κυψέλην] *A corn basket*. This basket was preserved\* in the temple of Juno,† at Olympia. It was of cedar, with histories sculptured on the wood, and inlaid with gold and ivory. A description of it is given by Pausanias, Book v. chap. xvii. and following, p. 420 to 427. It is most probable, however, that this was not the identical basket in which Cypselus was concealed, but another, constructed on the same model, for the purpose of commemorating an event so important to the Cypselides. Cypselus did not confine his gratitude to this; he erected, in the temple of Delphi, a chapel,‡ because Apollo had prevented him from crying out at the time that his enemies were in search of him.

Ἀμφιδέξιον χρηστήριον] *An ambiguous answer*. Ἀμφιδέξιος in Hippocrates, and περιδέξιος in Homer, signify a man who can with equal convenience use both his hands, 'ambidexter.' Ἀμφιδέξιον σίδηρον, is an iron blade with two edges, 'anceps ferrum.' (Eurip. Hippolyt. vers. 787. edit. Brunck.) Thus ἀμφιδέξιον χρηστήριον is an ambiguous oracle, which may be taken either in one sense or another. See the notes of M. Valckenaer on the Hippolytus of Euripides, p. 247. col. 1.; Galen, in *Explanationes vocum Hippocratis*, p. 430.; Erotian, in *Expositione voc. Hippocratis*, p. 54.; Foësius, *Œconomia Hippocratis*, p. 42.

Κλεινοῖο] *Illustrious*. We read also, in the Ms. B of the Royal Library, κλειτοῖο.

Παίδων παῖδες] *The children of his children*. Psammetichus,§ the son of Gorgias, and grandson of Cypselus, succeeded Periander. If this be true, which there is very little reason to doubt, Apollo is convicted of a falsehood, in saying οὐδέτις παῖδες. The President Boubier,¶ however, comes to the assistance of the god, and by a slight change, παίδων γε μὲν εἰσέτι παῖδες, he makes the prophecy to agree with the

\* Pausan. Eliacor. prior. sive lib. v. cap. 164. A.

† Ibid. p. 419.

‡ Ibid. p. 418.

§ Plutarch. Septem Sapient. Conviv. p.

‡ Aristot. Politic. lib. v. cap. vii.

¶ Recherches et Dissertat. sur Héro-

dote, chap. xv. p. 169.



event; but this is in contradiction to the *Mss.*, in all of which we read, *παῖδων γε μὴν οὐκ ἔτι παῖδες*. This oracle, worthy in every respect of the age of Nostradamus, appears to have been forged in the latter years of Psammetichus, grandson of Cypselus. Cypselus reigned at Corinth, and after him, his children \* Periander and Gorgias. Cypselus and Lycophron, sons of Periander, died before their father. Psammetichus, son of Gorgias and grandson of Cypselus, only, ascended the throne. The oracle therefore is borne out in saying that the children of his children would not come to the throne, as only one of them did so. Such is the solution given by M. Wesseling, who concludes his note with these words: "*Quæ callidè si conjeci, manet verum sua scriptura; sin fallax Apollo est, nec mea refert.*" Periander had a great-grand-daughter, named Xantippe, whom Simonides celebrates in the following epigram: "I will not pass over<sup>†</sup> in silence the illustrious spouse of Archenautes; it would be very improper not to celebrate after her death the praises of Xantippe, great-grand-daughter of Periander, who, absolute master of Corinth, formerly gave laws there."

M. Coray proposes a conjecture, which I think may with propriety be admitted into the text, and to which I have conformed my translation. It is as follows:

"*Αἰὶὸς καὶ παῖδες, παῖδων γε μὴν οὐκ ἔτι παῖδες*. You think, with the other critics, that the oracle was mistaken, since Psammetichus, grandson of Cypselus, succeeded Periander. Permit a Grecian to defend a Greek oracle. I think that a trifling error has crept into the text, and that we should read, *παῖδων γε μὴν οὐκ ἔτι παῖδες*, 'and further or moreover, (plus encore,) the children of his children.' This mode of expression is not only elegant, but is in strict conformity with the practice of the Greeks, whenever they wish to speak of good or ill fortune which is to reach to the third generation. Homer says, in the *Iliad*, Book xx. 307:

*Νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰεΐας βῆν Τρώεσσι ἀνάξει,  
καὶ παῖδες παῖδων, καὶ κεν περὶ κισθὲ γένωνται.*

Which Virgil has translated, in his *Æneid*, Book iii. verse 98:

*Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis.*

Tyrtæus also, *Elegy* 111. verse 30. says:

*καὶ παῖδες ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀπίστωται,  
καὶ παῖδων παῖδες καὶ γένος ἔξοτον.*

\* As we may infer from what Plutarch says, in *Sept. Sæpiens. Conviv.* Vol. ii. p. 160. C. D.

† *Analecta Veterum Poëtarum Græcorum*, Vol. ii. p. 143.

And Plato, *Epist.* vii. Vol. iii. p. 834. D: *Ὁρε γὰρ . . . ἀπείρον αἰ- τοῖς, καὶ πασι πάλιν τε ἐκείνους.*"—CORAY.

*Πολλοὶς μὲν Κορινθίων ἐδίωξε*] *Banished a great number of Corinthians.* "A certain Corinthian," named Demaratus, of the family of the Bacchiadæ, being engaged in commerce, went to Italy in a vessel, which, as well as its cargo, belonged to him. . . . In this way he amassed great riches; but a sedition having broken out at Corinth, and the Bacchiadæ having been oppressed by the tyranny of Cypselus, Demaratus, who was of the family which had been in possession of the oligarchy, did not think himself secure under the tyrannic government. He embarked with all his property, and went from Corinth to Etruria." Having married in the country, he had a son, who repaired to Rome, and became king of the Romans, under the name of Tarquin, which he adopted from Tarquinii, a town of Etruria, in which he was born.

Strabo had before said:<sup>a</sup> "Rome was already founded, when Demaratus arrived at Tarquinii, with a considerable number of Corinthians. The inhabitants of that town having admitted them, he married a woman of the country, by whom he had Lucumo. This young man having acquired the friendship of Ancus Martius, king of Rome, he afterwards became king himself, when he changed his name to Lucius Tarquinius Priscus."

"Demaratus," one of those who had possessed the supreme power at Corinth, flying from the seditions which were fermenting there, carried with him into Etruria so much wealth, that he governed the town which had received him, and his son became king of Rome."

*Διαπλέξαντες τὸν βίον εἰ*] *Having reached the port.* There are two readings, *διαπλέξαντες τὸν βίον εἰ*, and *διαπλέσαντες τὸν βίον εἰ*. They are both good, and authorized by several Mss.; the first by those marked B and D in the Royal Library, the second by the Ms. in the same place marked A. M. Valckenaer has no doubt that *διαπλέσαντες τὸν βίον* is excellent Greek; but he asks whether it is what Herodotus wrote. It appears that he was not aware that this reading was found in an ancient Ms. With reference to the reason assigned by the late M. Wesseling, that *διαπλέσαντες* was probably found, and not *διαπλέξαντες*, I would have begged that critic to observe, that the copyists, who have so often neglected the Ionisms, have very probably done so here. I have adopted the first reading, because I have translated from the Greek edition of Stephens; but having carefully revised it on that of MM. Wesseling and Valckenaer, I have thought it right to add this note. If the other reading be preferred,

<sup>a</sup> Dionys. Halicarn. *Antiquit. Rom.* lib. iii. § xlvii. et seq. p. 176.

<sup>b</sup> Strab. *Geograph. lib.* v. p. 336.  
<sup>c</sup> Id. lib. viii. p. 581. A.

it must be translated, 'He ended his days happily, after a reign of thirty years.' The sense, however, will be precisely the same.

"Ἀπὸ τῶν δὲ τούτων ἐπὶ τριήκοντα ἔτεα] *After a happy reign of thirty years.* The dynasty of the Cypselides began to reign, according to Diodorus Siculus, 447 years after the return of the Heraclides.\* We have seen, note 3. to § XCII., that the Aletiadæ and the Bacchiadæ reigned only 417 years. The 30 years wanting to make up the number 447, has given rise to a vast number of conjectures from chronologists. Without quoting their different opinions, which may be found in their respective works, or undertaking to refute them, it appears to me, that Aletes, first king of Corinth of the race of the Heraclides, did not begin to reign immediately on the return of that family. It appears by the passage of Diodorus, quoted in the note above referred to, that when Aletes was called to take possession of Corinth, the Heraclides were already masters of the whole Peloponnesus, and had divided it. The grammarian Didymus expressly says: "Aletes" was not the founder, but king of Corinth, the 30th year after the arrival of the Dorians: Δίδυμος δὲ φησὶ τὸν Ἀλήτην μὴ οἰκιστὴν τῆς Κορίνθου γεγονέναι, ἀλλὰ βασιλεῖα, ἔχει τριακοστῷ μετὰ τὴν τῶν Δωριέων ἀφίκην."

This removes every difficulty, if with Diodorus we suppose that the city of Troy was taken in the year 3530 of the Julian period, 1184 years before the vulgar era; and that the Heraclides returned to the Peloponnesus in the year 2610 of the Julian period, 1104 years before our era. By subtracting 447 from 1104, we shall have 4057 of the Julian period, 657 years before our era, which agrees pretty nearly with the time when Cypselus drove out the annual prytanes. But as this calculation, which is likewise that of Apollodorus and of Eratosthenes, differs from that of Herodotus, who fixes the taking of Troy in the year 3444 of the Julian period, and consequently the return of the Heraclides in the year 3524 of the same period, 1190 years before our era, we must necessarily either extend the reigns of the Aletiadæ and of the Bacchiadæ, or augment the number of annual prytanes of the family of the Bacchiadæ.

I suppose, with Didymus, that Aletes ascended the throne of Corinth 30 years after the conquest of the Peloponnesus, that is to say, in the year 3554 of the Julian period, 1160 years before our era. This prince and his successors reigned, according to Diodorus Siculus, 327 years. The aristocracy was therefore established in the

\* Diodor. Sic. Fragm. Vol. II. p. 635.

† Schol. Pindari ad Olymp. Od. xiii. vers. 17. p. 144. col. 2. lin. 7.

‡ By adding together the period of each reign, as given by this author, we shall have 527. See note 3. to § xcii. supra.

year 3881 of the Julian period, 833 years before our era. The government of the annual prytanes subsisted 170 years, and was destroyed by Cypselus in the year 4051 of the Julian period, 663 years before our era. Cypselus reigned 30 years, and Periander, who succeeded him in the year 4081 of the Julian period, 633 years before our era, reigned 70, and died in the year 4151 of the Julian period, 563 years before our era.

The limits of a note do not permit me to go more at length into my reasons for fixing the above dates; but I entreat the reader to refer to my Essay on the Chronology of Herodotus, chap. xviii. p. 519 and following.

Κυψέλου μαιφονώτερος] *Still more cruel than Cypselus.* The reason assigned by Herodotus appears to me very probable; that given by Parthenius is by no means so. According to that author,\* the mother of Periander, having fallen in love with her son, contrived to satisfy her passion without his suspecting it; but the young man having resolved to discover what woman it was whose favours he had enjoyed, had a concealed light in the adjoining chamber, and by this means recognised her as she retired. Incensed at her conduct, he formed the resolution of killing her; but was turned from his purpose by a genius appearing to him at the moment. This apparition so disturbed his intellect that he became mad; and his cruelty was the effect of his madness.

Ὅτινα ἂν τρόπον ἀσφαλέστατον καταστήσάμενος] *What form of government he could establish, &c.* Ὅτινα τρόπον must not be understood as if κατὰ were inserted; but the construction must be thus, ὅτινα ἂν τρόπον τῶν πραγμάτων ἀσφαλέστατον καταστήσάμενος, 'what more secure form of government he could establish.' Thus Cornelius De Pauw understands this passage. \*An occurs in three Mss. of the Royal Library, and ἀσφαλέστατον in a fourth, marked B.

Ὁ τοῦ λήϊον τὸ κάλλιστον διέτρεψε] *He cut off all the loftiest ears.* This allegorical conduct of the tyrant of Miletus, and the expression of Herodotus, have perhaps suggested to Euripides the following passage:

Ἵπῳ οὖν ἐρ' ἂν γένοιτ' ἂν ἰσχυρὰ πόλις,  
Ὅταν τις, ὡς λαιμῶνος ἥριου σάχυν,  
Τόλμας ἀφαιρῇ κηκοιωτίῃς νέτοις;

'How can a city become strong, when the most excellent of its hardy youth are mowed down like ears of corn?'

Πᾶσαν κακότητα] *All sorts of wickedness.* "It appears to me,"

\* Parthenius de Amator. affect. cap. xvii. p. 377, &c. † Euripid. Supplic. 447.

says Thales,\* "that Periander finding himself possessed of the tyranny, as of an hereditary disorder, did not comport himself so much amiss. He sought the company of worthy men; he has hitherto followed the wholesome counsel of prudent advisers; he has collected around him the wisest men, and has not listened to the pernicious advice of my fellow-citizen Thrasybulus, who urged him to cast down the most exalted persons. A tyrant who prefers commanding slaves, to reigning over men of spirit, differs in no respect from the husbandman who should prefer picking up grasshoppers, or catching birds, to gathering in a harvest of wheat or barley." Plutarch takes all opportunities of contradicting Herodotus: in this instance I think he will find none to agree with him.

"Ὅσα γὰρ Κύπελος ἀπέλιπε κτείνων τε καὶ διώκων, Περιανδρὸς ὅσα ἀπετέλεσεν] *Finished what the former had commenced.* Literally, 'Periander finished all that Cypselus had left to kill and to banish.' Στέα is for αὐτά. 'Ἀποτέλω signifies 'I finish.' In this there is not the slightest difficulty; I am therefore the more surprised that M. Bellanger should have translated, 'He persecuted, banished, or put to death all those whom Cypselus had . . . and by this means became possessed of their wealth, which his father had left untouched.' Not content with having thus mangled his author, he has endeavoured to support his translation by a ridiculous note, with which I will not trouble my readers.

Οἱ κατακαυθέντων] *As they had not been burned.* \* "How many garments and other ornaments have not been burned with the dead, as if they could use and enjoy them in the tomb!"

"Ἰστέ ὑμῖν Κορινθίους γε οὐ συναίεόντας] *At least you will not have the sanction of the Corinthians.* The Corinthians did not always entertain these generous sentiments. When Athens was taken by the Lacedæmonians, at the end of the Peloponnesian war, they counselled the destruction of that city.

XCIII. Τοὺς αὐτοὺς θεοὺς] *The same gods.* The tutelary gods of Greece, whom Sosicles had invoked on finishing his oration.

Ἐλευθέρις ἄπας τις αὐτῶν] *They all cried out freely.* I read, ἔλευθέρις ἄπας τις αὐτῶν, as it stood before Gronovius, and as it is in the Ms. B of the Royal Library.

XCIV. Ὀπμώμενοι] *Frequent incursions.* Hegesistratus was not as yet tyrant of Sigæum, when a war broke out between the Athenians and the Mitylenians, on the subject of that city. Herodotus speaks of that war, in giving an account of the one which happened

\* Plutarch. Sept. Sapient. Conviv. p. 926.  
147. C, D.

\* Xenoph. Hellen. Hist. lib. ii. cap. ii.

\* Lucian. de Luctu, § xiv. Vol. ii. p. § xii. p. 79.



in the time of Hegesistratus; but he omits to name the generals of the two armies, or to notice the action of Pittacus, general of the Mitylenians. Many authors supply this deficiency, and amongst them Diogenes Laertius, who thus relates the story. "A war having taken place between the Athenians and the Mitylenians, concerning the territory of Achilleium, Phrynon commanded the army of the Athenians, and Pittacus that of the Mitylenians. The latter resolved to encounter the Athenian general in single combat; he concealed under his buckler a net, which he cast about Phrynon when he was off his guard, and having killed him, preserved the territory of that city. Apollodorus, in his *Chronicles*, relates, that there afterwards arose new differences between these nations on the same subject, and that Periander having been chosen for arbitrator, adjudged it to the Athenians."

This passage perfectly distinguishes the two wars, and throws considerable light on what Herodotus says. The President Bouhier has confounded them together.<sup>4</sup>

The action of Pittacus appears to me infamous; and I am astonished that the wise Plutarch, instead of blaming, should eulogize it, and accuse Herodotus of having "malignantly suppressed it.

Pittacus, whom we have before mentioned, (Book 1. § XXVII. note 2.) was exceedingly disinterested. He refused several millions of acres of land which the Mitylenians would have given him, and contented himself with a hundred acres; which proves at once his moderation and the high estimation in which he was held by his fellow-citizens. "Bene Pittacus ille, qui septem Sapientum numero est habitus, quum ei Mitylenæi multa millia jugerum agri munera darent, Nolite, oro vos, inquit, mihi dare, quod multi inuideant, plures etiam concupiscant. Quare ex istis nolo amplius, quam centum jugera, quæ et mei animi æquitatem et vestram voluntatem indicent."

XCV. *Alcæus*. Alcæus was a very celebrated lyric poet, and a great enemy to tyrants, whom he has sacrificed, in his verses, to his love of liberty. He flourished in the 42nd Olympiad, as we infer by synchronisms. Suidas informs us,<sup>4</sup> that in that Olympiad Pittacus killed Melanchrus, tyrant of Mitylene; and we find from Diogenes Laertius, that he was assisted in that enterprise<sup>5</sup> by the brothers of Alcæus.

The only remains of this poet are a few fragments which have been

<sup>4</sup> Diogen. Laërt. in Pittaco, lib. i. § lxxiv. p. 46; Strab. lib. xii. p. 895-6.

<sup>5</sup> Recherches et Dissert. sur Hérodote, chap. xv. p. 166.

<sup>6</sup> De Malignitate Herodoti, Vol. ii. p. 838. A.

<sup>4</sup> Corn. Nep. in Thasybul. cap. iv. § ii.

<sup>5</sup> Suidas, voc. Πιττακός. Eudociæ lo-  
nia, p. 362.

<sup>6</sup> Diogen. Laërt. in Pittac. lib. i. segm. lxxv. Vol. i. p. 46.

carefully collected by Stephens, and published at the end of his edition of Pindar, in two vols. 16mo., and by Fulvius Ursinus, in a collection of fragments of nine lyric poets, printed at Antwerp in 1567; but neither of these selections has been made with due discrimination, for in both of them verses are attributed to Alcæus which he never wrote. Horace held Alcæus in the highest estimation:

\* Et to sonantem plenus aureo,  
Alcæe, plectro dura naris,  
Dura fugæ mæa, dura belli!  
..... Sacro digna silentio  
Mirantur umbræ dicere: sed magis  
Pugnas et exactos Tyrannos  
Densum humeris bibit aure vulgus.

Amongst the fragments of this poet, we may recognise several passages which Horace has imitated, or rather translated: for instance,

Μηδὲν ἄλλο φτεύεσσι πρότερον δένδρεον ἀμτέλω :

of which I will give a literal translation into Latin, that the reader may compare it with that of Horace:

Nullam aliam severis arborem priorem vite.

Thus rendered by Horace:

Nullam, Varc, æterâ vite prius severis arborem.

And again:

\* Νῦν χορὴ μεθύσκειν, καὶ χόλον πρὸς βίαν  
Πάτερ, ἐπειδὴ κάρθασε Μυρσίλος.

'Let us now sing and dance with all our strength, for Myrsilus is dead.'

Myrsilus was a tyrant. M. Lefebvre-Villebrune did not understand these verses, and never dreamed that Horace had imitated them in his 37th Ode of the 1st Book:

Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero  
Pulsanda tellus.

[Ἀνεστέραςον] Which they hung up. Amongst the ancients, it was considered highly honourable to the conquerors to carry off the arms of their enemies, and a great disgrace to the vanquished to lose them. The laws established in the greater part of the Grecian states pu-

\* Horat. Carmin. lib. ii. Od. xiii. vers. 20.

\* Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. x. cap. viii. p. 430. C.

nished with death any one who lost his buckler in flight. This misfortune happened to the poet Archilochus,\* in the war of the Thasians against the † Saïans, nations of Thrace; but less wise than Alcæus, he boasted of it in his verses; and in this he was imitated by Horace:

Tecum Philippos et celerem fugam  
Sensi, relictâ non bene parmula.

The Romans only laughed at the frank pleasantry of Horace; but the Spartans, a more austere people, drove Archilochus from Sparta,† whither curiosity had attracted him.

Μέλει] *An ode.* Μέλη signifies 'pieces of lyric poetry.'‡ Strabo quotes some verses of Alcæus, strangely disfigured, but perhaps the same to which Herodotus alluded. They are as follows: "Alcæus is safe and sound, but the same cannot be said of his arms; for the Athenians have hung up his buckler in the temple of Minerva."

Ἐμπεθεῖ ἐς Μιτυλήνην] *Which he sent to Mitylene.* The phrase signifies, 'he committed it to some one to be carried to Mitylene.' See Book III. note 3. to § XLII.

XCVII. Ὡς οὔτε ἀσπίδα οὔτε δόρυ νομιζοῦσι] *Had no heavy-armed troops.* In the Greek, 'they used neither the shield nor the spear.' It was the heavy-armed troops which usually decided the fate of battles. Herodotus indicates these troops by the arms they carried. "The Greeks had three sorts of troops, the Hoplitæ, the Psili or light troops, and the Peltastæ. The Hoplitæ, or heavy troops, had a cuirass, a long buckler, a sword, and a pike. The Psili were the opposite of these; they had neither cuirass nor long buckler, nor helmet, nor any armour for their legs. They made use only of missile weapons, such as arrows, javelins, and stones thrown with the sling or by the hand. The Peltastæ were troops lighter than the Hoplitæ, but heavier than the Psili. Their pelta,§ or buckler, was smaller and lighter than the 'aspis,' their javelin smaller than the pike or 'doru,' but heavier than the javelin of the Psili, &c."

The reader may refer on this subject to my translation of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, Book I. note 17.

Οἰκός σφες] *It was natural.* We must read οἰκός σφς, with the Mss. A and B of the Royal Library. This reading makes no difference in the meaning; but it is an Ionism which we must attribute to

\* See Book i. § xii. note 2.

† Strab. lib. xlv. p. 827. A.

‡ Plutarch. Lacon. Instit. p. 239. B.

§ Strab. lib. xii. p. 895. C.

• Arrian. Ars Tactics, pp. 11, 12.

§ A sort of sloped or conical shield, like that of the Amazons.

Herodotus. I have since discovered also, that this reading is found in other Mss. cited by the late M. Wesseling, and that he has admitted it into the text of his edition.

Οὐκ οἷός τε ἐγένετο διαβάλλειν] *Could not deceive.* To the authorities cited by M. Wesseling to uphold the reading διαβαλέειν, may be added that of the Ms. A in the Royal Library. With regard to that marked B, it omits the words, ἢ ἕνα, εἰ Κλεομένης μὲν τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον μόνον οὐκ οἷός τε ἐγένετο διαβαλέειν. Μεταβαλέειν is found in the Ms. D. If this reading be preferred, we must translate, 'he could not dissuade from his designs,' &c. Two lines before, there is in the three Mss. of the Royal Library, διαβαλέειν instead of διαβάλλειν.

Ἐποίησε τοῦτο] *Accomplished this.* We may, however, observe that the Athenians were offended by the protection which the Persians granted to Hippias, and expected to be attacked by them; whereas the Lacedæmonians had no other motive for the Persian war but to restore the Ionians to liberty.

Τρεῖς δὲ μυριάδας Ἀθηναίων] *Thirty thousand Athenians.* No ancient author mentions more than 20,000 Athenians who had the right of suffrage. Is it therefore an error of the copyist in Herodotus, or was Athens more populous before the Persian and Peloponnesian wars than it was afterwards? This I am inclined to believe, but cannot undertake to determine; and more especially, as Aristophanes\* puts into the mouth of the servant of Praxagora, the heroine of the piece entitled, 'the Women holding the assembly of the People,' these three verses:

Τίς γὰρ γένοιτ' ἂν μᾶλλον ὀλβιώτερος,  
Ὅστις, πολιτῶν πλεῖον ἢ τρισμυρίων  
ὄντων τὸ πλῆθος, οὐ δεδείνηται μόνος.

\* Can there possibly be a citizen more happy than yourself, my dear master? There are 30,000 of them, and you are the only one that has not yet dined."

Ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐγένοντο] *Was a source of ills.* Plutarch takes this occasion of directing against Herodotus a reproach, which proves his detestation of that historian. "He (Herodotus) has<sup>b</sup> the audacity to consider as a cause of evils, the vessels which the Athenians sent to the assistance of the Ionians who had revolted against the king, because they endeavoured to deliver from slavery so great a number of celebrated Greek cities."

It is clear enough to every unprejudiced reader, that it is not for that reason that Herodotus says, that they were the cause of the ills

\* Aristoph. Concionatoric, vers. 1131.    <sup>b</sup> Plutarch. de Malign. Herodot. p. 861.

which afflicted both the Greeks and the Barbarians, but because they occasioned the war and all the misfortunes which followed it.

It is perhaps superfluous to remark, that Herodotus, who so frequently imitates Homer, has done so in this passage. If our historian says αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ νέες ἀρχαὶ κυκλῶν ἐγένοντο Ἑλλήσι τε καὶ Βαρβάροις, the poet had said, before him, in speaking of the vessels which conveyed Paris to Greece :

“Οἱ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τευτήνατο νῆας εἰσας  
Ἀρχεκάλους, αἱ πῶσι κακὸν Τρώεσσι γέγονον.

XCIX. Πρὸς Χαλκιδέας] *Against the Chalcidians.* Little or nothing is known of this war of the Eretrians against the Chalcidians. The plain or vine country of Lelantus situated above Chalcis,<sup>a</sup> where there were warm springs serviceable in several disorders, seems to have been the subject of it. The scholiast of Thucydides, speaking of these two cities, says,<sup>c</sup> ἐπολέμουν οὗτοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ τοῦ Ἀηλαντίου πεδίου, ‘they made war about the Lelantian plain.’ It is perhaps to this war that Theognis alludes, when he says,<sup>d</sup> “Cerinthus has been destroyed, and the excellent vineyards of Lelanthus laid waste.” Until that period, each nation of Greece had made war on its neighbour, alone and single-handed; but on this occasion the rest of the Greeks took part, according to the statement of Thucydides,<sup>e</sup> some for the Eretrians, and others for the Chalcidians. Eretria was at that time a powerful city.<sup>f</sup> Andros, Tenos, Ceos, and other islands were subject to it.

Ἐς Σάρδεις] *Against Sardis.* Darius<sup>g</sup> aspired to universal monarchy. This expedition was a pretext of which he cunningly availed himself to promote, and at the same time to conceal, his ambitious projects.

C. Ἀνέβαινον] *They advanced inland.* The text has, ‘they ascended.’ It is an expression which the Greeks always use for receding from the sea, as they employ the word ‘descending’ to imply the approach to it.

CI. Καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες] *And finding no outlet.* In the Greek, οὐκ ἔχοντες, &c. I do not see how this genitive can refer to the Lydians and the Persians, which precede. I read οὐκ ἔχοντες, with Cornelius de Pauw. See M. Wesseling’s note.

Υἷγμα χρυσῷ] *Gold dust.* This was no longer found<sup>h</sup> in Strabo’s time, i. e. in the time of Augustus.

<sup>a</sup> Homer Iliad. lib. v. vers. 62.

<sup>b</sup> Strab. lib. x. p. 686. A.

<sup>c</sup> Schol. Thucyd. ad lib. i. § xv. p. 14. ccl. l. lin. 2.

<sup>d</sup> Theognis, vers. 887.

<sup>e</sup> Thucyd. lib. i. § xv. p. 14.

<sup>f</sup> Strab. lib. x. p. 687. C.

<sup>g</sup> Aristid. Panathen. fol. 6. lin. 5. & line, et seq. in avonā parte.

<sup>h</sup> Strab. lib. xiii. p. 928. C.



CII. *Υπερὸν ὑπερηνιπασσάν*] Served as a pretext for setting on fire. M. Wesseling thinks, that the true reason of the Persians for burning the temples of Greece, was that that people did not approve of the divinity being enclosed within walls. But if this had really been their reason, why did they not set fire to the temples of the Ionians before their revolt, as also to those of the Phrygians, and of other people under their dominion? But, says M. Valckenaer, Cambyses burned the temples of Egypt. I admit it. But then Cambyses was a madman whose example was not followed by his successor; and even Cambyses himself did not burn them all.

*Εὐαλκίδης*] *Eualcis*. This Eualcis is totally unknown to me. The individual of that name, who carried off the prize of the cestus\* in the class of children at the Olympic games, was an Elean, and therefore had no relationship to the above-named, who was of Eretria. The poet Simonides, of Ceos, has celebrated his victories at different games in Greece; but there is no mention made of him in the fragments of that poet now extant. The only circumstance respecting him on record is, that he was killed in the second year of the 69th Olympiad.

*Σιμωνίδης τοῦ Κνίου*] *Simonides, of Ceos*. There have been several of this name. The one now mentioned was son of Leoprepes, and grandson of another Simonides, who was likewise a poet. He still enjoyed at the age of 80 years an excellent memory, as he himself mentions in an epigram, which has been handed down to us by Aristides,† and which is the 56th in Brunck's *Analecta*.‡ “No one,” it is there said, “in point of memory, can equal Simonides, son of Leoprepes, who is 84 years old.” He also invented the Art of Memory.§ He composed in the same year a piece in verse which obtained the prize, when the chorus of the tribe of Antiochis was victorious, under the archontate of Adimantus, as we learn from the Oxford Marbles, epoch iv, and more particularly from an epigram of this same Simonides, which has been preserved by the scholiast of Hermogenes,¶ upon Ideas, and which is the 58th in Brunck's *Analecta*.‡ Adimantus was archon, the last six months of the third year of the 75th Olympiad, which answers to the year 4237 of the Julian period, 477 years before our era. Simonides, therefore, was born in the last six months of the third year

\* Pausan. *Eliaeor. poster. arc. lib. vi.* cap. xvi. p. 491.

† Aristid. *περὶ Παρησιότητος*, p. 52. lin. 36. 38.

‡ *Analect. Vet. Poet. Græc. Vol. i. p. 137. lvi.*

§ *Marmora Oxon. Epoch. iv. Senda* attributes this art to Simonides, maternal

grandfather of our Simonides; but the epigram above quoted inclines me to the opinion of the author of the *Fasts Attici*.

¶ *Rhetores Græci, Vol. ii. p. 410. ha.*

§ *à fine.*

‡ *Analecta Vet. Poet. Græc. Vol. i. p. 137. lvi.*

of the 56th Olympiad, that is to say, the year 4157 of the Julian period, 557 years B. C.; and as, according to Suidas, he was 89 years old when he died, that event must have happened in the first year of the 78th Olympiad, or the year 4246 of the Julian period, 468 years before our era.

This poet, who loved money, sang the praises of those who paid him best. Aristophanes, in his comedy entitled 'Peace,' does not spare him on this score; and he takes the same opportunity of satirizing Sophocles, who, in his latter days, took a pleasure in amassing money.\* "What is Sophocles about?" asks Mercury of Trygæus. "He is happy," answers Trygæus; "but something wonderful has befallen him." "Merc. What then? Tryg. He is become Simonides. Merc. Simonides! How so? Tryg. Why, being old and decrepit, he would travel on a hurdle to save a trifle."

CIV. Γόργου μὲν τοῦ Σαλαμινίων βασιλῆος] *Gorgus, king of Salamis.* This Gorgus was descended from Evelthon, king of Salamis, and contemporary of Arcesilaus III. king of Cyrene. This latter prince granted an asylum in his dominions to Pheretima, mother of Arcesilaus. See Book IV. § CLXII. He therefore reigned about the year 4187 of the Julian period, 527 years before our era. Gorgus, his great-grandson, reigned in the year 4212 of the Julian period, 502 years before our era. We cannot, however, determine the years in which these princes commenced their reigns, and still less the years of the reigns of the intermediate princes. They must have been nearly as follows:

	Julian Period.	B. C.
Evelthon reigned at Salamis . . . . .	4187	527
Siromus, his son . . . . .	4193	521
Chersis, son of Siromus . . . . .	4199	515
Gorgus, son of Chersis . . . . .	4212	502

CV. Οὐ καταπολιξέσθαι ἀποσάφες] *That these revolts would not remain unpunished.* So in the Greek. Instead of οὐκ ἀναιρεῖ, or οὐκ ἀνιμωρεῖ, 'not with impunity,' the ancients said οὐκ ποῖκα, and the Ionians οὐκ πρόικα, that is to say, οὐκ ἀμίσθι, οὐκ ἀζημῶς. Τιμὴ, is 'the reward due to crime,' 'the penalty.' Hence the familiar expression of the Ionians, οὐ καταπολιξέσθαι, 'that he shall not escape with impunity,' is often found in Aristophanes. The excellent Index to that author in Brunck's edition, will help the reader to numerous examples of this. The participle is often joined to the verb; but when, instead of the participle, we find a noun or a pronoun in the genitive, the verb must be taken in the sense of 'laughing at any one, de-

\* Aristoph. in Pace, vers. 695.

spising, insulting.' As in the following verse from the *Vespæ* of Aristophanes,\*

Οὐ τοι, μὰ τὸ θεῶ, καταποιῆς Μυρτιάς,

which signifies, 'Yes, I swear by the goddesses that you shall not with impunity laugh at Myrtia.'

M. Bellanger has likewise written a note on this passage in his *Critical Essays*, p. 173; and as that work is in general circulation, it would be superfluous for me to remark on it.

"*Ἀπὸ ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπείναι, καὶ μὴ ἐς τὸν ἥερα βάλλοντα*] *He shot it towards the heavens, and struck it through the air, crying out, Jupiter!* . . . Was this a sort of declaration of war? The present custom of the Kalmucks, a people of Tartary, bordering on Persia, affords us reason for thinking so. "This people being offended," says Chardin,<sup>d</sup> "came, towards the end of the campaign, to the frontier which separates the two countries, and solemnly shot an arrow into the Persian dominions, which is their mode of declaring war."

"The Persians" gave to the whole space of the heavens the name of Jupiter," that is to say, they gave to the sky a name which answers nearly to the *Zeus* of the Greeks. In the Stephens's edition we read *ἐκχεύεσθαι μοι*. But the best editions and the Mss. A and B in the Royal Library have *ἐκχεύεσθαι μοι*. We then understand *δᾶς* or *εὐχόμεαι*, &c. See Stephens's *Animadvers.* in *Librum de Dialect.* p. 48.

CVI. "*Ἴνα τοι κεῖνὰ τε πάντα καταπρίω ἐς τῶντῶ*] *That I may restore, &c.* In all the editions previous to that of M. Wesseling, we read *ἵνα τοι κεῖνὰ τε πάντα καταπρήσω ἐς τῶντῶ*. The verb *καταπράω* signifies 'apto,' which does not give the correct meaning of the sentence. M. Wesseling has happily found in the Ms. of Saucroft, archbishop of Canterbury, *καταπρίω*, which Herodotus has used in a hundred instances, and which we often find in the New Testament. I have, therefore, made my translation conformable to this reading.

*Σαρδῶν, νῆσον τὴν μεγίστην*] *The great island of Sardinia*. M. Rollin<sup>d</sup> thought that this island was too distant from Ionia, and had too little connexion with it, to be here meant; and he therefore suspects that the text of Herodotus has been altered. But to this it may be answered that all the editions and all the Mss. have 'the island of Sardinia;' and I may add, that in the beginning of the 6th Book it is repeated without any variation. It may, to be sure, be said, that the corruption of the text in both these passages is of older date than

\* Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1247.

<sup>d</sup> Voyages de Chardin, tom. iv. p. 302.

<sup>c</sup> Herodot. lib. i. § cxxi.

<sup>d</sup> Histoire Ancienne, tom. iv. p. 151.

the *Ms.*, and therefore I shall not insist very forcibly on this reason, though joined with others it should have weight.

The Ionians were greater navigators than M. Rollin seems to suspect: they had founded colonies in Corsica<sup>a</sup> and in Gaul;<sup>d</sup> and carried on a regular commerce with Tartessus,<sup>c</sup> near Cadiz. Neither the extremities of the Mediterranean, nor even the Ocean deterred them; then, would a trifling distance do so? The project of taking possession of Sardinia was considered so practicable by the Ionians, that Bias<sup>d</sup> proposed to them to repair thither in a body; and if the design failed, it was not for the reasons supposed by M. Rollin, but from love of their country, or, to speak more correctly, from local attachment. Manti-clus<sup>e</sup> had before given the same advice to the Messenians, when they were oppressed by the Lacedæmonians; and had not Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, promised them an establishment in Italy, and held out to them the prospect of a most brilliant one in Sicily, there is every probability that they would have adopted the recommendation of Manticlus.

Sardinia was then but thinly peopled; it was easy to obtain possession of it; its situation flattered the ambition of Darius, and was peculiarly favourable to his scheme of universal monarchy. The discourse of Histæus, therefore, aimed at the weak side of the monarch, was particularly artful.

CVIII. Κληίδες τῆς Κύπρου] *The Cleides of Cyprus*. There are, according to Strabo,<sup>f</sup> two little islands, and according to Pliny,<sup>g</sup> four, near the eastern extremity of the island of Cyprus, and about 700 stadia distant from the river Pyramus, which are called Κληίδες, 'the keys.' I have translated 'Cleides' after the example of Pliny, who says,<sup>h</sup> "quatuor ante promontorium ex adverso Syriæ Clides." It should seem from the passage of Herodotus, that the promontory bore also the same name. Strabo<sup>i</sup> calls it Βούσουρα, and Ptolemy<sup>k</sup> Οὐρα βίου, 'ox's tail;' but in the Palatine *Ms.*, as well as in Herodotus, we read Κληίδες, 'Clides.' Pliny<sup>l</sup> calls it 'Dinaretum;' it is also mentioned in an epigram in the *Anthologia*, Book III. chap. xxii. p. 253. of the edition of Stephens; but this epigram, which was mutilated, has been given entire in Brunck's *Analecta*, Vol. II. p. 44.

CIX. Τὸ κατ' ὑμᾶς ἐστίν] *On you depends*. Τὸ κατ' ὑμᾶς is also found in the *Mss.* A and B of the Royal Library.

<sup>a</sup> Herodot. lib. i. § clxv. clxvi.

<sup>b</sup> As to the foundation of Marseilles, see note d. on § clxvi. of Book i.

<sup>c</sup> Herodot. lib. i. § clxiii.

<sup>d</sup> Id. ibid. § clxx.

<sup>e</sup> Pausan. *Messenic*, sive lib. iv. cap. xliii. p. 336.

<sup>f</sup> Strab. lib. xiv. p. 1000. C.

<sup>g</sup> Plin. *Hist. Nat.* lib. v. cap. xxii. Vol.

i. p. 283. lin. 3.

<sup>h</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>i</sup> Strab. *Geograph.* lib. xiv. p. 1002.

<sup>k</sup> Pto. *Geograph.* lib. v. p. 157.

<sup>l</sup> Plin. *Hist. Nat.* lib. v. cap. xxii. Vol. i. p. 284. lin. 9.

Ἐπ' οὗ] *At the post where.* I read *δου*, with the Greek edition of Stephens, and the Ms. A of the Royal Library.

CXI. Γένος μὲν Κάρι] *A Carian by nation.* The editions which preceded that of Gronovius, read *γένομενος μὲν καί*, but Gronovius has restored the true reading, *γένος μὲν Κάρι*, after a Ms. in the Medici Library; which reading is confirmed likewise by several Mss. In that marked B in the Royal Library these three words are omitted.

CXIII. Πολεμιστήρια ἄρματα] *The war chariots.* These chariots resembled those described by Homer in the *Iliad*. They conveyed two men, one of whom held the reins, whilst the other fought. The Salaminians preserved this ancient custom. It was practised also in the battle between the Thebans and the Athenians at Delium in the first year of the 89th Olympiad, the year 424 B. C.\*

Φιλοκύπρου] *Philocyprus.* Philocyprus was king of Soli, when Solon arrived in Cyprus. This city was then called *Ἄρεια*, from its situation on a craggy elevation, *ἀρῆς* signifying in Greek 'elevated.' It was built by Demophoon,<sup>1</sup> son of Theseus, on the banks of the Clarius, or rather by Acamas and Phalerus, both Athenians, if we prefer the testimony of Strabo.<sup>2</sup> The vicinity of this city was rocky and barren. Solon pointed out the disadvantages of the situation to Philocyprus,<sup>3</sup> and advised him to rebuild the city in the plain below. Solon took on himself the charge of peopling it, and regulated, in concert with the king, every thing that could contribute to insure to it safety and abundance. Inhabitants came from all quarters. Philocyprus in gratitude gave to the new city the name of Soli, to perpetuate the memory of the Athenian philosopher. Solon himself mentions this new foundation of the city in certain elegiac verses addressed to Philocyprus, and preserved by Plutarch,<sup>4</sup> in his life of that philosopher, and which the reader will perhaps not be displeased at my quoting.<sup>5</sup> "May you reign long over the Solians, and inhabit that city, both you and your posterity! May I quit this renowned island under the auspices of violet-crowned Venus! May that goddess reward me for the foundation of it, by granting me a share of glory, and a happy return to my own country!" Aristocyprus succeeded Philocyprus; but he was killed, as Herodotus says, in a battle against the Persians.

Athenæus<sup>6</sup> mentions a certain Eunostus, king of Soli, who had

\* Diodor. Sic. lib. xii. § lxx. Vol. i. p. 527.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch. in Solone, p. 92. F. 93. A.

<sup>2</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Strab. Geograph. lib. xiv. p. 1002. D.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch. in Solone superius laudato.

<sup>5</sup> Id. in Solone, p. 93. B.

*Her. No.*

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Brunck has given these verses a place in his *Analecta*, Vol. i. p. 75. and has reprinted them in his excellent edition of the *Gnomia Panta*, p. 81.

<sup>7</sup> Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. xiii. cap. v. p. 576. E.



married Irene, daughter of the famous Thais and of Ptolemy, who was king of Egypt after the death of Alexander; but I know not whether he was of the same family.

Σόλωνα ὁ Ἀθηναῖος] *Solon of Athens.* Herodotus has spoken of this celebrated legislator, Book i. § xxix. xxx. xxxi. xxxii. and xxxiii., and Book ii. § clxxvii. Those who would learn still further particulars concerning him, have only to consult his life written by Plutarch. He was no less remarkable for valour than for wisdom. When Salamis<sup>a</sup> revolted, the Athenians pronounced sentence of death against any who should propose to reduce it. Solon exposed himself, however, to that danger; and having animated his countrymen by the verses which he composed and sang, he restored that country to the Athenians, and redeemed them from the disgrace they had incurred. The inhabitants of Salamis erected a<sup>b</sup> statue to his memory, about 166 years after his death; for Demosthenes, from whom I borrow these particulars, remarks that at the time of his oration 'against the Prevarications of Æschines in his Embassy,' it was not 60 years that the statue had been erected, and that it was then 215 or 216 years since his death. Now as this oration was delivered in the second year of the 109th Olympiad,<sup>c</sup> the statue must have been erected about the year 4322 of the Julian period, 392 years before our era. The text of Demosthenes it is true, says, that Solon had been dead 240 years when that oration was pronounced; but the text is corrupt, as has been proved by Corsini in his *Fasti Attici*, and by Meursius 'in Solone.' I shall not quote the proofs they bring forward. For my own part, I correct the text agreeably to the supposition that Solon died in the year 4155 of the Julian period, 559 years before our era.

This statue, which the Salaminians<sup>d</sup> had placed in their public square, represented the legislator with his hand within his robe; the attitude of wise and modest persons, as may be proved from a thousand passages of the ancients. I shall content myself with the following, from Valerius Maximus: "Xenocrates . . . omisâ re quam diserebat, de modestiâ ac temperantiâ loqui cepit. Cujus gravitate sermonis respiscere coactus Polemo, primum coronam capite detractam projecit: paulo post brachium intra pallium reduxit: procedente tempore oris convivalis hilaritatem deposuit: ad ultimum totam luxuriam exuit, unusque orationis saluberrimâ medicinâ sanatus, ex infami ganeone maximus Philosophus evasit."

<sup>a</sup> Demosth. de falsâ Legat. p. 254. Vol. ii. p. 197.

regno. 456.

<sup>b</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>c</sup> Dionys. Halicarn. ad Ammam, § x. p. 612.

<sup>d</sup> Æsch. in Timarch. p. 264. C.

<sup>e</sup> Valer. Max. lib. vi. cap. ix. Externa. 1.

§ CXIX. *Διὸς Στρατίου*] *Jupiter Stratius*. *Zeὸς στρατίος*, 'Jupiter warrior.' The Carians were, at the time of Herodotus, the only people who adored Jupiter under this name. He was peculiarly honoured at Labranda. Strabo<sup>a</sup> also calls him Jupiter Labrandeus. He held in his hand a hatchet, for which Plutarch assigns the following reason. Hercules<sup>c</sup> having killed Hippolyta, and, from amongst the other arms of that Amazon, having carried off a hatchet, presented it to Omphale. The kings of Lydia who succeeded that princess, considering it as a sacred symbol, always carried it; and the custom was handed down from one king to another, till Candaules, who, disdaining to carry it himself, committed that office to another. But on the revolt of Gyges, Arselis having come to his assistance with troops which he had levied at Mylassa, defeated Candaules, and killed him, together with the bearer of the axe. He removed this axe to Caria, with other trophies of his victory; and having erected a statue to Jupiter, he placed it in his hand, naming him the Labradean god. The Lydians, in their language, call an axe *λαβρός*. In later times, this god was adored by the same name in other places: "in Ponto circa Heracleam, arm sunt Jovis Stratii cognomine." Mars was likewise honoured by the same epithet. See the *Ms. Lexicon* of Photius. *Ælian* makes Jupiter Carian and Jupiter Stratus one; but I have discussed that point in note 5. on § CLXXI. Book I.



In the last edit. fol. of the *Oxford Marbles*,<sup>d</sup> we find a stone

<sup>a</sup> *Herodotus*, at the word *Στρατίου*.

<sup>b</sup> *Strabo*, lib. iiv. p. 973. C.

<sup>c</sup> *Plutarch*, *Quæstiones Græcæ*, p. 301. F, 302. A.

<sup>d</sup> *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xvi. cap. xlv. Vol. ii. p. 40. lin. 24.

<sup>e</sup> *Marmora Oxoniensia*, pars ii. Tab. v. xli.

which seems to have served as an altar, with a double-headed axe, and the following inscription: 'Of Labrayndian Jupiter and of Jupiter the mighty.' It was found in a Turkish cemetery, between Aphrodisias and Hierapolis, and consequently in Caria, though at a considerable distance from Labranda.

Appian has informed us of the mode in which\* this god was worshipped. "Mithridates," says he, "having made an incursion into Cappadocia, and having driven out the garrisons of Murena, offered a sacrifice to Jupiter Stratius, on the top of a high mountain, according to the custom of his ancestors. On this mountain was raised a lofty pile of wood; the first trees of which were carried by kings. Around this pile was constructed another, much smaller. On the first were sprinkled milk, honey, wine, oil, and all sorts of perfumes. On the smaller pile were placed bread and different viands, to regale those who were present. This same custom is observed at Pasargadae in the solemn sacrifices offered by the kings of Persia. These piles of wood are afterwards set on fire, and the flame which arises from them is so great, that it is perceived at sea at the distance of 1000 stadia (near 38 leagues); and the atmosphere is so heated, that the spot cannot be approached for several days after."

Παραβόντες σέβας αὐτοῖς Πέρσῃσι] *To surrender to the Persians.* Demon, or Damon,<sup>b</sup> relates this with some slight variation. "The Carians," says he, "having assembled in the sacred wood of Labranda, debated amongst themselves as to who were their bravest neighbours, that they might choose them for allies. Some were of opinion that they should appeal to the Milesians, as being the most powerful of all their neighbours, and as their territory adjoined that of Caria; others said that they ought to make peace with the Persians, whose empire was both stronger and more extensive, since they were masters of all Asia. The Carians resolved to refer the matter to Apollo; and the oracle answered them, 'The Milesians were brave in former times.' This oracle having been promulgated in the towns of Asia, the Milesians accused the priestess of being corrupted by the Persian gold. They marched immediately with their whole force to the succour of the Carians, and having given battle to the Persians, perished almost to a man."

CXX. Πεσόντων δὲ τῶν πάντων πολλῶν] *Great numbers fell.* I follow the marginal reading of Stephens, *πεσόντων δὲ τῶν πάντων πολλῶν*, which is supported by a Ms. belonging to Cardinal Passionei, and by another of Dr. Askew; it is approved likewise by M. Valckenaer. This reading is also found in the Ms. B. in the Royal Library.

\* Appiani Hist. Bell. Mithrid. p. 361.    <sup>b</sup> Schol. Aristoph. ad Plutum, vs. 1003.

CXXI. *Μετὰ δὲ*] *Some time afterwards.* The comma must be placed after *μετὰ δὲ*, and not after *πρῶμα*.

*Τὴν ἐν Πηδάσῳ ὁδόν*] *On the road to Pedasa.* M. Valckenaer reads, *τὴν ἐν Πηδάσευσιν ὁδόν*, a very probable conjecture, and which I have thought it best to follow. See his note. But might we not, instead of *ἐν Δάσῳ*, read *ἐν δάσει*, and interpret *τὴν ὁδόν*, 'an ambuscade,' as in Homer, of whom Herodotus is a great imitator? That would then signify, that 'they placed themselves in ambuscade in a covert place.'

CXXIV. *Ψυχὴν οὐκ ἄσπτος*] *Displayed very little firmness on this occasion.* Valla had translated, 'mentis non erat compos,' and Gronovius suffered it so to remain. It should seem that M. Coray had been misled by them, as he cites this example to prove that *ὀργὴν οὐκ ἄσπτος*, in § LXXIII. of Book I, signifies the same thing. Aristagoras was not a madman, as his general conduct will evince; but danger deprived him of that firmness so necessary to repel it. See M. Wesseling's excellent note.

*Τὴν Ἰστιαίαν ἐτείχεε*] *Had begun to surround with walls.* So in the Greek. Such is the force of the imperfect tense. We have seen before, § XXIII., that Histiaeus was compelled to leave the walls of Myrcinus unfinished.

CXXV. *Τείχος οἰκοδομησάμενον*] *Built a castle.* *Τείχος* is not a simple 'wall,' it is a 'castle' or 'fortress.'<sup>a</sup> *Ἀλκιβιάδης . . . λαβὼν τριηρὴ μίαν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Χερρόνησον εἰς τὰ ταυτοῦ τείχη.* 'Alcibiades took with him a three-decked galley, and retired to his castles in the Chersonesus.' See my explanation of this word, in a note on § CXXIV. Book IV.

CXXVI. *Πόλιν περικυκλήμενος*] *To besiege a place.* This city was called Ennea Hodoi, *Ἐννέα ὁδοί*, 'the nine ways:' Agnon, son of Nicias, who founded it 61 years after the defeat of Aristagoras, gave it the name of Amphipolis.

The defeat of Aristagoras occurred in the third year of the 70th Olympiad, 498 years before our era. I find a proof of this in Thucydides. That historian relates,<sup>b</sup> that 32 years after the defeat of Aristagoras, the Athenians sent to this place a colony, which was cut to pieces; but that 29 years afterwards, Agnon, son of Nicias, conducted thither another colony, which drove out the Edonians, and built the city of Amphipolis, on the spot where formerly had stood that called Ennea Hodoi, the Nine Ways. Now this last colony was sent under the archontate<sup>c</sup> of Euthymenes, in the fourth

<sup>a</sup> Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. i. cap. v. § 2.

p. 35.

<sup>b</sup> Thucyd. lib. iv. § cii.

<sup>c</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. xii. § xxxii. Vol. i. p. 490.

year of the 85th Olympiad, 437 years before the vulgar era. The first colony, which had preceded that by 29 years, was therefore in the third year of the 78th Olympiad, 466 years before our era; and the defeat of Aristagoras, 32 years anterior to this colony, must have taken place in the third year of the 70th Olympiad, 498 years B. C.



## NOTES ON HERODOTUS.

### ERATO. BOOK VI.

I. Τοῦτο τὸ ἐπὶ δόγμα ἔρραψας μὲν αὐτὸ, ἐπέδρασε δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης] *You have contrived this plot, and Aristagoras has executed it.* In the Greek, 'You made the shoe, and Aristagoras has put it on.' This passed into a proverb, to imply that one person was the author of an enterprise, and that another had executed it.

III. Φοίνικας μὲν ἐλυσσάμενος, ἐν τῇ Ἰωνίᾳ κατοικήσας] *To transport the Phœnicians into Ionia.* It was the more easy to persuade the Ionians of this, as transmigrations of that sort were practised by the Assyrians and the Persians. We know that the Jews were transplanted into Babylon and into Media; we find Hyrcanians in Asia Minor: in short, there would be no end to the enumeration of all the instances of transmigration which occurred among these people.

VII. Ἐς Πανιώνιον] *To the Panionium.* This was the place in which the Ionians celebrated the festival called Panionia. Twelve cities only<sup>a</sup> had the right to be present. Smyrna was afterwards<sup>b</sup> admitted to this privilege, as we find from a medal of Antoninus Pius. But on the Panionium, see Herodot. Book I. § cxiiviii.

VIII. Ἀἰαῖον] *Of Lesbos,* I follow the correction of M. Wesseling, who reads with the Mss. of Eton College, of Sancerre, and of the Imperial Library at Vienna, οὐ Ἀἰαῖον, instead of ὅσοι τὴν Αἰολίδα γὰρ. It would indeed have been ridiculous in our historian to write, 'all those of the Æolians who inhabit Æolia,' as in that country there were none but Æolians. Besides, in the enumeration of the vessels, the only Æolians mentioned are those of Lesbos.

IX. Ἦπὸς δὲ τοῦτον] *Near them.* The term very frequently signifies 'besides these things,' 'præterea:' but as our author in this passage is describing the order of battle of the Ionian fleet, I think that

<sup>a</sup> Herodot. Book I. § cxlv.

<sup>b</sup> Pausan. Achaic. ult. lib. vii. cap. v.

p. 532. Spanheim. de Nummorum usu et præst. Dissert. ix. p. 643.

this preposition must be taken in the sense which I have given it, and which is not less frequent than the other.

ὅς περὶ οὐδὲν ἔχοντες οὐδὲν] *That they shall not be punished for their revolt.* Literally, 'that they shall not experience any thing disagreeable.' Upon this expression, see ἔχοντες, note 1. on § xli. of Book i; also the notes on § xcv. of Book iv. and § xlii. of Book viii.

Τὰ ἴδια] *Profane.* Τὰ ἴδια opposed to τὰ ἱερὰ, signifies not only the houses of individuals, but also public edifices; in a word, all such as were not dedicated to the worship of the gods. The Greeks say also in the same sense ὅσια, and oppose it to τοῖς ἱεροῖς. See M. Valckenæer's learned and curious note.

Ἐντρονάζοντες] *Threaten them.* Such is the meaning of the Greek. Kar' ἐντρονάζοντες is explained by the scholiast of Thucydides,\* κατ' ἀνελήν. See also Raphaelius on St. Matthew.†

XI. Τὰ πρήγματα] *Our affairs.* "The figure Hyperbaton," says Longinus, "is but 'the transposition of the thoughts or words in the order of a composition;' and this figure bears with it the character of strong and violent passion. Observe all those who are moved with anger, fear, spite, jealousy, or any other passion whatsoever; their mind is in a continual agitation. Scarcely have they formed one design, when they immediately conceive another, and in the midst of that propose to themselves a fresh one, neither having reference to the other, and then frequently return to their first resolution. Passion with them is like a changing wind, which impels them first to one side, then to the other; so that in this perpetual flux and reflux of conflicting opinions, they change every moment both their thoughts and their language, and preserve no order or consistency in their discourse.

"Skillful writers, to imitate these natural emotions, use hyperbata; and, to speak truth, Art never attains a higher degree of perfection than when it resembles Nature so strongly, as to be taken for Nature itself; and on the other hand, Nature never appears to so much advantage as when Art is concealed.

"We have a fine example of this transposition in Herodotus, where Dionysius the Phocian thus speaks to the Ionians: 'In short, our affairs have reached the last extremity, gentlemen. We must now necessarily be either free or slaves, and miserable slaves. If, then, you would avoid the evils that threaten you, you must without delay incur toil and fatigue, and purchase liberty by the defeat of your enemies.' Had he followed the natural order of speech, he would

\* Thucyd. lib. i. § xxi. p. 22. lia. Secr. Vol. i. p. 227.

† 49 et ibi Schol.

\* Longin. de Sublimit. sect. xxi. p. 76.

† Geo. Raphaelii Annotationes in Script.

have said, 'Gentlemen, it is now time to betake us to toil and fatigue for our affairs are reduced to the last extremity.' He first transposes the word 'gentlemen,' and omits its introduction till after he had excited terror in their minds, as though the extent of the danger had at first occasioned him to forget the forms of civility due to those whom he was addressing. He then inverts the order of the thoughts: for before exhorting them to activity, which is his object, he assigns the reason which should induce them to be active; 'for our affairs are reduced to the last extremity;' that it may not appear that it was a studied speech he was pronouncing to them, but that the feelings of the moment had forced it from him."—BELLANGER.

I might say a good deal on this translation of Boileau's, but this is not the place for it. The reader will do well to consult the excellent edition of Longinus by Toup, 8vo. p. 325. With regard to the passage quoted from Herodotus, I merely refer the reader to my translation.

XII. Ἀράγων ἐκαστορε ἐπὶ κέρας τὰς νέας] *The vessels presenting a narrow front, being one behind the other.* For this is meant by ἀράγων ἐπὶ κέρας. This expression is frequently met with in Thucydides and in Xenophon's Hellenics, and has been well explained by Paulmier de Grentemesnil.\* See also the note of Gramscius on the scholia of Thucydides.† Onosander has also made use of it: ἂν τε γὰρ οἷσι κατὰ μέτωπον ὑπεστήσωσιν οἱ πολέμοι πλεονέτεροι τεταγμένοι, ῥαδίως αὐτοὺς τρέπονται, καθάπερ οἱ τοὺς ἐπὶ κέρωσι ὄντας ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἐκκλύμενοι. This was not thoroughly understood by Baron Zurlauben, who renders the latter part thus, 'they will put them to flight as easily as they surround the wings in a battle.' The entire passage should be translated, 'if the enemy, presenting a more extended front, attack them in front, he will put them to flight as easily as those who, in battles, surround the troops formed upon a single man in front.'

Διέκπλον ποιούμενοι] *Made them pass between the ranks, and immediately retire.* This is a term of naval warfare, to signify the passing between the enemy's vessels to attack them, or to break their oars, to withdraw quickly and return to the attack, as has been explained by the scholiast of Thucydides, διέκπλον ἐστὶ τὸ ἐμβαλεῖν, καὶ πάλιν ὑποστρέψαι, καὶ αὖθις ἐμβαλεῖν. Διέκπλον means, 'to rush upon the vessels, then to retire, and immediately return to the attack.' This was a very skilful manœuvre. And Thucydides,

\* Exercitationes in optimos Auctores Græcos, p. 77.

† Onosanderi Strategice. cap. vi. p. 21.

‡ Thucydides, Duker, p. 633. col. 1. ad voc. Συστομαί.

§ Schol. Thucydides. ad lib. 1. § alia. p. 35. col. 1. lin. 5.

therefore, after remarking that it was not practised in the battle between the Athenians and the Coreyreans on one side, and the Corinthians on the other, adds,\* that in that contest there was more display of strength and courage than of science.

The learned Ernesti very clearly explains this term in his Lexicon of Polybius,<sup>†</sup> at the word διέκλους; but he is mistaken in saying that the vessel tacked about on its return. The time necessary for that manœuvre would have given the enemy time to intercept it. Instead of tacking, they rowed backwards, and this is what the Greeks call πρύμναν κρούσασθαι, ἀνακρούσασθαι, ἐπὶ πρύμναν κρούσασθαι, and the Latins, 'inhibere remis,' a term which Cicero himself confesses he never understood till one day in going to his country-house by water. "Inhibere" . . . est verbum totum nauticum. Quanquam id quidem sciebam; sed arbitrabar sustineri remos, cum inhibere essent remiges jussi. Id non esse ejusmodi didici heri, cum ad villam nostram navis appelleretur: non enim sustinent, sed alio modo remigant. Id ab ἐποχῇ remotissimum est."

The scholiast of Thucydides explains it so that it cannot be misunderstood: "Πρύμναν κρούεσθαι,"<sup>‡</sup> says he, "is to retire slowly without putting the vessel about. He who retires in this way, rows at the poop. This manœuvre is practised with a view to avoid the appearance of retreating, as well as to prevent being so easily wounded, as is likely to happen when one's back is turned to the enemy. Πρύμναν κρούεσθαι, ἐπὶ τὸ κατ' ὀλίγον ἀναχωρεῖν μὴ στρέψαντα τὸ πλοῖον. Ὁ γὰρ οὕτως ἀναχωρῶν, ἐπὶ τὴν πρύμναν κωπηλατεῖ. Τοῦτο δὲ ποιῶσιν ἵνα μὴ δόξωσι φανερώς φεύγειν. . . ἢ ἵνα μὴ τὰ νῦν τοῖς πολεμίοις δόντες, ῥῆον τιρώσκωνται." This expression is of frequent occurrence in Thucydides, Polybius, &c. See also Book viii. note 1. on § LXXXIV. and the translation of Theophrastus by M. Coray, p. 306.

Τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας τὰς νέας ἔχεσκε ἐν' ἀγκυράων] *The rest of the day the vessels lay at anchor.* The Greeks were in the practice of mooring their ships close to the coast, and remaining on shore themselves. When the sentinels perceived the enemy's vessels, they gave notice, and the ships were instantly manned. We can scarcely read a chapter of Xenophon's Hellenics, without meeting with examples of this custom, which caused the destruction of the Athenian fleet at Ægos Potamos. The Ionians, whom the general did not permit to land, must have found this service very hard; and as they were unaccustomed to military discipline, it is not wonderful

\* Thucyd. lib. i. § alix. p. 35. lin. 15.

† At the end of the edit. of Polybius printed at Leipsic in 1763.

‡ Cic. ad Atticum, lib. xlii. Epist. xxi.

§ Schol. Thucyd. ad lib. i. § l. p. 36. col. 2. lin. 9.

that they should have considered it a kind of slavery, and be anxious to shake it off.

Δι' ἡμέρας] *During the whole course of the day.* This ought not to be rendered 'quotidie,' 'every day,' but 'during the whole day,' as if it were δι' ἡμέρας ὅλης. Hesychius explains δι' ἔτους, δι' ὅλου τοῦ ἔτους, 'the whole year.' Ἀέομαι δ' ὑμῶν πάσῃ τέχνῃ καὶ μηχανῇ μετ' εὐνοίας ἀποσπάρειν ἡμῶν διὰ τέλους. 'We earnestly entreat you to hear us out to the end.' See Valckenaer's note.

XVI. Πεζῇ ἐκπορεύεσθαι διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου] *They made the journey by land.* Their design was to make the port nearest to the island of Chios, and thence, in a few hours, they could have reached the island itself.

Θεσμοφορίαι] *The Thesmophoria.* The Thesmophoria was a festival celebrated by the women in honour of Ceres, because she was supposed to have first given laws to men. The festival lasted five days:<sup>a</sup> it began on the 14th of the month Pyanepsion, that is to say, the 23d of October, and ended on the 18th. The 16th, that is to say the 25th October, was a fast-day, as we learn from Plutarch,<sup>c</sup> who tells us that Demosthenes died on the 16th of the month Pyanepsion, which was the day that the women kept as a fast; and from Athenæus, who says<sup>d</sup> that this fast fell on the middle day. The above festival was celebrated at different places in Greece. At Athens, or rather at Eleusis, it was kept in the month of October; but in most of the other cities of Greece in summer. It should seem from the passage of Herodotus, that the Ephesians celebrated it in summer. Those who would inform themselves as to the rites which were observed at this festival, may consult Meursius's *Græcia Feriata*, and Potter's *Archæologia*. The first of these writers, in enumerating the different nations that kept this festival, omits the Ephesians, who are mentioned by Herodotus, and the Agrigentines, mentioned by Polyænus, lib. v. cap. 1. § 1.

XVII. Ὡς εἴη] *Without losing a moment, and in the state in which he was.* The words, 'without losing a moment,' are not in the Greek; I have added them with a view of conveying the force of the Greek expression ὥς εἴη, which has been a stumbling-block to most of the interpreters. Gronovius has very clearly explained it in his edition of Arrian, Book 1. § xiv.; but no one better than Raphael on St. Mark, chap. 1v. verse 36, p. 378.

XVIII. Κατ' ἀρπῆς] *By assault.* I have thought it best to follow

<sup>a</sup> Lysias Orat. pro Bonis Aristophanis, p. 133. lin. 2.

<sup>b</sup> As we may infer from verse 80 of the Thesmoph. of Aristophanes, where it is said, that the third day of that festival was

the middle day.

<sup>c</sup> Plutarch. in Demosth. Vita, p. 800. B, C.

<sup>d</sup> Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. vii. cap. xvi. p. 207. F.



the explanation of Casaubon, who interprets *κατάρας αἰεῖν*, 'to take by assault.' See his notes on the 8th chap. of Theophrastus, p. 82. This expression may, however, signify that they took it by the citadel; and it has been thus understood by the scholiast of Homer on the 557th verse of the 15th Book of the Iliad. *Kar' ἀρχῆς*, says he, ἀπὸ ἀκροπόλεως.

XIX. Νηοῦ δ' ἡμετέρον Διδύμου] *Our temple of Didymæ.* Didymæ<sup>a</sup> was a part of the territory of Miletus. There was in this place a temple dedicated to Apollo, by the name of Didymæan Apollo; for which Macrobius<sup>b</sup> assigns the following reason: "Ἀπὸλλωνα Διδύμουτον vocant, quod geminam speciem sui<sup>c</sup> numinis præfert ipse, illuminando formandoque lunam. Etenim ex uno fonte lucis, gemino sidere spatia diei et noctis illustant. Unde et Romani solem sub nomine et specie Jani, Didymæi Apollinis appellatione venerantur."

Statius calls this temple 'Didymæa limina,'<sup>d</sup> and Quintus Curtius, 'templum<sup>e</sup> quod Didymæon appellatur.' It received this name in later times.<sup>f</sup> It was before called the temple of the Branchidæ. The following circumstance gave rise to the latter denomination.

Democles of Delphi, says Conon,<sup>g</sup> had a son of great beauty, named Smicrus. Having gone to Miletus by sea, by order of the oracle, he took with him his son, who was then about 13 years old; but he returned so hastily, that he came away without him. The child, in a state of despair, was met by a shepherd,<sup>h</sup> son of Eritharses, who took him to his father. Eritharses, on learning his birth and his misfortunes, loved him as if he had been his own son. Conon then mentions the capture of the swan, the dispute of the two children,<sup>i</sup> and the apparition of Leucothoë, who commanded them<sup>j</sup> to tell the Milesians to revere him, and to celebrate gymnastic games for children in honour of him; for she had taken pleasure in the dispute of the children. Smicrus married a woman of quality in Miletus; and during her pregnancy she had a vision, in which she fancied that she saw the sun enter her body by the mouth, pass into her womb, and come forth by the ordinary way. The soothsayers considered this vision in a favourable light. She was delivered of a boy, whom she named Branchus, because in her dream she had seen the sun enter her throat.<sup>k</sup> This child was

<sup>a</sup> Stephan. Byzant. voc. Διδύμα.

<sup>b</sup> Macrobi. Saturnal. lib. i. cap. xvii. p. 196.

<sup>c</sup> 'Numinis' gives no meaning, I think we should read 'luminis.'

<sup>d</sup> Stat. Thebaid. lib. viii. vers. 199.

<sup>e</sup> Quint. Curt. lib. vii. cap. v. § xxviii.

<sup>f</sup> Oraculum Branchidarum appellatum, quæ Didymæi Apollinis. Min. Hist. Nat. lib. v. cap. xxix. Vol. i. p. 278.

<sup>g</sup> Conon Narrat. xxiii. apud Phot. Cod. lxxvii. p. 441. Varro relates the same

fablo, with some slight difference. See supra, note 2. on § xxxvi. of Book v.

<sup>h</sup> Goat-herd.

<sup>i</sup> We should read ἀμφότες.

<sup>j</sup> We should read τῶν, instead of ἐξ τῶν.

<sup>k</sup> Βράγχος signifies throat in Greek, notwithstanding what Gedoyn says, p. 211. note A. The Etymologicum Magnum, p. 211. says, Βράγχος λέγεται ὁ λαμβὼς καὶ φάρυγξ: ὅς καὶ Βράγχος παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς λέγεται.

the handsomest of his species. Whilst he was tending his flocks, Apollo fell in love with him and gave him a kiss. An altar was erected to Apollo Philetos, on the spot where this took place. Branchus received from Apollo the gift of divination; he was appointed to pronounce the oracles at Didymæ; and even to the present time the oracle of the Branchidæ is, next to that of Delphi, the most celebrated in Greece.

The Abbé Gedoy has translated the whole of this passage in his own way, i. e. like any thing but the original. It may be found in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles-Lettres*, Vol. xiv. p. 210.

This Branchus, according to Strabo,<sup>a</sup> was descended from Machæus of Delphi, who killed Neoptolemus, son of Achilles.

The temple of the Branchidæ was burned on account of the revolt of the Milesians. Strabo, however, relates<sup>b</sup> that it was Xerxes who set it on fire, and that the Branchidæ, having given up to him the treasures of the temple, retired with him into Persia, for fear of being punished for their perfidy. Xerxes assigned them a small territory in Sogdiana, where they built a city. But Alexander,<sup>c</sup> in abhorrence of their treason and sacrilege, destroyed it, and put all the inhabitants to the sword,<sup>d</sup> although they had not only submitted, but most joyfully received him. Plutarch confesses<sup>e</sup> that the most devoted partisans of that prince condemned his cruelty.

Demodamas,<sup>f</sup> general of the kings Seleucus and Antiochus, erected altars to Didymæan Apollo on the banks of the Jazartes.

M. Bellanger had translated this passage of Herodotus, 'and other Didymæ shall have the care of our temple.' This is altogether unintelligible, and proves that that critic had not revised his work. *Ἄλλοισι* does not relate to *Διδύμοις*. The construction is *μελήσει ἄλλοισι τοῦ ἡμετέρου τοῦ ἐν Διδύμοις*.

XXI. *Ἡβηδόν*] *Of all ages*. On this expression, see Tanneui Lefebvre, upon the Timon of Lucian, Vol. i. p. 1049. edit. Græv.

*Μάλιστα . . . ἑλληγχοι θεινέθησαν*] *Never was union more strict, &c.* "The Sybarites," says Timæus,<sup>g</sup> "wore clothes of Milesian wool, which was the cause of the friendship that subsisted between the two cities."

*Φρυνίχῳ*] *Of Phrynichus*. "The ancients speak of three of this name, all Athenians, and all dramatic poets, the two first in tragedy, the last in comedy. The first and most ancient was, according to some, the son of Polyphradmon, and of Minyas or of Chorocles, according to others, as we learn from Suidas, who himself thinks that

<sup>a</sup> Strab. Geograph. lib. ix. p. 645. A.

p. 557. B.

<sup>b</sup> Id. ibid. lib. xiv. p. 941. B.

<sup>c</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. vi. cap. xvi. Vol.

<sup>c</sup> Id. ibid. lib. xi. p. 187. C. D.

i. p. 315.

<sup>d</sup> Quint. Curt. lib. vii. cap. v.

<sup>e</sup> Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. xii. p. 310.

<sup>f</sup> Plutarch. de Socr. Numism. Vindictâ, D.

he was the father of Polyphradmon, likewise a tragic poet. He was a disciple of Thespis, the inventor of tragedy, who flourished about the 61st Olympiad. He was anterior to Æschylus; as may be inferred from a passage of Aristophanes in *Ranæ*, vers. 910. in which Euripides accuses Æschylus of an attempt to deceive the spectators, whom Phrynichus had stupified. Whence we may conclude that Eusebius, in his *Chronicle*, (p. 130.) is wrong in reckoning him after Æschylus, in the 74th Olympiad, and that Suidas is nearer the mark in assigning the 67th Olympiad as the period when he flourished and gained the prize, as is remarked by Perizonius on Ælian, *Var. Hist.* lib. iii. chap. xviii. Suidas attributes to him nine tragedies: in his piece entitled 'Pleuronia,' he mentions the thread given by the Fates to Althæa, on the duration of which depended the life of Meleager; a fable which Phrynichus first promulgated. See Pausan. *Phocic.* lib. x. cap. xxxi. p. 874. edit. Kuhn. He was the first who introduced female characters on the stage, and was the inventor of the tetrameter. Suidas mentions a second Phrynichus, likewise an Athenian, the son of Melanthus, and a tragic poet. He states him to have been the author of several dramas, as well as of several airs denominated *Pyrrhic*, the cadence and the words of which animated men in battle, and which were sung and danced with great vivacity by young men in arms. His theatrical pieces are 'Andromeda,' 'Erigone,' and the 'Capture of Miletus by Darius, king of Persia,' which latter drew tears from the spectators, according to Herodotus; Plutarch, *Præcept. Polit.*; Ælian, *Var. Hist.* lib. xiii. cap. xvii. &c. It may be doubted whether this second Phrynichus and the first be not the same: for though Suidas makes a distinction between them, all the authors who speak of the piece called 'the Capture of Miletus,' attribute it to Phrynichus the tragic poet, without hinting at any such distinction, or that there were two of the name. The different fathers assigned by Suidas and some of the scholiasts to the two pretended Phrynichus, is scarcely sufficient to decide the point; for if we were to admit as many different poets of this name, as there have been fathers for them alleged by different writers, we should have four. Tzetzes in his scholia on Hesiod (*Opera et Dies*, vers. 414.) expressly says, that before Æschylus, Phrynichus (for so we must read, and not Pherenicus,) was punished by a fine of 1000 drachmæ, for having told the truth in his tragedy, entitled 'the Capture of Miletus.' The third Phrynichus was a comic poet; he flourished about the 86th Olympiad, and was contemporary with Alcibiades. See Suidas, *Plut. in Alcibiad.* &c."—BELLANGER.

There was but one tragic poet of this name, Miletus was taken

in the third year of the 70th Olympiad; the piece therefore founded on that occurrence must be posterior to it, but not any great time. The same author produced another under the archontate of Adimantus,\* in the third year of the 75th Olympiad. See Rich. Bentleii Responsionem ad Car. Boyle, p. 143.

Χίλιραι δραχμαί] *A thousand drachmæ.* Strabo<sup>a</sup> after Callisthenes relates the same circumstance.

The obolus was worth 1½d.; six of these constituted a drachma. The drachma was consequently worth 9d. A mina was worth 100 drachmæ, or £3. 15s. of our money; the 1000 drachmæ therefore made 10 minæ, or £37. 10s. See the Valuation of the Athenian money, by the Abbé Barthélemy, in the Appendix to the Travels of the young Anacharsis, Vol. iv. Tab. xi. p. lxi. and following, edit. 4to., or Vol. vii. Tab. xi. p. lxxx. and following of the 8vo. edit.

XXII. Τετχοῦσι] *Were rich.* Σαμίων δὲ τοῖσι τε τεχοῦσι. Which should be rendered, 'those of the Samians who are wealthy,' and not 'those who have some wealth.'

Καλὴν Ἀκτὴν] *Calactæ.* This word signifies, 'fine shore.' I have rendered Καλὴ ἀκτὴ, 'Calactæ,' in imitation of the Latins. See Cicero's third oration against Verres, § XLIII. "Calactinis quamobrem imperasti anno tertio ut decumas agri sui, quas Calactæ dare consueverant, Amestrati M. Cæcio decumano darent." Also Silius Italicus :

Telâque superba

Lanigera Melite, et litus piscosæ Calactæ.

Πρὸς τετραμμένην] *Which looks towards.* As to this Greek form of speech, see note 5. on § LXXXIV. Book 1.

XXIII. Σκύθης] *Scythes.* Perizonius<sup>c</sup> thinks that this Scythes was father of Cadmus, tyrant of Cos. But it is not likely that the father of Cadmus should leave his sovereignty of Cos, to seek another at Zancle. It is more probable that he died at Cos, leaving the tyranny in a flourishing condition to his son, as Herodotus says, Book vii. § CLXIV. It is not unlikely that the tyrant of Zancle was the uncle of Scythes, tyrant of Cos; which is the opinion of M. Valckenaer, as appears by his note on § CLXIII. of Book vii. Indeed, if he had not been of the same family, it would have been strange that Cadmus should go to reside at Zancle in Sicily, where Scythes had reigned.

Ἀναξίλαος] *Anaxilaus.* This Anaxilaus, tyrant of Rhegium, lived at the time of the capture of Miletus, as we find from Herodotus, that

\* Plutarch. in Themistocle, p. 114. C.

<sup>a</sup> Strab. lib. iv. p. 912. B.

<sup>c</sup> Silius Italic. lib. iv. vers. 251.

<sup>d</sup> Ælian. Var. Histor. lib. viii. cap. xvi. p. 502. note 6.



is to say, the third year of the 70th Olympiad, or 498 years before our era. He was the son of Cretines, and had married Cydippe, daughter of Terillus, tyrant of Himerus.<sup>a</sup> He was descended from the ancient Messenians. He abolished the democratic government of Rhegium, and took the power into his own hands, as we learn from Aristotle.<sup>b</sup>

Σχόντων τὴν Ζάγκλην] *Took possession of that city.* They did not keep it long. In fact, the same Anaxilaus,<sup>c</sup> tyrant of Rhegium, drove them from it a short time afterwards, and having re-peopled it, called it Messana, from the name of his original country.

Ἀπαβαλόντα] *Who had just lost.* In the edition of Stephens, and in the Mss. A and B of the Royal Library, we read ὡς ἀπαβαλόντα; which may signify that Hippocrates arrested Scythes, under the pretext that he had lost his city.

XXIV. Πάντων ἀνδρῶν δικαιοτάτον] *As the most honest man.* Darius must, therefore, have been ignorant that Scythes had joined him only from necessity, and because he had no other resource.

XXV. Ἐθελοντῇ] *Voluntarily.* In the Ms. B of the Royal Library, we read ἐθελοντάς.

XXVI. Ἐκ Πολίχνης] *Of Polichna.* So in the Greek. The Latin version has 'ex oppidulo;' but I think it is the name of some little town in the island. The article τῇ being placed before Χίων, appears to me to be so placed for the purpose of distinguishing this city from those that bore the same name in Troas, in Crete, and in Sicily.

XXVIII. Αἰμαίνουσι οἱ τῆς στρατῆς] *Having no more provisions, &c.* The former reading was δαμαινούσης οἱ τῆς στρατῆς, 'the army becoming frightened.' This appears ridiculous. If in fact it had been frightened, it would only have had to remain at Lesbos, where there was nothing to fear; but by making it pass over to the continent, where the Persian forces were, its terrors were more likely to be increased than abated. I have adopted the <sup>d</sup> correction of M. Heringa, an individual not less eminent as a Greek and Latin scholar, than as a physician: it has also been followed by MM. Wesseling, Valckenaer, and Borbeck, who have admitted it into their editions.

Ἐκ τοῦ Ἀραρνέος] *Of Atarneus.* Atarneus was a district of Mysia, opposite to Lesbos, which the Persians had given to the inhabitants of Chios,<sup>e</sup> as a recompense for having delivered Pactyas up to them. It is very probable that subsequently to the revolt of the Ionians, the Persians had restored this little territory to the Mysians. Her-

<sup>a</sup> Herodot. lib. vii. § clxv.

<sup>b</sup> Aristot. Politic. lib. v. cap. xii. p. 412. C.

<sup>c</sup> Thucyd. lib. vi. § v.

<sup>d</sup> Adr. Heringa Observat. Criticar. Liber singularis, cap. xxi. p. 277.

<sup>e</sup> Herodot. lib. i. § clx.



mas, famous by his revolt against the Persians and by his unhappy end, and still more so from a pæan or discourse composed in honour of him by Aristotle, was afterwards tyrant of it. In 1792 I read to the Academy of Belles-Lettres, a dissertation on this Hermias; but as the Academy is now no more, it is not likely that I shall ever publish it.

XXX. Δοκίειν ἐμὴ] *I think, &c.* This conjecture of our historian is founded on the benignity of Darius, who was more given to remember services rendered than faults committed, and on that humane law of the Persians, which forbade the punishment of death for a single offence,\* and indeed the infliction of any punishment, unless the offences exceeded the services of the offender. The crime of Histæus was no doubt a serious one; but the service he had rendered the Persians by preserving the bridge over the Ister, and thereby saving Darius himself and the whole army, greatly exceeded it. For this the prince† testified his gratitude; and not only expressed his displeasure that he had been put to death, but treated his remains with honour.

Many other examples of the munificence and clemency of Darius might be adduced, as in the cases of Democedes, of Syloson, of Coës, &c. He was highly irritated against the Milesians and the Eretrians; but when they were in his power, he only caused them to pass into Asia. He even pardoned‡ Oribazus the Hyrcanian, and some Persians of quality, who had made an attempt upon his life.—VALCKENAER.

Ἰνα μὴ διαφύγῃ] *For fear that instead of being punished.* The Greek signifies, 'for fear lest, escaping from punishment,' and not 'for fear that having taken to flight,' as in the Latin version.

XXXIII. Οἰκιστὰς] *They founded.* I read οἰκιστὰς. Οἰκιστὰν, which is found in all the editions, signifies 'they inhabited.' But before a city is inhabited, it must be built. Herodotus here observes, that Mesambria was a colony of Byzantium; but Strabo says that this city was founded by the Megareans. This is a contradiction only in appearance. The Byzantines were themselves a colony from Megara. See my Geographical Table, articles BYZANTIUM and MESAMBRIA.

XXXIV. Τὴν ἱερὴν ὁδὸν] *By the sacred way.* There was a sacred road§ from Athens to Eleusis, which was very celebrated; this cannot be here meant. But it was perhaps that by which the Athenians accompanied¶ the sacred pageant to Delphi.—WASSLINGO.

\* Herodot. lib. i. § cxxxvii.

† Id. lib. v. § xi.

‡ Alian. Var. Hist. lib. vi. cap. xiv. Vol. i. p. 460.

§ Pausan. Attic. five lib. i. cap. xxvi.

p. 88. Athen. lib. xiii. p. 694. F.

¶ Strab. lib. ix. p. 646. C.

XXXV. Ἐδυνάστευε re] *Some authority.* So in the Greek. But I read ἰδυνάστευε ri, which gives a better meaning, and I have translated accordingly.

Οἷσις τεθριπποπόρον] *He was of a family which maintained four horses for the Olympic games.* That is to say, he was very rich. Attica being a barren country and almost destitute of pasturage, the keeping of horses was exceedingly expensive, and none but rich persons could support it. See the opening of the comedy of *Nubes* by Aristophanes.

Αἰακοῦ] *Æacus.* "Oceanus and Tethys" had a son named Asopus; this latter had a daughter called Ægina, who was carried off from Phlius by Jupiter to the island of Ægina, where she bore him a son named Æacus, who was king of that island. Æacus had two sons, Peleus and Telamon. Peleus went to Phthia in Thessaly. He became king there, and was father of Achilles. Telamon retired to Salamis."

Φαίλου, τοῦ Αἰάντος πατρὸς] *Phileus, son of Ajax.* Pherecydes<sup>a</sup> calls him Phileas, and considers him to be the son of Ajax, as do Herodotus, Plutarch,<sup>b</sup> and Stephanus of Byzantium.<sup>c</sup> Pausanias, however,<sup>d</sup> says he was his grandson. The Abbé Gerdoyn refrains from any remark on this point, because neither Kuhnus nor Sylburgius, who are his guides, have touched upon it. But however this may be, Phileus<sup>e</sup> was the father of Daclus, or Æelus, as Casaubon will have it. This last had Epidycus, Epidycus had Acestor, Acestor had Agenor, Agenor Olius, Olius Lyces, Lyces Typhon, Typhon had Laius, Laius had Agamestor, who was archon of Athens; Agamestor had Tisander, Tisander had Hippocles, Hippocles had Miltiades, and Miltiades had Cypselus,<sup>f</sup> the father of Miltiades, sovereign of Chersonesus.

Thus Miltiades was descended from Ajax by seventeen generations. Miltiades founded the Thracian Chersonesus in the year 560 before our era. He must then have been about 40 years old, that is to say, he was born about the year 600 B. C. Ajax killed himself about the year 1270 B. C. There was therefore an interval of 670 years between the death of that warrior and the birth of Miltiades, founder of the Chersonesus, which makes twenty generations. Three of his ancestors are wanting to complete his genealogy. He died without children, and left his principality to his nephew Stesagoras, son of Cimon.

<sup>a</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. iv. § lxxii. Vol. i. p. 316.

<sup>b</sup> Marcellin. in Vitâ Thucyd. initio.

<sup>c</sup> Plutarch. in Solone, Vol. i. p. 83. D.

<sup>d</sup> Steph. Byzant. voc. Φαίλας.

<sup>e</sup> Pausan. Attic. mvo lib. i. cap. xxxv. p. 56.

<sup>f</sup> Pherecydes. Vide Marcellin. in Vitâ Thucyd. initio.

<sup>g</sup> There is a chasm here, and I should conclude not the only one; as the number of generations is not sufficient to reach so far back as the siege of Troy.

This latter having also died without children, Miltiades, the third of that name, his brother, succeeded him. Pausanias<sup>a</sup> says that Miltiades, son of Cimon, was the founder of Chersonesus; and this error has misled Father Corsini in his catalogue of the Olympionics. Ælian is as much in error<sup>b</sup> as Pausanias in his enumeration of the three Miltiades. The first was son of that Hippoclidēs, whom Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicily, refused for a son-in-law, on account of his indecent dancing; the second was the son of Cypselus, and grandson of the first Miltiades; this was the founder of Chersonesus. The third was the son of Cimon, brother by the mother's side of Miltiades the founder. This Cimon was not son of Cypselus the father of the second Miltiades; but as the ancient families seldom married but amongst themselves, it is probable that this Cimon was also a descendant of Ajax, and that the third Miltiades was thus of the blood of that warrior.

Philaidē, a village of the tribe Ægeis, took its name from Philēas or Philēus.<sup>c</sup>

XXXVI. Ὀλύμπια ἀναφικέας πρότερον τούτων γεθίππῳ] *Had formerly obtained the prize of the chariot-race.* We do not know the time of this victory of the second Miltiades. This circumstance alone suffices to prove how very defective are the lists of the Olympionics.

Στάδιον ἑξ τε καὶ ἐπὶ ἑξήκοντα] *Thirty-six stadia.* The Epitome of Strabo<sup>d</sup> says forty. In remote times, before it was known how a place might by its situation, its strength, and its garrison, arrest the advance of an enemy, they opposed to invaders merely a wall, which enclosed the country, and formed some impediment to hostile incursions. This was the only means then known; and this was found insufficient when the Thracians became more expert in the art of war, especially at the time of low-water. The Emperor Justinian<sup>e</sup> repaired this wall, which had partly fallen to decay; he added battlements, and above these battlements a roof, to protect the defenders; above this roof again were other battlements, manned by troops, who served as an additional protection. He afterwards constructed moles, which, stretching out into the sea, prevented the Thracians from penetrating into the Chersonesus at low-water. The Romans had before this time made use of similar means for protecting the Britons from the incursions of the Picts; I mean the famous wall of Septimius Severus, which extended from Tynemouth to Solway-Frith. The Chinese, less skilled than the Romans in the art of fortification, have

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Æliacos. postea. sec. lib. vi.  
cap. xii. p. 498.

<sup>b</sup> Ælian. Hist. Var. lib. xii. cap. xxiiv.  
p. 777.

<sup>c</sup> Stephan. Byzant. voc. Φιλαιδῶν.

<sup>d</sup> Strab. lib. vii. p. 511. C.

<sup>e</sup> Procop. de Edificiis Justiniani, lib.  
iv. cap. i. p. 59.

devised no better means of protecting themselves from the incursions of the Tartars, than by erecting that immense wall, known by the name of the Great Wall. This was also the means employed by the Greeks of the latter empire, under Emanuel Palæologus, to secure the Peloponnesus from the incursions of the Turks.

Εἰκοσι καὶ τετρακοσίῳ] *Four hundred and twenty*. Scylax\* says only four hundred; but the difference is trifling.

XXXVII. Τῶν λοιπῶν πρώτοις] *Were the first*. See what I have said on this expression, which has not been understood by the Latin translators, in a note on § LXV. Book III.

Ἐν γνώμῃ γεγονώς] *By whom he was beloved*. Ἦν δὲ ὁ Μιλτιάδης Κροίσῳ τῷ Ἀνδρῇ ἐν γνώμῃ γεγονώς, 'Miltiades was beloved by Cræsus.' I look upon this expression to be altogether synonymous with κατὰ νόον εἶναι, which Herodotus has used, Book IX. § CX. Sophocles has employed it where it is more redundant, in *Ajace*, verse 1038 :

Ὅτῳ δὲ μὴ τὰδ' ἐστὶν ἐν γνώμῃ φίλα.

The opposite expressions are, ἀπὸ θυμοῦ εἶναι, *Iliad*, Book I. verse 562. and ἐκ θυμοῦ παύειν, *Iliad*, Book XXIII. verse 595."—CORAY.

M. Coray appears to me in the right; but the example which he adduces from Sophocles, I do not think in point. It ought, I apprehend, to be interpreted, 'He whom this maxim shall not please, after he has examined it.'

Πλανωμένων] *Uncertain, &c.* In the Greek, 'the Lampsaceni wandering in their conversation from one side to the other,' that is to say, being undecided, having no fixed resolution or opinion, 'on the threat of Cræsus, that he would cut them down like pine-trees.'

Τὸ θέλει τὸ ἐπὶ εἶναι] *Not comprehending the threat*. The Lampsaceni understood the general import of the threat, but not the meaning of the peculiar terms in which it was pronounced. Why does Cræsus (must have been the question amongst themselves) mention the pine rather than any other tree? This was the only difficulty, and it was this that the old man resolved in the manner Herodotus relates.

Πανόλεθρος ἐξαπόλλυται] *Perishes entirely*. This old man of Lampsacus must certainly have been in error. The pine is not the only tree which perishes on being cut. Aulus Gellius wrote a whole chapter on this point, of which only the summary remains to us.  
\* "Quod Herodotus, scriptor historiæ memoratissimus, parum vere

\* Scylacis Periplus, p. 32. inter Geograph. veteris Scriptores minores, Vol. I.

\* Aul. Gell. Noct. Attic. lib. viii. cap. iv.

dixerit unam solumque pinum arborum omnium cæsam nunquam de-  
nuo ex iisdem radicibus pullulare."

At all events, this expression had passed into a proverb. The sup-  
posed author of the Letters of Phalaris<sup>a</sup> has made use of it, but it  
has not been properly rendered by the Latin translator, Charles  
Boyle. M. Van Lennep has understood it. This letter is the ninth in  
his edition. See his note, p. 48. Zenobius, Diogenianus, and Suidas,  
have also used the same expression. These allegories were particu-  
larly affected by the ancients. "There is something very grand in  
them, and especially in threats," says Demetrius Phalereus.<sup>d</sup> "Such  
is that of the tyrant Dionysius to the Locrians: 'Your grasshoppers  
shall sing on the ground.' Had he simply said, 'that he would de-  
vastate Locris, and not leave a tree standing,' he would have ap-  
peared angry and shown himself the slave of passion; but instead of  
this, he veils his intentions in an allegory. That which is uncertain  
is always the most terrible, it leaves so much to the magnifying  
power of apprehension and conjecture; whereas that which is clear  
and manifest soon becomes the object of contempt, like a man without  
garments."

Aristotle attributes this last expression to Stesichorus,<sup>e</sup> and praises  
it, as well as Demetrius Phalereus. Quintilian censures this kind  
of allegory when it is obscure. When an allegory is obscure,<sup>f</sup> says  
he, it degenerates into an enigma; which is, in my opinion, a defect,  
since clearness is the principal object of discourse.

XXXVIII. Ὡς νόμος, ὁλκωγῇ] *As is customary.* So in the Greek.  
We must take away the comma from after νόμος, and understand  
ὅθεν. M. Valckenær points this out in a note. The Latin transla-  
tors have been in error.

Ἀγῶνα ἵππων] *Chariot races.* A race of saddle-horses is not  
here meant; but a race of chariots. Sophocles says, ἔθ' ἵππων ἦν  
. . . ὠκίστος ἀγών. He had previously thus described the chariot-  
race in which Pelops gained Hippodamia,<sup>g</sup> as the reward of his vic-  
tory, ὃ Πέλοπος ἀ πρόθεν πολίστορος ἵππελα.

XXXIX. Ἐπιτιμῶν] *Doing honour.* It was the custom, in time  
of mourning, never to go from home. Ἐπιτιμῶν is seldom used in  
the sense of 'to honour;' and the examples of it which have been ad-  
duced, have been disputed. Suidas,<sup>h</sup> however, explains τῶν τιμῶν,  
which occurs in the Electra of Sophocles, verse 915, by τὰ ἐπὶ τιμῇ  
τινὸς γινόμενα; the ancient scholiast of Sophocles, τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ τιμῇ γιν-

<sup>a</sup> Phalaridis Epist. xxi. p. 72.

<sup>b</sup> Demetrius Phalereus, p. 555. lin. 23  
et seq.

<sup>c</sup> Aristot. Rhetor. lib. ii. cap. xvii. § iii.  
p. 124, lib. iii. cap. vi. p. 175.

<sup>d</sup> Quintil. Institut. Orat. lib. viii. cap.  
vi. § li. p. 498.

<sup>e</sup> Sophocl. Elect. vers. 698.

<sup>f</sup> Id. ibid. vers. 504.

<sup>g</sup> Suidas, at the word Ἐπιτιμία.



τόμεν τοῦ πατρὸς; and the latter scholiast, αἱ τιμαί: which would lead us to believe that ἐπιτιμέων is also taken in this sense. Stephens, in his Thesaurus, appears of the same opinion, though in his Greek and Latin edition of Herodotus, since published, he has changed his mind. I am therefore justified in translating it as I have; but if any scruple remain, we might read ἐπὶ τιμέων with M. Van Eldik.\* At all events, we must put a comma after κατ' οἴκου, and omit it after Σησαγόρεα, as M. Reiske has suggested † in a note.

[Ἡγησιπύλην] *Hegesipyle*. This princess, after the death of Miltiades, married an Athenian of distinction, and gave to the son who sprung from this second marriage the name of Olorus, after her father. Thucydides † was the son of this Olorus. His great-grandfather, consequently, was king of Thrace. It was these alliances of the Athenians with the most illustrious families of Thrace, which caused Sentes ‡ to say, that he knew the Athenians to be their relations. Moreover, it is well known, that Sadocus, son of Sitalces, king of the Odrysæ, and the most powerful prince of that country, § became a citizen of Athens.

[XL. Τῶν κατεχόντων πρηγμάτων] *Than those which then occupied his attention*. Herodotus means those affairs which must necessarily have pressed upon the attention of Miltiades at the commencement of his tyranny. I have followed the reading of all the editions, τῶν κατεχόντων πρηγμάτων. In the margin of Stephens, we find καταλαμβάνων, which is not preferable to the other. In the Ms. B of the Royal Library, we read τῶν καταλαμβάνόντων πρηγμάτων. As M. Wesseling has taken no notice of this reading, the person whom he commissioned to examine the Mss. in the Royal Library must have executed his task negligently.

[Τρίτη μὲν γὰρ ἔρεε τοῦτέων] *Three years after these events*. The Pisistratidæ having put to death Cimon, father of Miltiades, the latter retired into the Chersonesus, in the year 4196 of the Julian period, 518 years before our era; as Hipparchus perished in the year 4200, 514 years before our era. Hippias was expelled in the year 4204, 510 years before the same era. After the taking of Babylon, Darius marched against the Scythians, accompanied by Miltiades. After returning from this expedition, he spent a year at Sardis, which should be the year 4206 of the Julian period, 508 years before our era. The Scythians then made an incursion into the Chersonesus. We have here a period of ten years. How then can our author say, that † Miltiades had arrived but a short time, when events occurred still

\* Van Eldik, Suspicionum Specimen, p. 20.

† Miscellan. Lipsiensis nova, Vol. viii. p. 310.

‡ Marcellanus in Vita Thucydidis.

§ Xenoph. Expedit. Cyri Junioris, lib. vii. cap. ii. p. 397.

\* Thucyd. lib. ii. § xxix. p. 115, Aristophan. Acharn. vers. 145. et ibi Scholiast.

more vexatious than the previous ones? These events were—his arrival in the Chersonesus, the manner in which he seized on the sovereign power by arresting the first persons in the country, the necessity he was under of raising troops to maintain himself in it, the commotions excited by his proceedings, and which it became necessary to quell. Though Herodotus passes over these occurrences in two words, they must have occupied a period of six or seven years; nor is this space so long, but he might with propriety say, that Miltiades had but recently arrived in the Chersonesus, when affairs still more embarrassing arose. By these last vexations, I understand the invasion of the Chersonesus by the Scythians, which occurred three years 'after these events,' i. e. after the entire pacification of the Chersonesus. So far, therefore, we are in accordance with settled dates. What follows does not reconcile itself so easily: *ταῦτα μὲν δὲ πρὶν ἐπεὶ πρότερον ἐγγύοντα τῶν τότε μὲν κατεχόμενων*. I think, however, that in understanding by *ταῦτα*, not only the invasion of the Scythians, but also the return of Miltiades to the Chersonesus, and by *τῶν τότε μὲν κατεχόμενων*, the commencement of the troubles in Ionia, all will be explained. The invasion of the Scythians, and the return of Miltiades to the Chersonesus, must have been in the year 4207 of the Julian period, 507 years before our era. The taking of Miletus was in the third year of the 70th Olympiad, that is to say the year 4216 of the Julian period, 498 years B. C.; it follows, then, that the commencement of the troubles in Ionia, which, according to Herodotus, preceded the taking of that city six years, must have been in the year 4210 of the Julian period, 504 years before our era: by this computation, therefore, we find that Miltiades returned into the Chersonesus three years before the breaking out of these troubles. I shall abide by this explanation, till a more satisfactory solution shall be furnished.

M. Bellanger understood by *τῶν τότε μὲν κατεχόμενων*, the arrival of the Phœnician fleet at Tenedos; but this, as well as all the rest of his explanation, is absurd, as that event was more than ten years posterior to the return of Miltiades into the Chersonesus. M. Weaselung points out the difficulty; but as he considers the text corrupt, he thinks that it can be obviated only by the assistance of Mss. more perfect than those to which we have access.

XLII. *Νεῖκος*] *Hostilities*. The term is used for war, both in Homer and in our author, Book VII. § CLVIIII.

*Χρήσιμα κἀπρά*] *Useful regulations*. In the margin of the Greek edition of Stephens, and in the Ms. B of the Royal Library, we read after these words, *τοῦτον τοῦ ἔτους*, 'this same year;' which is one of those repetitions we often meet with in Herodotus.

Καὶ μὴ ἀλλήλους φέρειν τε καὶ ἄγειν] *Without having recourse to violent means.* In the Greek, 'and not to carry off one another's effects, to make no more prisoners, nor to drive away each other's cattle.' On this expression ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν, see my translation of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, Book v. note 50., and also the note to § xc. of this Book of Herodotus.

XLIII. Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γωβρύεω] *Mardonius, son of Gobryas.* Gobryas was one of the seven conspirators who dethroned the magian Smerdis. He was a relation of Darius, for we learn from Diodorus Siculus,\* that Mardonius was cousin to Xerxes: he was, moreover, his brother-in-law, ἀνεψιὸς μὲν καὶ κηδεστὴς ἦν Ἐλξον.

Στρατὸν ναυικόν] *Intended to be embarked in the ships.* Ναυικὸς στρατὸς is not here a naval armament, as it was impossible to convey vessels from Persia to Cilicia; but signifies troops intended to man vessels. This is one of the explanations proposed by Isaac Casaubon in a note upon Strabo, Book i. p. 82.

Ὡς δὲ παραπλῆν την Ἀσίην, ἀνίκετο ἐς την Ἰωνίην] *After having coasted along Asia, he came to Ionia.* M. Wesseling remarks that this expression had appeared ridiculous to some author, because Ionia is a part of Asia. This critic would therefore prefer reading, 'after having coasted along Caria.' But, answers M. Wesseling, any one going from Cilicia to Ionia, must pass the coasts of Pamphylia and Lycia: why, then, does the author of the amendment overlook those two countries? The fact is that Herodotus means, all that part of the Asiatic coast which lay between the port from which they set sail, and Ionia; and in this sense the expression is perfectly defensible.

XLIV. Μακεδόνας] *Those of the Macedonians.* In the Greek, 'he reduced the Macedonians to slavery, not reckoning those that had submitted.' A part of Macedonia had presented the Persians with earth and water, as we have seen in the preceding Book, § xviii.

XLVI. Δεωτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τούτῳ] *The second year after, &c.* Miletus was taken in the third year of the 70th Olympiad. In the year following, the Persians† took possession of the islands of Chios, Tenedos, &c., made prisoner Metiochus, son of Miltiades,‡ and restored peace to Ionia. I am of opinion that the year 4218 of the Julian period, or 496 years before our era, which comprises the last six months of the fourth year of the 70th Olympiad, and the first six months of the first year of the 71st Olympiad, was employed in preparations for the war against the Greeks, and that Mardonius set off, as Herodotus says,§ in the beginning of the spring of the year 4219 of the Julian

\* Diodor. Sic. lib. xi. § i. p. 408.

† Herodot. lib. vi. § xxxi.

‡ Herodot. lib. vi. § xli.

§ Ibid. § xliii.

period, 495 years before our era, and about the end of the first year of the 71st Olympiad. He returned in the same year with disgrace into Asia, after having been checked by a tempest, and lost many of his troops by the hands of the Brygi. The second year after this, that is, the fourth year of the 71st Olympiad, the Thasians were obliged to destroy their walls. In the same year<sup>a</sup> Darius sent heralds to all parts of Greece, demanding earth and water. The first and second years of the following Olympiad were employed in preparations for war; in the third year the battle of Marathon was fought, which was ten years before that of Salamis,<sup>b</sup> the latter having taken place in the first year of the 75th Olympiad.

Such is the order in which, according to my calculation, these events occurred. Father Petavius and M. Wesseling do not altogether agree with me; but in the first place I have proceeded from certain established dates, and then have arranged the intermediate events agreeably to the account of Herodotus. The following table will make this calculation more clear.

	Julian period.	Years B. C.	Olympiad.
Miltiades retires into the Chersonesus . . . . .	4196	518	65 3
Hipparchus is killed . . . . .	4200	514	■ 3
Hippias is expelled . . . . .	4204	510	■ 2
Stay of Darius at Sardis . . . . .	4206	508	68 1
Invasion of the Chersonesus by the Scythians . . . . .	4207	507	2
Commencement of the troubles in Ionia . . . . .	4210	504	■ 1
Taking of Miletus . . . . .	4216	498	70 3
Taking of Chios, Tenedos, and pacification of Ionia . . . . .	4217	497	4
Preparations for war against Greece by Darius . . . . .	4218	496	71 1
Departure of Mardonius; his return into Asia . . . . .	4219	495	1
The Thasians raze their walls; the heralds of Darius go into Greece demanding earth and water . . . . .	4221	493	4
New preparations of the Persians against Greece . . . . .	4222 4223	{ 492 491	{ 72 1 & 2
Battle of Marathon . . . . .	4224	490	3
Battle of Salamis . . . . .	4234	480	75 1

<sup>a</sup> Herodot. lib. vi. § xlviii.<sup>b</sup> Thucyd. lib. i. § xlvii.

Θασιῶν] *The Thasians, &c.* In the Greek, 'Darius first sent orders to the Thasians, &c.' *Ἡρώτα*, which I have not expressed in my translation, answers to *perà dè touta*, in § XLVIII.

Ναὺς μακρὰς] *In constructing ships of war.* In the text, 'long vessels.' See note on § II. Book I. In the Ms. A of the Royal Library we read *ἐχρόαντο*, which is an Ionism.

Ἐκ τῆς ῥῆς ἡττίου] *From the continent.* The Thasians<sup>a</sup> had mines and excellent lands on the coast of Thrace.

Ἐκ μὲν γε τῶν, &c.] *At least.* The particle *γε* indicates that the mines on the continent, which were at Scapta-Hyla, produced 80 talents, at least. Without this particle the reasoning would be defective. In fact, the produce of the mines of the island not being so great as that of Scapta-Hyla, which was estimated at only 80 talents,<sup>b</sup> how could they together make 200,<sup>c</sup> or even 300<sup>d</sup> talents? This is not explained either by translators or commentators. The reasoning depends entirely on the particle *γε*; but I apprehend that in this sum total, we must include the produce of the lands of both the island and the continent.

Λ. Ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς] *The orders.* So in the Greek; which may likewise signify, 'following the instructions which he had received by letter.' At this distance of time, it is difficult to decide which of these two expressions is the better; but the difference is of very little importance.

Καταχάλκου τὰ κέρα] *Arm well your horns.* Cleomenes here alludes to the name of Crios, which signifies a ram. It is thus that Cicero ridicules Verres,<sup>e</sup> who had ravaged Sicily. "*Videtis Ver-ratium? videtis primas litteras integras? videtis extremam partem nominis, caudam illam Verris, tanquam in luto, demersam esse in litura?*"

LII. Ἀργεῖν] *Argia.* She was the sister of Theras, uncle and guardian of Eurysthenes and Procles. See Book IV. § CXLVII. This princess was of the most illustrious birth, being descended in a direct line from Cadmus. Thus:

CADMUS. . . . Harmonia.  
|  
POLYDORUS.  
|  
LABDACUS.  
|  
LAIUS.  
|  
ŒDIPUS.  
|

<sup>a</sup> Thucyd. lib. i. c. c.

<sup>b</sup> 432,000 liv. (£18,000.)

<sup>c</sup> 1,040,000 liv. (£45,000.)

<sup>d</sup> 1,020,000 liv. (£67,500.)

<sup>e</sup> Cicero. Actio II. in Verrem, lib. ii. § LXVIII.



POLYNICES had by Argia, daughter of Adrastus, king of Argos :\*

THERSANDER.

TISAMENUS.

AUTESION.

THERAS, and Argia.

This princess married Aristodemus, father of Eurysthenes and Procles, who were the two first kings of Lacedæmon. Thus Theras and Argia were descended from Cadmus in the tenth generation.

\**Ἢ καὶ πρὸ τούτων*] *Any better than formerly.* I understand, with M. Wesseling, *μᾶλλον* before *ἢ καὶ πρὸ τούτων*. With respect to the rest of the sentence, I do not think, with M. Valckenæer, that it requires any change. *Καὶ τὸ κᾶρα λέγειν ταῦτα*, 'and she to maintain these things,' signifies that she did not know which of the two was the older; *εἰδέναι μὲν*, 'not that she was ignorant,' *βουλομένην δέ*, 'but because she wished, &c.' A point must be placed after *διαγινώσκειν*. *Λέγειν* depends on *λέγουσι*, which goes before; and I suppress *τὸ*, which only perplexes the sentence.

LIII. *Ἰθαγενέας*] *Originally of Egypt.* Born in the country. This is the same as *αὐθαγενεῖς*. Hesychius explains *αὐθαγενεῖς* by *ἰθαγενεῖς*, *αὐτόχθον*. Had Herodotus thought that Danaüs was the brother of Sesostris, and the same with Armaïs, he had here a very good opportunity of informing us of it, as also in Book II. § XCI. But he was so far from thinking this, that he affirms, in the passage last cited, that Danaus and Lynceus were of the city of Chemmis. We must therefore consider the genealogy of Danaus, as given by Manethon, as a fable invented by that writer. See my Essay on the Chronology of Herodotus, chap. x. § IV. p. 322. and following.

LIV. *Περσεύς*] *Perseus.* "Perseus, according to the remark of Le Clerc on Hesiod, (*Theogon.* vers. 280.) is a Phœnician word, signifying 'a horseman.' It is therefore an epithet as well as a proper name, and was appropriate to Perseus, on account of his horse Pegasus. I have a reason, however, for not adopting this Phœnician etymology; which is, that Perseus had a son named Peres, who gave his name to the Persians, (Book VII. § LXI.) Perseus and Peres are nearly the same name. Now the name of Peres, and consequently that of the Persians, is written with 'samech,' and not with 'scin.' Esdr. cap. II. &c."—BELLANGER.

*Τοὺς δὲ Ἀχαιῶν γε πατέρας*] *The ancestors of Acrisius.* "If the tradition which Herodotus relates here, and in Book VII. § LXI. is really that of the Persians, viz. that Perseus was the son of Jupiter

\* Apollodori Biblioth. lib. I. cap. IX. p. 46.

and Danaë, and that by Andromeda he had Perses, who gave his name to the Persian nation, then the Greeks and the Persians agree as to who were his father and mother; but if the latter will not acknowledge Acrisius for the grandfather of Perseus, nor for one of his relations, Danaë must be an Assyrian."—WESSELIING.

LV. "Ο τι] *How*. The second *ὅτι* must be separated, (*ὅ, τι*), as has been pointed out by Reiske, and after him by Wesseling. 'Ἀποδεχόμενοι' does not come from ἀποδέχομαι, but from ἀποδεκνέμενι. Gronovius is mistaken in rendering *ὅ, τι ἀποδεχόμενοι* *εἰλαβον τὰς Δωρίων βασιλείας*, 'quod autem in regna Doriensium successerint, et ea acceperint'; it should be, 'Qua re patrati regna Doriensium acceperint.'

LVI. Διὸς τε Λακεδαιμόνος] *Jupiter Lacedæmonius*. Herodotus is the only author who mentions Jupiter as worshipped under this name. Therefore nothing certain can be advanced on the subject. I conjecture, however, that Λακεδαίμων is the 'Jupiter tonans,' which comes from λακτεῖν, 'sonare;' and is therefore the same with ὑψιβρεμέτης.

Ἐκατὸν δὲ ἄνδρας λογάδας ἐπὶ στρατιῇ φυλάσσειν αὐτοῖς] *A hundred chosen men for their guard*. Thucydides, who was well informed as to the Lacedæmonian government, asserts that these kings had three hundred men as their guard. "Τῷ δ' ἄλλῳ στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ μέσῳ, ἥπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἄγις ἦν, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν οἱ τριακόντιοι ἰππῆς καλούμενοι, προσπεσόντες, &c. 'falling on them with the rest of the army, and principally the troops of the centre, where King Agis was, with the three hundred men of his guard, called Knights.' See Book vii. § ccv. note 1.; Book viii. § cxxiv. note 2.

When the kings of Lacedæmon were not with the army, they had no guard. A prince who considers himself to be raised to the throne only for the welfare of his people, has no need of defence against them; their affections are the strongest rampart he can oppose to his enemies. The father of a family does not take strangers into his service to defend him from his own children.

This is very pretty theory; but experience has taught us, that in a numerous family there may be unnatural children, and that it is necessary for the chief to be always attended by such a force as may repel the evil designs of the wicked.

LVII. Ἀπὸ τούτων πρῶτον ἀρχεσθαι] *They are served the first*. So in the Greek; but we must understand τὰ κρεῖα νέμοντας.

Διπλήσια] *Twice as much as*. This was an ancient custom, frequently mentioned by Homer. At their festivals, each guest had a portion served him, as is now practised among those who lead a mo-

\* Thucyd. lib. v. § lxxv. p. 861.

nestic life. Such as they wished to honour, were supplied with a double portion. Xenophon\* has well observed on this, that Lycurgus granted to the king the distinction of a double portion, not that he might eat twice as much as any one else, but that he might bestow it on whomsoever he pleased.

*Ἰστίον τέλειον*] *A perfect victim.* This is said of an animal of full age, and which is not mutilated. See Budæus, *Comment. Linguae Græcæ*, p. 626.

*Προεδρίας*] *The place of honour.* Wherever the king came, all rose, in token of respect to him, except the Ephori,<sup>b</sup> whose office was in a manner superior to the royal dignity, as it was instituted in the view of controlling it.

*Προξένους*] *Proxeni.* *Ξένος* is a man who receives into his house a friend who is on his journey, or who is so received when travelling himself. *Προξένος* is a person commissioned by the state to receive ambassadors, and the deputies of either princes or cities. See Eustathius on Homer, Vol. III. p. 405, line 36. The states of Greece had in all the cities, to which they were in the habit of sending deputies, accredited persons, by whom these deputies were entertained. These were also called Proxeni. This word is frequently met with in the orations of Demosthenes, and especially in that for the Crown.

The Proxenus not only entertained the ambassadors, but was likewise commissioned to present them to the assembly of the people, and procure them an audience. \* *Πρόξενος μὲν ἔστιν, ὁ τοὺς ἀπ' ἄλλης πόλεως ἀναδεχόμενος· καὶ προσόδου φροντίζων τῆς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον αὐτῶν.*

*Προσκέισθαι*] *It is one of their prerogatives.* This is the true meaning of *προσκέισθαι*; Eustathius<sup>c</sup> explains it by *γέρας εἶναι*.

*Πυθίους δύο*] *Two Pythians.* Those who were sent to consult the oracle of Delphi were termed *Θεοπρόποι*; at Lacedæmon they gave them the name of Pythians, *Πύθιοι*. They lived with the kings, as Herodotus says, and as is confirmed by Xenophon in<sup>d</sup> his treatise on the Lacedæmonian Republic. The inscriptions<sup>e</sup> found at Calama, at Amyclæ, and at Pharæ, by the Abbé Fourmont, rank them immediately after the kings. Eustathius<sup>f</sup> says that there was at Delphi a college of priests called Theopropi, who, according to Herodotus, were maintained, together with the kings, at the public expense. \* *Ἡ δὲ καὶ γάρμα τι θεῖον ἐν Δελφοῖς, οἱ Θεοπρόποι, οἱ καθ' Ἡρόδοτον ἐστρουγγο*

\* Xenoph. de Republ. Lacedæmon. cap. xv. § iv. p. 98.

<sup>b</sup> Id. ibid. cap. xv. § vi. p. 99. Nicolaus Damascen. de Moribus Gentium apud Eusebium, Seru. xlv. p. 294. l. 7.

<sup>c</sup> Michopul. *περὶ Ζηδ.*, p. 119.

<sup>d</sup> Eustath. in Homer. *Iliad.* lib. iii. Vol. 44.

i. p. 165. lin. 21.

<sup>e</sup> Xenoph. de Republ. Lacedæm. cap. xv. § v. p. 98.

<sup>f</sup> Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom. xv. p. 396.

<sup>g</sup> Eustath. *Com. in Iliad.* A. p. 55. lin.

μετὰ τῶν Βασιλέων τὰ δημόσια. But if these Pythians lived at Delphi, how could they be maintained with the kings? It is clear that the passage of Eustathius is altered, and that we must read ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ.

Παρρούχος παρθένος] *An heiress.* The Greek κληρος signifies a certain portion of land or other property, an inheritance; κληρούχος, the person who possesses the inheritance; ἐπίκληρος, she who, having neither father, mother, nor brother, is sole heiress. Some also call it ἐπιπαρίς and παρρούχος. Schol. Platonis ad Legg. i. p. 567. E.: ἐπιπαρίς is a Doric word, and παρρούχος is Attic. See the Lexicon of Tinnæus, on the word παρρούχου παρθένου, with the learned note of M. Ruhnken; Hesychius at the word ἐμπαγμῶ, and the note of M. Hemsterhuis.

Δύο ψήφους] *Two votes.* Thucydides<sup>a</sup> asserts the contrary: and it is to be presumed, that being a man connected with the government of Lacedæmon, and perfectly acquainted with all its details, he is in the right. Lucian, however, says with our historian,<sup>b</sup> that the kings of Sparta had each two votes; but perhaps he advances this only on the authority of Herodotus. The scholiast of Thucydides remarks, that the kings had in the senate but one voice each, but that that one had the force of two; and in this way we may reconcile the two historians.

LVIII. Ἀριθμῶ τῶν περσίων] *A certain number of Lacedæmonians.* Ἀριθμῶ τῶν περσίων. Ἀριθμῶ signifies 'a certain number, a determinate number.' See the note of M. Valckenæer.

Οἱ περσίοι were, if we might depend on Heinsius, the same<sup>c</sup> as the Helots; but that critic is mistaken. Herodotus clearly distinguishes them, Book ix. § xxviii.; for the 5000 Lacedæmonians here mentioned can be no other than the Peræci. Neither were they freed Helots, as appears by the following passage of Xenophon:<sup>d</sup> ἐν δὲ τῇ Βυζαντίῳ ἦν Κλέαρχος ἄρμοστής, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν περσίων τῖνές, καὶ τῶν νεοδαμωδῶν οἱ πολλοί. 'Clearchus, who was governor at Byzantium, had with him some of the inhabitants of the neighbouring cities of Sparta, and a small number of freed men.'

I have remarked, that wherever the Peræci are mentioned in opposition to the Spartans, we are to understand the inhabitants of the cities and towns of Laconia, with the exception of Sparta.

ἄρσις Σπαρτιηρέων signifies, 'without reckoning the Spartans,' as has been noticed by M. Bellanger in his Critical Essays on the translations of Herodotus, p. 179, and by M. Valckenæer in a note on this passage. M. Wesseling, it should seem, was of a contrary opinion,

<sup>a</sup> Thucyd. lib. i. § xs. p. 17.

<sup>b</sup> Lucian. Harmonid. § iii. Vol. i. p. 285.

<sup>c</sup> Hein. in Notæ ad Max. Tyr. p. 138.

ex edit. Cantabrig. 1703. Bro.

<sup>d</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. lib. i. cap. lx. § 2. p. 22.

because Lycurgus forbade the use of\* mourning and lamentations amongst the Spartans; but I am induced to suppose, that they were forbidden by that legislator only in the case of private individuals, and not when the loss concerned the state at large.

In the Mss. A and B of the Royal Library, we read ἀναγκαστοὺς instead of ἀναμαστοὺς, which is the reading I have followed, and which has also been adopted by M. Wesseling.

LX. Αἰγυπτίους] *With the Egyptians.* Diodorus Siculus† asserts the same thing of the Egyptians, and Dicæarchus‡ says, by virtue of a law of Sesonchis, (Sesostris,) no one in Egypt could cast off the profession of his father.

LXI. Προεργαζόμενον] *Was occupied . . . not only, &c.* I have endeavoured to express the force of the preposition in the verb προεργάζομαι, 'insuper operam do.'

Ἄγῃ] *Jealousy.* We must necessarily read ἄγῃ, and not ἀγῃ, as in the preceding editions. We find this latter word in three of the Mss. of the Royal Library; but in that marked B, it has been added by a more recent hand. Ἄγῃ signifies 'jealousy.' Suidas affirms that Herodotus uses this word in the sense of Βασιλῆα. M. Valckenæer§ perceived that it was necessary to substitute ἀγῃ for ἀγῃ, and most likely Valla so read it, as he translates 'invidiâ et odio.'

Ἐπιβίον] *An action.* It means properly an action raised against a person who pretends to be of a family, to which, in fact, he does not belong. See Julius Pollux, lib. ii. cap. iv. segm. cc. p. 261.

Αἰσχρὴν] *Ugly.* "Pausanias" says that, whilst a girl, she was the most ordinary woman that Lacedæmon ever produced, but that Helen rendered her the most beautiful of women. Παρθένων μὲν τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι αἰσχρότην, γυναικῶν δὲ τὸ εἶδος καλλίστην ὑπὸ Ἑλένης γινέσθαι. This agrees with the account of Herodotus. The Abbé Gedoyñ, however, makes him say, that Ariston married the most beautiful woman that had been seen in Sparta since the days of Helen, but likewise the most debauched and most contemptible. M. Gedoyñ has been misled by the Latin translation, and even this he does not appear to have understood. 'Turpissimam' in this translation is to be understood strictly, and not figuratively. He has repeated the same blunder in Vol. xiv. of the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions, p. 261. col. 1. note a."—BELLANGER.

Ἀνθρώπων τε ἀλγίων] *Very rich people.* The lands of Laconia

\* Plutarch. Institut. Laconic. p. 238.

inceditis, p. 120.

† Diodor. Sic. lib. i. § lxxiv pp. 85, 86.

• Pausanias Laconic. sive lib. iii. cap.

• Scholiast. ad Apollon. Rhod. lib. iv. vers. 373.

vin. p. 220.

• Dissertat. de Scholis in Homerum

§ In his translation of Pausanias, Vol. i. p. 261.



having been<sup>a</sup> equally divided amongst all the citizens, and gold and silver having being proscribed<sup>b</sup> in the Republic of Sparta, upon pain of death,<sup>c</sup> how could there be any rich people there? Cupidity, more powerful than laws, had closed the eyes of justice to a multitude of abuses.

Τοῦ Φοιβήτου ἱερῶ] *The Temple of Phœbeum.* We are the more disposed to think, that we ought here to read 'the temple Ephebæum,' or of the Ephebi, 'Ἐφηβαίων, as Pausanias informs us in two places, that in it the Ephebi, 'the youths,' sacrificed to Mars. In the first of the passages alluded to<sup>d</sup> he calls it 'Ἐφηβαίων, and in the other<sup>e</sup> Φοιβαίων. Sylburgius, who did not advert to the passage of Herodotus, thinks that in the second passage of Pausanias we should read 'Ἐφηβαίων. This temple, situated a little above Therapne, was<sup>f</sup> consecrated to Apollo, to Castor, and Pollux. From this we may conclude, that it bore the name of the first of these divinities. The Abbé Gedyon, who was not sufficiently informed to detect the error of Sylburgius, has copied it with his usual servility.

LXIII. Δέκα μῆνας] *Ten months.* The usual period of pregnancy for women is nine months; it sometimes exceeds this, but sometimes parturition takes place at the end of the seventh. The ancients usually reckoned it at ten months, because their year was lunar. The nine months of our solar year amount to 274 days; nine lunar months make only 265 days; thus the full term will encroach nine days upon the tenth month; which caused the ancients to reckon ten months as the term of pregnancy.

Καθημένος ἐν θώκῳ] *Was sitting with the Ephori.* 'Sitting in council.' This is an imitation of the third verse of the 5th Book of the Odyssey:

Οἱ δὲ θεοὶ θωκόνδε καθίζανον.

Eustathius explains this passage very clearly: λέγει δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐκκλησιάζειν, θωκόνδε καθίζανον. We might conclude that Ariston was at this moment sitting with the Ephori only, in a place appropriated to their meetings, and which was called Ἐφορεῖον. But Pausanias prevents us from taking the word in this sense; for he says positively that<sup>g</sup> he was then in the senate with the Ephori, αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν Ἐφόρων καθημένῳ γηρυκαῦτα ἐν βουλῇ.

Ἐπὶ δακτύλων συμβαλλόμενος τοῖς μῆνας] *He calculated the months*

<sup>a</sup> Plutarch. in Lycurgo, p. 44. A.

<sup>b</sup> Id. ibid. p. 44. D.

<sup>c</sup> Nicolaus Damascen. de Moribus Gentium apud Stob. Sermon. xlii. p. 293.

<sup>d</sup> Pausan. Lacon. sive lib. iii. cap. xiv. p. 242. lin. ultims.

<sup>e</sup> Id. ibid. cap. xi. p. 220.

<sup>f</sup> See my Geographical Table, Article THERAPNE.

<sup>g</sup> Eustathiad Homeri Odys. v. p. 1520. lin. 37.

<sup>h</sup> Pausan. Laconic. seu lib. iii. cap. vii. p. 211.

*upon his fingers.* All calculations were made by the ancients with the assistance of their fingers only. This cannot be doubted, after the frequent mention made of it by various authors. I shall not, however, undertake to explain how these arithmetical operations were performed, but merely observe, that all numbers up to 100 were calculated on the left hand, that the 100th began on the right hand, and the 200th returned to the left. It is thus that we must understand the following verses of Juvenal:

\* *Felix nimirum, qui tot per arcula mortem  
Distulit, atque suos jam dextrâ computat annos.*

See the interesting note of M. Dusaulex on this passage. We may add that this custom subsisted so late as the time of St. Augustine, that is to say, A. D. 426. That illustrious and learned father of the church thus expresses himself in his immortal work, *De Civitate Dei*, Book XVIII. chap. LIII. "Omnium vero de hac re calculantium digitos resolvit, et quiescere jubet ille qui dicit, 'non est vestrum scire tempora, quæ Pater in sua posuit potestate.'"

LXIV. *Κλεομένης διεβλήθη μεγάλως*] *Cleomenes having conceived an aversion for, &c.* Literally, 'he was become perfectly odious to Cleomenes.' *Διοβᾶλλεσθαι* is often taken in this sense, as has been proved by Casaubon in his notes on Strabo, Book XVII. p. 1142. There wants a colon, and not a comma, after *Βασιλῆως*, as we find in the Mss. of the Royal Library.

*Ἀπαγαγὼν τὴν στρατὸν ἐξ Ἐλευσίως*] *When he brought back the army from Eleusis.* See Book V. § LXXV.

LXV. *Τὸν Ἄγιος*] *Of Agesilaus.* In all the copies of Herodotus, all the Mss. consulted by M. Wesseling, and in those of the Royal Library, we read *Agis*. *Agis* was not the son of Menares, but *Agesilaus* was, as we shall see hereafter, (lib. VIII. § CXXXI.) *Leutychides* is an Ionism. In the ordinary language it was called *Leotychides*, as we find in Thucydides.<sup>b</sup> See also the Ionian Lexicon of Æmiliius Portus, at the word *Εἰ*.

*Ἀρμυσίμενος*] *Because being betrothed.* So in the text, which has been translated, 'cum sponsam haberet.' Had *Leotychides* been married to *Percale*, *Demaratus* would not have been suffered to take her away from him. *Ἀρμόσασθαι* signifies, 'to betroth.' This word has been ill rendered, Book III. § CXXCVII. *ὅτι ἤρμυσται τὴν Μίλωνος θυγατέρα*, 'duxisse uxorem *Milonis* filiam.' It should have been translated, 'despondisse sibi *Milonis* filiam.' The expression is properly rendered in Book V. § LXVII. *ὅς ἄρμυσάμενος Τηλεὺς τοῦ Συβαρίων θυγατέρα*, 'qui desponsa sibi filia *Telyos Sybaritæ*.'

\* Juvenal, Sat. x. vers. 248.

<sup>b</sup> Thucyd. lib. i. § LXXIX.

*Χίλων*] *Chilo*. This Chilo is not the same that was accounted one of the seven Sages. Herodotus has mentioned him, Book i. § 11x., and he mentions him again, Book vii. § ccxxxv. : he was the son of Damagetes; whereas the one here spoken of was the son of Demarmenes.

*Αὐτὸν οὐκ ἰκνεμένως βασιλεύειν Σπαρτητέων*] *The crown of Sparta did not legitimately belong to him*. Eurysthenes and Procles, sons of Aristodemus, were both appointed kings, as we have seen above. They became the stocks of two royal families, who gave kings to the state so long as the republic endured. The crown always descended to the eldest of the king's children, and on the death of the eldest without children, it passed to the youngest. Thus if the king had no children, his brother, or if he had no brother, his nearest relation, acceded to the throne on his demise.

LXVI. *Ἀνωϊστον δὲ γενόμενον*] *Having been referred*. 'Re vero relata.' See M. Valckenaar's note on Book i. § clvii., and also on this passage. All the preceding translations were unintelligible.

LXVII. *Γυμνοπαιδία*] *The Gymnopædiæ*. The Gymnopædiæ at Sparta was a festival in which naked children sang the praises of Apollo, and of the three hundred Lacedæmonians who fell at the battle of Thermopylæ: *ἑορτὴ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐν ᾗ παῖδες ἤδον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι παῖδας γυμνοὶ εἰς τοὺς περὶ Πύλαιαν πεσόντας*.

The Gymnopædiæ were celebrated on the 7th or 8th of the month Hecatombeon, which answers to the 20th or 21st July. The battle of Leuctra was fought on the 5th of that month, and the news of it reached Sparta on the last day of the games.<sup>d</sup> The populace were then in the theatre witnessing them, and the chorus of men had already entered.<sup>e</sup> These games therefore must have lasted several days, and men were admitted to them, not children exclusively.

Though I have said that the children were naked, it must not be supposed that they were entirely so. The middle of the body was covered by a girdle. The Greeks usually understand by *γυμνός*, a man but slightly clothed. "At the time of the Lupercalia,"<sup>f</sup> says Plutarch, "the young people of the most illustrious families, and many magistrates, run naked through the town, carrying in their hand large thongs covered with their own hair, with which they strike, as in jest, all those whom they meet." Had they been entirely naked, this custom would have been highly indecent. And what proves that they were not so is, that the same author, in his life of Romulus, speaking of the Lu-

<sup>a</sup> Cragius de Republ. Lacedæm. lib. ii. cap. ii. pp. 92, 93.

<sup>b</sup> Etymolog. Magn. p. 242.

<sup>c</sup> Plutarch. in Agésilæ, p. 612. A.

<sup>d</sup> Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. vi. cap. iv. § xvi. p. 398.

<sup>e</sup> Plutarch. in Agésilæ, p. 612. A.

<sup>f</sup> Idem, in Cæsaræ, Vol. i. p. 726. D.

percalia, says, "They then make\* thongs of these goats' skins, and having fastened round their middle a bandage, they run out naked, striking with the thongs whomsoever they meet." This second passage explains the first. Neither must we believe that the gymnosophists of India went absolutely naked; they wore a bundage round their bodies, which prevented any indecent exposure. St. Augustine positively asserts this:† "Per opacas quoque Indio solitudines, cum quidam nudi philosophentur, unde gymnosophistæ nominantur; adhibent tamen genitalibus tegmina, quibus per cætera membrorum carent."

LXVIII. Ἐσθίς ἐς τὰς χεῖρας] *He put into his hands.* In taking an oath, the ancients laid their hand upon the victim, which was called ὀμνῆσαι κατὰ, or ἐπὶ τῶν σφαγίων, ἐπὶ ἐμπύρων, ἐπὶ τῶν τομίων. The ancient authors abound in these modes of expression.

Τοῦ Ἑρκείου Διὸς] *Hercæan Jupiter.* The enclosure round a house was called ἔρκος; and within this enclosure they erected altars to Jupiter, who, for this reason, was called Hercæan. He was the protector of the house. "Hercæus Jupiter intra conceptum domûs cuiusque colebatur, quem etiam deum penetralem appellabant." Hence the names of Cortals and of Septitius, by which Jupiter was known amongst the Latins. Servius has also said, "dictus autem Jupiter Hercæus, quia ara ejus erat intra aulam et septum parietem edificata, quod Græce ἔρκος dicitur." Jupiter was adored by this name not only in private houses, but also in the citadel of Athens. Philochorus, in the 9th Book of his Attic History, relates, that a bitch having entered the temple of Minerva Polias, penetrated into the Pandrosium, and ascended as far as the altar of Jupiter Hercæus, which is under the olive-tree. See also the learned note of M. Brunck, on verse 487. of the *Antigone* of Sophocles.

Ὁ γὰρ λόγος πολλὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ὡς Ἀρίστωνι σπέρμα παιδοποιῶν οὐκ ἐνῆν] *There was even a report current in Sparta, that Ariston was incapable of having children.* In the Greek, "Et multus in urbe Spartâ sermo est, negantium Aristoni fuisse semen procreando aptum."

LXIX. Τοῦ ἥρωϊοῦ Ἀστραβᾶκου] *The chapel of the hero Antrabacus.* Perhaps he had been interred there. The word ἥρῳον may likewise signify that it was his monument; but as he was worshipped as a god,‡ according to the remark of St. Clement of Alexandria, I have decided in favour of the first signification, though I am aware that the monuments of heroes were frequently placed in the little chapels

\* Plutarch. in *Romulo*, Vol. i. p. 31. C.

† S. August. de *Civitate Dei*, lib. xiv. cap. xvii. p. 309. E.

‡ Hægesærat. voc. Ἑρκείος Διὸς, p. 74.

§ Festus de *Verborum Significat.* lib. viii. p. 171.

\* Servius ad *Virgiliæ Æneid.* lib. ii. vers. 506. Vol. ii. p. 280.

† Dionys. Halicarn. in *Dionarcho*, § iii. Vol. ii. p. 181. lin. 23.

‡ Clem. Alexand. *Protrept.* p. 33.

erected in honour of them. This Astrabacus was of the race of the Eurysthenidae, which was the first royal family of Sparta. Irbus\* was his father, Amphisthenes his grandfather, Amphicles his great-grandfather, and Agis his great-great-grandfather. All the notice I can find of him in ancient history is, that having with his brother Alopecus† found the statue of Orthian Diana, which Orestes and Iphigenia had carried away from Tauris, they both lost their senses.

Τῇσι ἀδελφοῖς] *Of the court.* Αὐλή is what the Latins call 'vestibulum,' the true meaning of which, as given by C. Ælius Gallus,‡ is as follows: "Vestibulum esse, dicit, non in ipsis œdibus, neque partem œdium, sed locum ante januam domûs vacuum, per quem a viâ aditus accessusque ad œdes est." Thus the 'vestibulum' was a yard or court, and not what we call a vestibule, πρόδομος. This court or open space before the house was separated from the public way by a wall. The division of the ancient buildings, according to Eustathius,§ was as follows: Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ἀκριβεστέροισι, ἡ τάξις οὕτως· ἔρκος, περὶ ὃ πύλαι· μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἔρκιον, αὐλή· μετ' ἣν, αἴθουσα· εἴτα πρόδομος, δόμος καὶθάλαμος. 'The following is the division of the buildings, according to the most accurate authorities: the outer wall,\* in which is the gate; next is the court; then the portico, the vestibule, the house itself and its apartments.'

LXX. Ἄπτοτο] *And wished to lay hold of.* Such is the force of the imperfect, which frequently denotes an unsuccessful effort to accomplish any thing. See Book 1. note 3. to § LXVIII. We have also remarked on it elsewhere.

Μοῦνος τοῦτο πάντων δὴ τῶν γενομένων βασιλέων] *With no other king.* The other kings of Sparta were perhaps of opinion, as M. Valckenaer remarks, that the victories in the games of Greece were due rather to riches than to courage. The list of the Olympionics is so defective, that we do not know in what year to place the victory of this prince. The learned Father Corsini has omitted it in his list of the Olympionics.

LXXII. Χεῖριδι πλέγ] *Upon a bag.* "These two words were probably in the ancient Mss. joined together, thus, ΧΕΙΡΙΔΗΙΑΕΗ; and hence the copyists have made χεῖρι διπλέγ, or διπλῆ; whereas we should read χεῖριδι πλέγ."—WESSÉLING.

LXXIV. Ἦ μὲν] *He made them promise to, &c.* Such is the formula used by Herodotus in oaths. Those authors who do not write in the Ionic dialect, say ἡ μὲν, which M. Reiske‡ erroneously wishes

\* Pausan. Lacon. sive lib. iii. cap. xvi. p. 249.

† Id. ib'd.

‡ Ant. Cris. Noct. Attic. lib. xvi. cap. v.

§ Eustath. in Hom. Ilud. lib. ix. p.

164. lin. 47.

\* Called by Festus, under the word Hercus, 'conscriptum domûs.'

‡ Miscellan. Læpæus. nova, Vol. viii. p. 312.



to restore in Herodotus, in this passage as well as others. See Gronovius, de Dialectis, p. 223, and the note of the learned M. Koen.

Τὸ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ] *The waters of the Styx.* It appears from this passage, that the Greeks, when they wished to render their oaths inviolable, used to assemble at Nonacris, and there swear by the waters of the Styx. The gods also swore by the Styx, as being the most solemn oath they could take. "This river," says Pausanias, "is mortal both to men and animals." And it was doubtless for this reason that its source was said to be in hell. Its water could be preserved only in vessels made from the hoof of a mule. "Ungulas tantum mularum repertas, neque aliam ullam materiam, quæ non perroderetur a veneno Stygis aquæ." Pausanias attributes the same efficacy to the hoof of the horse, and Plutarch<sup>d</sup> to that of the ass.

Ἐς ἄλκας] *Into a valley.* Gronovius perceived that we must read ἄλκας instead of ἄγγος. This conjecture is supported by several MSS., and, amongst others, by that marked A in the Royal Library. Madame Dacier, in her remarks on the 16th Book of Homer's Iliad, Vol. iii. p. 391, has given a very faulty translation of this passage.

LXXV. Τῶν τῆς Εἰδαρείας] *A Helot.* The Helots, strictly speaking, were the inhabitants of the city of Helos, in Laconia. When the Heraclidæ had conquered a part of the Peloponnesus, wishing to attach their new subjects to them, they granted them very extensive privileges, and even admitted them to the magistracy. Agis, an ambitious prince, not content with depriving them of these privileges, imposed a tribute on them; to which the greater part of the cities, not daring to trust to the fate of war, submitted. The city of Helos alone took up arms. Agis attacked it, and, after an obstinate resistance, conquered it, and reduced its inhabitants to slavery. M. Capperonnier says on this subject, "Pausanias places this event under the reign of Alcamenès, more than 300 years afterwards; but Plutarch and Strabo, who assign it to the reign of Agis, have won me to their opinion." But this critic should have perceived that Pausanias<sup>c</sup> speaks of a second capture of Helos. The Achæans had rebuilt its walls; Alcamenès defeated them, and destroyed the city anew. The Messenians afterwards experienced the same treatment,<sup>d</sup> and at length became one and the same body with the Helots. Those who wish for

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Arcadic. sive lib. viii. cap. xxiij. p. 633.

<sup>b</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxi. cap. xvi. Vol. ii. p. 543.

<sup>c</sup> Pausan. Arcad. sive lib. viii. cap. xviii. p. 636.

<sup>d</sup> Plutarch. in Alexandro, p. 707. A, B.

<sup>e</sup> Strab. lib. viii. p. 661. A.

<sup>f</sup> Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom. xxiij. Mém. p. 273.

<sup>g</sup> Pausan. lib. iii. cap. ii. p. 309.

<sup>h</sup> Pausan. Messen. sive lib. iv. cap. xliii. p. 333.

further information on the subject of the Helots, will do well to consult Cragius de Republicâ Lacedæmoniorum, in preference to the *Mémoires* of M. Capperonnier upon the Helots, which is in Vol. XIII. of the *Mémoires* of the Belles-Lettres.

[Ὁτι τῶν ἑστιῶν ἀνέγνων] *It was a chastisement for inducing the Pythoures, &c.* The intemperance of Cleomenes was the true cause of his frenzy. See § 1.22.214.

[Ἐπεὶ το σέμνος τῶν θεῶν] *But the wood consecrated to the god-deas.* Ceres and Proserpine. *Σέμνος* is properly a piece of ground consecrated to a god. Sometimes this term is taken in a more extensive sense for a temple, and sometimes it signifies a sacred wood, as in § 1.22.212. The term *σεμνὸν*, 'tondeo,' has decided me in favour of the latter signification in this instance.

[Ἐἰ ποὺ τοῦ Ἀργου] *Consecrated to Argos.* The Greek expression is general, and signifies any consecrated place; but as Herodotus, a little further on, explains in the clearest manner what this place was, which was consecrated to Argos, I have not hesitated to particularise it. In fact, after having said, at the close of § 1.22.211., that the Argians had taken refuge in the wood of Argos, *ἐν τῷ ἔλαοι τοῦ Ἀργου εὐσεβήσαντι*, he adds, at the commencement of § 1.22.212. 'those who were within the sacred place,' *τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀπεργυμένους*: now this sacred place can be no other than the wood or grove he had just before mentioned.

This Argos\* was the son of Jupiter by Niobe, daughter of Phorcæus. He gave his name to the city of Argos† and its territory. No temple was ever erected to him, nor had he even a chapel. Pausanias‡ speaks only of his monument, which was doubtless in the grove consecrated to him.

Finally, this Argos was a very different person from him who was surnamed Pannoptes, and who, because nothing escaped the quickness of his sight, was supposed to have eyes all over his body. This latter was the son of Agenor, and great-grandson of the hero above mentioned.

[1.22.216. Πλοῖασι πάντα ἤγαγε] *He embarked them.* He had taken forcible possession of the vessels of the Æginetæ and the Sicyonians. See § 1.22.211.

[1.22.217. Σήματα] *Septis.* I here follow the Ms. B of the Royal Library, in which we read Σήματα. This place is totally unknown, and is not mentioned by any writer but Herodotus. I have not scrupled, however, to follow the reading of this Ms., as we meet with similar

\* Pausan. *Constit.* de la lib. li. cap. 22.212. p. 101. Leconte. *op. cit.* lib. li. cap. 22. p. 101.

† *Id.* *ibid.* cap. xvi. p. 145.

‡ *Id.* *ibid.* cap. xxv. p. 161.

names in various places; a mountain of Arcadia, and the promontory Sepias, in Magnesia, in Thessaly.

[*Ἡ θήλεια νικήσασα*] *When the victorious female.* This oracle is very obscure, nor does Herodotus throw any light on it whatever. The first part of it, however, is clearly explained by Pausanias.\* "When Cleomenes led his troops against the city of Argos, which he imagined was without defenders, Telesilla posted the slaves, and all those who from youth or age were incapable of bearing arms, on the walls. She then collected all the arms which were left in the temples and in the private houses, distributed them among the women who were in the flower of their age, and placed them where she thought the enemy most likely to make their attack. Without being alarmed by the approach of the Lacedæmonians, or by their war cries, these women courageously withstood the shock; but the Lacedæmonians reflecting that if they were successful, such a victory would gain them no honour, and that if they were defeated, the infamy would be doubled, preferred retiring from before the place."

Plutarch relates the same anecdote a little differently; and perhaps the reader will not be displeased to see his account of it.

"Cleomenes,<sup>†</sup> king of the Spartans, having slain in a battle a great number of Argians, but not precisely 7777, as some authors fabulously pretend, marched directly against the city of Argos. The young Argian women being inspired by the gods with a boldness scarcely natural in their sex, took the resolution of making a desperate effort to repel the enemy and preserve their country. Telesilla placed herself at the head of them; they ran to arms, arranged themselves on the walls all round the city, mounted the battlements, and astonished the besiegers. They came to action; Cleomenes lost a great number of men, and was finally repulsed. Demaratus, the other king, as Socrates says, had already entered the city, and occupied the quarter called Pamphyliæon; he yielded to the desperate efforts of these heroines, and retreated, like his colleague. The city having been thus delivered, the survivors buried in the Argian way those of their companions who had fallen in the battle; and were afterwards permitted to erect, in commemoration of their valour, a statue to the god Mars. This battle was fought, according to some, on the 7th, and according to others on the 1st of the month now called 'Tetartus,' (fourth,) anciently called by the Argians 'Hermæus;' the day on which they celebrate, to the present time, a solemn festival termed

\* Pausan. Corinth. sive lib. ii. cap. xi. p. 157.

† Plutarch. de Virtutibus Mulierum. Vol. B. p. 243. D, E.

*Hybristica*," in which the women wear the sagum and cloak of the men, and the men the robes and veils of women."

The magnanimity of the Argian women recalls to mind the courageous conduct of those of Beauvais. Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, having in the year 1472 come with a numerous army to attack the place, then without a garrison, and having taken the suburbs at the first onset, the women and the girls took up arms, and so inspired the citizens, that, supported by a few troops who came to their assistance, they repulsed the Burgundians, and compelled them to raise the siege. The heroines who principally distinguished themselves on this occasion, were Jeanne Hachette and Jeanne Fourquet. The latter took a standard from the enemy. Amongst other privileges granted by Louis XI. to the inhabitants of Beauvais, he commanded a festival to be annually celebrated in that city in honour of St. Angadrème, patroness of Beauvais, in which the women, both in the procession and at the offertory, should take precedence of the men.

As to the second part of the oracle, I shall leave the explanation of it to those who conceive themselves inspired by the god of Delphi, who from the ambiguity of his answers was surnamed, and not improperly, *Λοξίας*, 'obliquus.'

LXXVIII. "*Ὅταν ἐμφύρη ὁ κήρυξ ποιεῖσθαι ἀπαιτῶν*]" *When the herald should give the signal for the repast.* Polyænus relates this stratagem at greater length.<sup>a</sup> "Cleomenes, king of Sparta," says he, "made war on the Argians, and encamped opposite to them. The latter observed with the greatest vigilance all the proceedings of the enemy. If Cleomenes issued his orders to his troops by the voice of a herald, the Argians did the same thing. If they took to arms, the Argians did the same; if the former marched out in order of battle, the latter did so too; if these took their repast, those took theirs; when one side went to rest, the opposite side repaired to theirs. At length Cleomenes gave secret orders, that when the signal for repast was given, his troops should take to arms. On the signal being made, the Argians sat down to table; Cleomenes then fell on them thus disarmed, and slaughtered a great number."

LXXXII. Γε} *At least.* I have here rendered the particle, which qualifies the expression of Herodotus. The Latin translator has omitted it.

LXXXIII. "*Εἰλον πάντα τὰ πρῆγμα*]" *Took into their hands the helm of government.* "The Argians," says Plutarch, "did not adopt the expedient of uniting their slaves in marriage with the wives

<sup>a</sup> The feast of Ignominy.

<sup>c</sup> Plutarch, de Virtut. Mulier. Vol. ii.

<sup>b</sup> Polyæni Strategem. lib. i. cap. xiv. p. 245. E.  
p. 32.

of those whom they had slain, as Herodotus, contrary to truth, asserts; but they granted the right of citizenship to the most deserving of their neighbours, and bestowed on them these widows. But these latter seemed to despise their new husbands, as unworthy of them, and would scarcely deign to admit them to their beds. This was the occasion of a law, ordering the newly married women to wear a false beard when they went to bed to their husbands."

*Ἐνήθησαν*] *Attained the age of puberty.* Valla and the translators into modern tongues have understood this passage correctly; M. Bellanger \* has mistaken it, and has therefore blamed them without reason. *Ἐνήθησαν* is an Ionism for *ἐφήθησαν*.

LXXXIV. *Ἀναβαίνειν*] *Should penetrate into Upper Asia.* This is expressed in Greek by a single word, which, strictly rendered, means 'to ascend.' In almost all the historians it is used to signify retiring from the sea. Both here and in Xenophon it means advancing along the sea-coast towards Upper Asia, and thus towards the centre of the dominions of the great king. The expedition of the Greeks, therefore, which we commonly call the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, is called in Greek *Ἀνάβασις*, because they quitted the sea-shore to proceed towards Babylon.

I have been reproached, in a work printed in Germany, with having rendered the Greek word *Ἀνάβασις*, 'the Retreat of the Ten Thousand.' But this is a gross blunder. I have translated it, 'the expedition of the Greeks into Upper Asia;' at the same time observing, that we commonly term it 'the Retreat of the Ten Thousand.' And we do this with great propriety; because, without reference to the Greek word, we are disposed to consider this expedition in the most favourable point of view, and as having conferred the greatest honour on the Greeks.

It is astonishing that the Spartans, who had given so unfavourable a reception to the proposal of Aristagoras,<sup>b</sup> should have engaged with the Scythians in a plan to penetrate into Upper Asia.

LXXXV. *Τί βούλεσθε ποιεῖν*] *What would you do?* In the Ms. B of the Royal Library, we read *βουλευέσθε* instead of *βούλεσθε*. M. Wesseling approves this reading, which he had found in a Ms. of Dr. Askew's; but as the other reading furnishes an intelligible meaning, I have suffered it to remain. If, however, that of the two Mss. be preferred, it must be translated, 'What have you resolved to do?'

*Ἐπισπόμενον Λευκυχίδα*] *That Leotychides should follow them.* In all the editions we read *ἐπισπόμενον*. M. Reiske, as we find in M. Wesseling's note, proposed to read *ἐπισπόμενον*. His conjecture

\* *Essai de Critique sur les Ecrits de*      \* See Book v. § 1.  
M. Rollin, &c. p. 182.



is certainly right, and is supported by the Ms. A in the Royal Library. In the Ms. B we find *ἐπισπομένοιαι*.

LXXXVI. Γλαῦκον Ἐπικύδου παῖδα] *Glaucus, son of Epicycles.* This Glaucus, if we may rely on Pausanias, was king of Sparta.\* The same author, however, omits him in his list of the kings of that country. The true reading has been preserved by one Phralites, who, in the year 1431, made certain extracts from that author, which we find in the Royal Library. We should read, according to this compiler, Γλαῦκον τῷ Ἐπικύδου Σπαρτιάτῃ βουλευσέντ' ἐπιτορῶν ὁμῖσαι, &c. 'The Pythonesse answered to Glaucus of Sparta, son of Epicycles, who consulted her, that if he perjured himself, &c.' See the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles-Lettres, Vol. xiv. p. 198. Paulmier de Grentemesnil† conjectured that we should read *βουλευσάντας*.

Ἐν χρόνῳ ἱκανούμεν] *The appointed time.* Such is the meaning of this passage, which has been ill rendered by the Latin translator, 'precedente tempore;' it should be 'constituto tempore.' We find in Demosthenes, τοῖς ἀποφθιμένοις ἐν ἱκανούμεν ἡμέρᾳ τελεῖν. 'To offer sacrifices for the dead, at the time appointed by the laws.' In the edition of Lambinus, which I quote, there is ἐνιχνούμενα ἡμέραι-τελεῖν. The two editions of Aldus and that of Wolf have the same reading. It appears by the note of the late M. Reiske, that he is the only critic who has corrected ἐν ἱκανούμεν ἡμέρᾳ τελεῖν; and yet this correction was very obvious. See also Foësi (Economia Hippocratis, p. 279). This expression has proved a stumbling-block to all the translators. Abydenus, speaking of Nebuchadnezzar, says, τῷ δὲ χρόνῳ δὲ τῷ ἱκανούμεν ἡφανισθῆναι, which the Latin translator has improperly rendered, 'ac deinceps mortalium oculis ereptum esse:' it should be, 'He disappeared at the appointed time,' i. e. at the time fixed by the divinity.

Εἰ γε ἀρχὴν μὴ λαβὼν] *At least, if I have received nothing at all.* Ἀρχὴν signifies 'omnino,' as I have already remarked. I express also the particle γε, which is not expletive, as most of the interpreters imagine.

Ἐξερωτῶντα δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ χρηστήριον εἰ ὄρεω τὰ χρήματα ληΐσται] *If he might take possession, &c.* The Greek, word for word, is, 'If he might take possession of that money, as of a booty, by taking an oath.' Glaucus certainly knew what he desired to do. That therefore cannot be the meaning of our author. 'This Spartan had an intention of sounding Apollo, to know if he would suffer him to commit a crime. That is the true meaning of the sentence, which

\* Pausan. Conruth. sive lib. ii. cap. xviii. p. 139. tores, p. 372.

† Apud Euseb. Preparat. Evangel. lib.

‡ Exercitationes in optimas fere Auc- iz, cap. xli. p. 467. C.

has been perfectly well rendered by Juvenal, and by his learned interpreter.

\* *Quærebatur enim, quæ Nondis esset  
Mens, et an hoc illi facinus suaderet Apollo.*

"He consults the Pythoness to know what Apollo will think of it, and whether he shall obtain his consent."

*Ἀφρίκα κέρδιον οὖρον*] *Something agreeable.* All philosophers and moralists have vied with each other in expatiating on the consequences of riches ill acquired, or obtained by false oaths. "If a man," says Theognis,<sup>a</sup> "greedy of wealth, obtain riches by unjust means, or by false oaths, he thinks at the moment that he has secured an advantage; but these riches will ultimately prove a great evil to him, for the will of the gods is above all. Men are deceived, because the gods do not inflict punishment the moment a crime is committed. One man shall pay the penalty himself, the chastisement of another shall fall on the heads of his children. Justice has not yet overtaken this man; but death, seated on his eye-lids, is prepared to strike."

I have followed the corrections of M. Brunck. Any one who takes the trouble of comparing this passage with the new French translation, will be surprised to find that it does not convey any thing like the thought of the Greek poet. See the 27th sentence, p. 30. of that translation.

*Ὀπίον τὰς ῥαῖς ἵερὸν*] *That from the oath shall arise a son.* Making of the oath a kind of divinity, whose son is no other than the divine vengeance.

*Πᾶσαν γενεήν*] *His entire race.* Lycurgus had, no doubt, this oracle in his mind, when, in his oration against Leocrates, he says: "Perjury cannot conceal itself from the gods, nor escape their vengeance. If the offender himself is not the object of it, his children and his whole posterity suffer the heaviest calamities."

Hesiod had expressed the same sentiment several centuries before.<sup>4</sup> "He who knowingly bears false witness," says he, "and perjures himself, inflicts a wound on justice, and commits a crime which nothing can expiate. His race is extinguished and disappears for ever; whilst that of the man faithful to his oaths, prospers through all succeeding ages."

*Ἄνθρωπον τὸν θεὸν παραίετο αὐτῷ ἰσχεῖν τὴν ᾗθευσεν*] *To pardon him.* "Shall we believe," says Plutarch,<sup>c</sup> "that Glaucus, son

<sup>a</sup> Juvenal. Sat. xiii. vers. 100.

<sup>b</sup> Theognidis Sentent. vers. 199. et seq.

<sup>c</sup> Lycurg. contra Leocrat. p. 157. ca. 38. p. 156. D.

<sup>4</sup> Hesiodi Opera et Dies, vers. 258.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch. de Serâ Numinis Vindictâ,

of Epicyles, did not repent of his crime, never was afflicted by it, never was punished for it? For my part, I think it superfluous for either god or man to inflict a punishment upon the wicked; the trouble excited in their souls by their crimes is quite sufficient."

Such was the reasoning of the Epicureans, and it is surprising that the wise Plutarch, who was one of their most strenuous opposers, should be the author of so weak an argument. But what shall we say to Josephus, who, wishing to prove<sup>a</sup> against Polybius, that Antiochus had perished for having robbed the temple at Jerusalem, and not for having intended to pillage that of Diana Elymais, as the Greek historian asserts,<sup>b</sup> adds, 'the intention, without being carried into effect, did not merit punishment?' One is sorry to find such an assertion in the mouth of a Jewish priest. Had he no knowledge of the prophet Zachariah? a passage from whom I shall quote as perfectly applicable to the case of Glaucus: ' "And he said unto me, What seest thou? And I answered, I see a flying roll . . . This is the curse that goeth forth over the face of the whole earth . . . for every one that sweareth, shall be cut off as on that side, according to it. I will bring it forth, saith the Lord of Hosts, and it shall enter into the house . . . of him that sweareth falsely by my name; and it shall remain in the midst of his house, and shall consume it, with the timber thereof, and the stones thereof." The Septuagint, instead of 'volu-men,' read *ἀπάρων*, a scythe.

\* *Ἀποδοῖσθαι οὖν τὰ χρηματά*] *Restored them the deposits.* Stobæus relates a story which has some resemblance to this; the substance of which I will repeat, because his collection is not in the hands of those who generally read translations. Archetimus of Erythræ,<sup>c</sup> in Ionia, left in the hands of his friend Cydias, at Tenedos, a considerable sum in gold. Having afterwards demanded it of him, the latter denied having ever received it, and as the dispute grew warm, it was determined that in three days he should take oath of the fact. Cydias employed this interval in hollowing out a cane, into which he introduced the money of Archetimus, and, the better to conceal his deception, he covered the handle of it with a linen bandage. He went out on the appointed day, leaning on his cane, as if he had been ill; and when he had reached the temple, he handed over his cane to Archetimus, whilst he raised his hands and made oath that he had returned to him the deposit confided to him. Archetimus, indignant, struck the cane violently against the ground; it broke, the gold

<sup>a</sup> Joseph. Antiquit. Jud. lib. xli. cap. ix. § i. p. 821.

<sup>b</sup> Polyb. in Excerptis Valesianis, p. 145.

<sup>c</sup> Zechariah, chap. v. vers. 2. and following.

<sup>d</sup> Stob. Bern. cxvii. p. 302.

fell from it, and the bad faith of Cydias was thus publicly exposed. He was afterwards cut off by an untimely death.

*Ἐκτερεύει re ὑπόβριζος*] *This family is extinct.* Juvenal has turned this story into verse, and the reader, I apprehend, will not be displeased to see in what manner he has done it. I shall subjoin the translation of M. Dusaulx, a man still more to be valued for the qualities of his heart than for those of his mind, and whose translation is imbued with all the energy and fire of the original. See the third edition printed by Didot junior, 1796, Vol. II. p. 271.

\* Spartano cuidam respondit Pythia Vates,  
Haud impunitum quondam fore, quod dubitaret  
Depositum retinere, et fraudem jure tueri  
Jurando : quærebat enim quæ Numinis esset  
Mens, et an hoc illi facinus suaderet Apollo.  
Reddidit ergo motu, non moribus ; et tamen omnem  
Vocem adyti dignam templo, veramque probavit,  
Extinctus totâ pariter cum prole domoque,  
Et quævis longâ deductis gente propinqua.  
Hæc patitur poenas peccandi sola voluntas.

‘A certain inhabitant of Sparta hesitated whether he should retain a treasure intrusted to him, by taking a false oath. He consulted the Pythoness to know what Apollo would think of it, and if he might hope for his consent. This unworthy doubt, answered she, shall not go unpunished. Fear, and not principle, induced him to return the deposit ; nevertheless it was proved, by his death, by that of his children, and the extinction of his whole race, that the oracle was true, and worthy of the holy place. Thus do the gods punish even the intent to do evil.’

I know not whether Cicero, in his *Offices*, had in view this passage of our historian. However, what he says on the subject is so excellent, that I cannot refrain from quoting it.

“Those<sup>b</sup> who have made any progress in true wisdom, will consider it as impious and blameable in the highest degree, to deliberate whether we shall follow that course which we know to be right, or voluntarily stain ourselves with crime. The very doubt is criminal. Were we assured of being able to conceal our actions from the gods as well as from men, we ought not thence to deem ourselves entitled to do that which may be stigmatized as avaricious, unjust, or incontinent . . . A wise man, had he the ring of Gyges, would not for that reason assume a greater license ; for the honest man seeks after what is right, and not after what may be concealed.”

\* Juv. Sat. xii. vers. 199 et seq.

<sup>b</sup> Cicero de Officiis, lib. iii. § viii.

LXXXVII. Τῇ Θεωρίᾳ] *The Theoria*. This was a vessel<sup>a</sup> sent every year to Delos, for the purpose of making sacrifices to Apollo, in virtue of a vow made by Theseus on his departure for Crete. At the commencement of the festival celebrated on this occasion<sup>b</sup> the city was purified, and it was an inviolable law to put no one to death till the vessel had returned. It was sometimes a long while on the voyage, especially when the wind was contrary. This festival, which was called Theoria, commenced when the priest of Apollo had crowned the poop of the vessel. The ambassador sent to offer a sacrifice to a god, or to consult the oracle, was termed Theorus, Θεωρός. This name of Theorus served to distinguish such ambassadors from those who were charged with civil affairs. The latter were called Πρόξεναι. Πρόξεναι καὶ θεωροὺς ἐξέπεμψε, says Polybius,<sup>c</sup> in speaking of Antiochus. See Suidas, at the word Θεωροί. Plutarch relates an instance of base adulation, which proves how greatly degenerated from the virtues of their ancestors were the Athenians under the Macedonian kings. Stratocles,<sup>d</sup> a bold and infamous character, proposed a decree conferring the title of Theori on the ambassadors sent to Antigonus and Demetrius; which was placing those princes on an equality with the gods. Upon the Theori, see Valckenæer, *Animadvers. ad Ammonium*, lib. ii. cap. iiii.

LXXXVIII. Προτέρην ἑωυτοῦ ἐξέλασιν] *Had first banished himself*. The reader may be surprised that I have not followed the reading which M. Wesseling admits into the text, and which is supported by the Ms. of Cardinal Passionei. Gronovius has corrected the text, partly after the Medici Ms. and partly from his own conjecture. I am of opinion that the true reading is that of the Ms. B in the Royal Library,<sup>e</sup> thus: οὗτος μεμψόμενος μὲν τοῖσιν Αἰγινήται προτέρην ἑωυτοῦ ἐπράξατο ἐξέλασιν ἐκ τῆς νήσου. The verb ἐπράξατο is omitted in the Ms. of Cardinal Passionei.

Προδοσίν Αἰγίνης] *To deliver up to them Ægina*. Aristotle mentions this occurrence<sup>f</sup> in his Republic. "He who wished to deliver up the city to Chares, undertook to change the form of government." This Chares was an Athenian general, much more ancient than he who was conquered by Philip at the battle of Cheronea.

LXXXIX. Χρησαί] *To lend them*. We ought assuredly to read χρῆσαι. This reading, which has been adopted by M. Wesseling, is also that of the Mss. A and B in the Royal Library.

Δίδουσι εἰκοσι νέας] *Gave them twenty vessels*. The Corinthians

<sup>a</sup> Suidas, voc. Θεωρίαι, Vol. ii. p. 186.

<sup>b</sup> Plato, in Phædonæ, Vol. i. p. 58. B.

<sup>c</sup> Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. v. cap. v. p. 194. C.

<sup>d</sup> Plutarch, in Demetrio, p. 893. E.

<sup>e</sup> It is on paper. It was written by Constantine, keeper of the Archives, Χαρτοφύλαξ, A. D. 1372, as we find at the end.

<sup>f</sup> Aristot. Politic. lib. v. cap. vi. p. 394. C.



put the Athenians in mind of this service, when the latter were about to espouse the interests of the Corcyreans. "When before the Persian war, said their deputies in the assembly of the people, you wanted ships of war for your expedition against Ægina, you received twenty vessels from the Corinthians. To this benefit, we have added another concerning the Samians. We prevented the Peloponnesians from giving them assistance, and by this means afforded you a facility in conquering the Æginetæ, and avenging yourselves on the Samians."

Πενταδράχμους ἀποδόμενοι] *Five drachmæ for each vessel.* Meaning<sup>a</sup> that they sold each of these vessels for five drachmæ. Had it been πέντε δραχμῶν, it would have signified that they sold the whole twenty vessels for five drachmæ.

The five drachmæ were worth about 3s. 9d., so that the whole twenty vessels were sold for 3*l.* 15s.

XC. Ἐρεπόν τε καὶ ἥγορ] *Was given up to pillage.* The phrase ἔχειν καὶ φέρειν is generally known, and is most frequently said of the pillage of a country. The first word applies to the prisoners, or to the cattle driven off by the conquerors; and the second to the articles carried away. This is confirmed by Ammonius: ἔχειν καὶ φέρειν διαφέρει. Ἄγεται μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἐμψυχα· φέρεται δὲ τὰ ἄψυχα. "Ἄγειν and φέρειν differ; for living animals are driven before, and inanimate things are carried." The Latins have borrowed this mode of expression from the Greeks; and it is quite familiar with them, especially with their historians. See also Drakenborch on Livy, lib. viii. cap. xxxviii. Vol. ii. p. 821.

XCI. Δήμητρος θεσμοφόρου] *Ceres Thesmophora.* Before the invention of agriculture, men led a wandering life, and lived without laws. Agriculture occasioned them to assemble together, and settle in the same province. Laws then became necessary, and to this necessity they owe, no doubt, their institution. Ceres was the first who gave instruction in agriculture, and she is therefore supposed to be the first that gave laws. Virgil<sup>d</sup> calls her *Legifera*. Ovid likewise assigns to her the same honour, as well as that of the invention of agriculture.

<sup>a</sup> Prima Ceres unco glebam dimovit aratro:  
Prima dedit fruges, alimenta<sup>b</sup>que matris terris.  
Prima dedit leges. Cereris sumus omnia munus.

Εἶχετο] *And held fast by it.* I follow the conjecture of M.

<sup>c</sup> Thucyd. lib. i. § xli. p. 32.  
<sup>d</sup> Job. Toop, Epist. de Syracensis. Vid. Theocr. Wartan, Vol. ii. p. 330.

<sup>e</sup> Ammonius de Differentiis Voc. p. 2.  
<sup>f</sup> Virgil. Æneid. lib. iv. vers. 58.  
<sup>g</sup> Ovid. Metamorph. lib. v. vers. 341.

Toup,\* who reads ἀπὸ εἵχερο. This conjecture seems to be founded on Suidas.

XCII. Ἀνάγερ λαμβάνειν ὑπὸ Κλεομένηος] *Had carried off by force.* This is spoken of the expedition mentioned in § LXXVI. LXXVII. &c.

Πεντάεθλον] *The Pentathlon.* The Pentathlon included five kinds of exercise; jumping, running, the exercise of the disk, that of the javelin, and wrestling. Simonides enumerates them in this verse:

Ἄλμα, ποδωκείην, δίσκον, ἄκοντα, πάλην.

These five exercises were not all in use at the Olympic games from the beginning. To those of jumping, the disk, and the javelin, they first added the simple 'race of the stadium; in the fourth Olympiad, that of the double stadium or diaulis was introduced; and in the eighteenth, wrestling, which was properly called the Pentathlon. Pugilism<sup>c</sup> having been introduced in the 23rd Olympiad, they still continued to give these exercises the name of Pentathlon, though the more suitable name would have been Hexathlon, ἑξαθλος. This Eurybates obtained the prize of the Pentathlon at the Nemean games.<sup>d</sup>

Those who wish for more particular information as to the Pentathlon, will do well to consult M. Burette's Dissertation on the subject. See *Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions*, Vol. III. Mem. p. 318.

XCIV. Δάρις] *To Datis.* Darius<sup>e</sup> commanded him to bring before him the Eretrians and the Athenians, under pain of losing his head. A command worthy of a barbarian!

This satrap, in the exultation of his first success, cried out, ὡς ἔδομαι, καὶ τέμπομαι, καὶ χαίρομαι. Χαίρομαι is a barbarism; the Greeks always say χαίρω, which is a reciprocal verb. This kind of barbarism was afterwards called *Datism*. See Aristophanes' comedy of *Pax*, verse 290, the remark of the scholiast on verse 288, and that of Florentius Christianus.

XCV. Ἐχόν] *Coasting along.* Ἐχόν very often signifies 'appello,' as in the following passages of Thucydides: <sup>f</sup> σχόντες τῆς Ἠλείας ἐς Φειάν, ἐδύναν τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας, 'having landed at Phia in Elis, they ravaged the country for two days.' <sup>g</sup> Σχόντες δ' ἐν τῇ παραπλῇ ἐς Κεφαλληνίαν: 'navigating along the coast, they landed in Cephalonia.' Here this word signifies the same as ἐλαύνω, as

\* Toup. *Emendat. in Suidam*, pars III. p. 87. Edit. 2. Vol. II. p. 111.

<sup>b</sup> Antholog. lib. I. cap. I. Epigr. VIII. p. 2. Ed. I. H. Stephan. 1566, 410.

<sup>c</sup> Pausan. *Ellac. ante lib. I. cap. VIII.* p. 194.

<sup>d</sup> Id. *ibid.*

<sup>e</sup> Id. *Attic. sive lib. I. cap. XXIX.* p. 71.

<sup>f</sup> Plato, *Menexenus*, Vol. II. p. 240. B.

<sup>g</sup> Thucyd. lib. II. § IAN.

<sup>h</sup> Id. *ibid.* § XXIII.

has been remarked by M. Wesseling, to whose note I refer the reader.

Ἐκ Σάμου] *From Samos.* On quitting the Aleian plain to go to Samos, they had been obliged to cross the Icarian sea. It would have been much more direct to have gone immediately to Naxos; but no doubt their intention was to repose some time at Samos, after their voyage, before undertaking the siege of that city.

XCVI. Μεννημένοι τῶν πρότερον] *The recollection of the affront which the Persians had formerly received, &c.* I have followed the punctuation of the Ms. A in the Royal Library, in which the comma placed after *μνησμένοι τῶν πρότερον*, shows that that phrase refers to the Persians, and for this reason I have translated, 'the recollection of the affront which the Persians had formerly received before this place;' for they had been obliged to raise the siege of it." This feeling, which would naturally excite them to vengeance, appears to me in perfect accordance with the verb *ἐπιχειροῦν*, which indicates their eagerness for the attack. The Greek has only, 'recollecting what had formerly happened;' but as these former occurrences were the raising of the siege of Naxos and their retreat from before it, I have thought it right to use a more definite expression.

If, however, it be thought better to refer *μνησμένοι τῶν πρότερον* to the Naxians, we must then translate, 'they landed at Naxos, which the Persians were impatient to attack first. The Naxians recalling to mind the past, took to flight, &c.' I give a decided preference to the first method: because the memory of the past, that is, of their former exploits, should have induced them to defend the place, and not to fly.

XCVII. Ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτό γε φρονέω] *I am naturally inclined.* "I have myself no kind of aversion to you." I follow the reading of the Ms. B in the Royal Library, where we find *ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔτι γε τοσαῦτα φρονέω*.

Τούτων μὲν δὲν σκεῖσθαι] *To do no harm to its inhabitants.* "These islands" owe their safety to their towers. Delos owes its safety to Apollo. Is there a more solid rampart? The impetuous blast of Boreas may overthrow a wall; but the god who protects thee, dear Delos, is invincible."

XCVIII. Πρῶτα καὶ ὕστατα] *The only time.* In the Greek, 'the first and the last time.' Thucydides says<sup>4</sup> that this island felt the shock of an earthquake a little before the commencement of the Peloponnesian war; and asserts that within the memory of man it had never before experienced such a thing. These earthquakes, from

\* Herodot. lib. v. § xxxiv.

† Callimach. Hymn. in Delum, vers. 23.

Her. No.

\* Coryra, Eubœa, Sardina, Cyprus.

<sup>4</sup> Thucyd. lib. ii. § viii.

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which gloomy prognostics were drawn, were no doubt founded only on popular reports amongst the Delians, or at least they were not felt far from the island. This earthquake may, however, have been real; and Thucydides perhaps alludes to the same that is mentioned by Herodotus. We know that the Persian war terminated in the year 4236 of the Julian period, 479 years B. C.; and that that of the Peloponnesus began in the year 4283 of the same period, 431 years B. C. This interval therefore being only 48 years, Thucydides may have spoken with some latitude. This is the opinion of M. Wesseling.

The notion of the stability of the island of Delos, though founded only on popular opinion, has been nevertheless adopted by Pindar, and by the philosophers, and, if we may believe Seneca, was considered by them as established on authority. "Hanc (Delum) Philosophi quoque, credula natio, dixerunt non moveri auctore Pindaro." The passage of Pindar alluded to has been preserved by Strabo, Book x. p. 743; but it is much more correctly given by Joshua Barnes, on verse 3. Book x. of the Odyssey. See the Fragments<sup>4</sup> of Pindar by M. Schneider.

Τριῶν τούτων ἐπεξῆς γενεῶν] *Under the three reigns, &c.* Seveni must not here be taken for a determinate time, as a generation or space of thirty-three years, but for the duration of a reign. Herodotus has elsewhere used it in the same sense.

C. Τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Εὐβοίας] *Amongst the rocks.* This is what Virgil calls "Euboicæ cautes, ultorque Caphareus." They were in that part of Eubœa called 'the hollows of Eubœa,' from the coast being hollowed out at that place, τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίας. Livy says, "Cœla: est sinus Euboicus, quem Cœla vocant, suspectus nautis." Philostratus points out the spot where these rocks were situated, so that it cannot be mistaken. 'Τὶ δὲ δὴ γυνναῖον εἰργασθαι φήσεις . . . ἐρμάτων ὑπερῆραι τὸ σκάφος ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ κολληὺν ὅπερ πολλὰ τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων ἀναπέπηγεν; 'What then have you done so wonderful? Will you say that your vessel has passed over those rocks, with which the hollows of Eubœa are so thick set, at the place where there are several promontories?' These promontories, which Philostratus does not name, are those Caphareus and of Geræstus; and it is between these promontories that the abbreviator of Strabo places the hollows of Eubœa, τὰ δὲ μερὰ τῶν Καφάρειος καὶ Γεραίστου, τὰ Κοῖλα Εὐβοίας καλεῖται. The following passages are scarcely less decisive. We know that the ships of Ajax, on their return from Troy, were wrecked

\* Senec. Quæst. Natural. lib. vi. cap. xxi. Vol. ii. p. 608.

† Carminum Pindaricorum Fragment. cura J. G. Schneider, p. 30.

‡ Virgil. Æneid. lib. xi. vers. 260.

§ Tit. Liv. lib. xxi. cap. xlvii.

• Philostrat. Vita Apolloniæ, lib. iii. cap. xxi. pp. 113, 114.

¶ Strab. Epit. lib. x. p. 1266. C.

on the promontory Caphareus. Euripides thus expresses himself on the subject. Minerva is addressing Neptune :<sup>a</sup>

Πλήσον δὲ νεκρῶν κοῖλον Εὐβοίας μυχόν.

'Fill the cavities of Eubœa with corpses.' We know also, that Nauplius, wishing to avenge the death of his son Palamedes, lighted fires on the promontory Caphareus, that the Greeks, on their return from Troy, thinking to find a harbour, might be shipwrecked there. Philostratus<sup>b</sup> calls this place τὴν κοίλην Εὐβοίαν, as well as Euripides, in the verse above quoted. The scholiast of Lycophron, Tzetzes, is not less precise. "Nauplius," says he, "having afterwards learned that the Greeks were returning to their country, lighted a torch near the cavities of Eubœa, on the promontory which we might call Caphareus, but which is now named Xylophingos, (devourer of vessels,) where the Greeks who sailed towards it, imagining that it was a port, perished." Meletius<sup>c</sup> says that this coast is beset with rocks, some of which are covered by shallow water, τραχύς καὶ σκοπέλοις διελημμένος, καὶ ἔρμασι, καὶ χοίρασι. I correct ἔρμασι, 'scopulis mari latentibus.'

These authorities appear to me decisive, and we can oppose to them only the following passage of Strabo :<sup>d</sup> καὶ πρῶτον, ὅτι τῆς Εὐβοίας τὰ Κοῖλα λέγουσι τὰ μετὰ Αὐλίδος καὶ τῶν περὶ Γεραστὸν τόπων. Strabo, wishing to explain the situation of the hollows of Eubœa, should rather have named the two points of Eubœa between which they were found, than a place on the coast of Bœotia. I cannot doubt but the text is corrupt. Casaubon perceived this, and has not hesitated to adopt the reading of the abbreviator of Strabo, τὰ μετὰ Καφηρέως καὶ τῶν περὶ Γεραστὸν τόπων. This critic adds, that he will elsewhere speak more fully of these hollows, or cavities. I do not know whether he has done so ; but in another note he remarks that this reading makes the description approach to that given by Ptolemy. That geographer<sup>e</sup> places first the port of Geræstus, then the promontory Caphareus, and then the cavities of Eubœa. He is wrong only in this, that he should have placed these cavities between Geræstus and the promontory Caphareus. Meletius, in the passage above quoted, has copied Ptolemy.

The modern geographers have not profited by the remark of Casaubon, and, not suspecting that the text of Strabo was corrupt, have all placed the cavities of Eubœa opposite to Aulis in Bœotia. I

<sup>a</sup> Euripid. Troad. vers. 84.

<sup>b</sup> Philostrat. Heroic. cap. x. § xi. p. 716.

<sup>c</sup> Tzetzes ad Lycophron, vers. 294. p. 47. col. i. lin. 2.

<sup>d</sup> Meletii Geograph. Antiq. et Nov. p. 300. col. 2.

<sup>e</sup> Strab. lib. x. p. 662. B.

<sup>f</sup> Ptolem. Geograph. lib. iii. cap. xv. p. 98.



shall content myself with naming Cellarius,\* MM. De l'Isle and D'Anville. These authorities have not misled M. Barbié du Bocage, who in the map No. 5, made for the Travels of the young Anacharsis, has very correctly placed these cavities between Geræstus and Caphareus.

If the inhabitants of Carystus had retired to this place, they would have had nothing to fear from the Persians, whose fleet would scarcely have dared to venture amongst these rocks, on account of the imminent danger of being shipwrecked.

Προδοσὶν ἐκευάζοντο] *Prepared to betray their country.* Gongylus, the only Eretrian who espoused the interests of the Persians, as Xenophon says,<sup>b</sup> had for his reward the cities of Gambrium, Palægambrium, Myrina, and Grynia. Gorgion and Gongylus, his descendants, were in possession of them so late as the 95th Olympiad, that is to say, 90 years afterwards, when Thymbron, the Lacedæmonian general, went into Asia Minor to make war on the Persians.

Ἐὼν τῶν Ἐρετριῶν τὰ πρῶτα] *A man of distinction.* Thucydides<sup>c</sup> says the same thing, τὰ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν, 'the neutral citizens:' and the Latins, in imitation of them, 'prima virorum,'<sup>d</sup> the principal men of the nation.

Cl. Κατὰ Τέμερος] *Towards Temynæ.* In the Greek, κατὰ Τέμερος. If this signified a temple, the text ought to have had κατὰ τὸ Τέμερος, and then it would have denoted the temple consecrated to Jupiter, or rather to Apollo, as Strabo<sup>e</sup> says, which temple was near Tamynæ; but as there is no article, it must be the name of a place. Now, in the whole island, none comes nearer this word than Tamynæ.

Τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἡνδραποδίσαντο] *And reduced the inhabitants to slavery.* The Persians surrounded Eretria, and took the inhabitants as in a net, if we may believe the report mentioned by Plato, as being circulated throughout Greece, and especially at Athens. "Datis," says that philosopher,<sup>f</sup> "having under his command so many thousands of men, was not long in making himself master of the Eretrians. He took pains to circulate in our city a report, that not a single Eretrian had escaped him; that his soldiers, having clasped each other's hands, had surrounded and taken them all, as in a net. This intelligence, whether true or false, or whoever was its author, struck all the Greeks, and especially the Athenians, with terror."

\* Cellari Geograph. Antiq. Vol. i. p. 1022.

<sup>b</sup> Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. iii. cap. i. & iv. p. 128.

<sup>c</sup> Thucyd. lib. iii. § lxxix. p. 219.

<sup>d</sup> Lucret. lib. i. vers. 87.

<sup>e</sup> Strab. lib. x. p. 687. B.

<sup>f</sup> Plato de Legib. lib. iii. Vol. ii. p. 698. D.

What appeared to Plato a mere rumour, the truth of which he could not avouch, has been advanced by Strabo as an undoubted fact. "The Persians," says that geographer, "having entirely destroyed the ancient city, took the inhabitants as in a net, as we are assured by Herodotus."

But it is not Herodotus who asserts this fact. Strabo probably cited him only from memory. Diogenes Laertius<sup>a</sup> relates the same circumstance, but his translator has not understood him.

CII. Κατέγορρεν τε πολλὸν] *They closely hemmed in . . .* I follow the explanation of M. Wesseling; that of Gronovius is not defensible. See the note of the former critic.

Δοκέοντες ταῦτ' αὖτ' Ἀθηναίους ποιήσεν] *Thinking to treat them.* M. Bellanger appears to have had a proper conception of this passage. See his *Critical Essays* on the translations of Herodotus, p. 184. He has however neglected to point out the necessity of removing the circumflex in the word ταῦτα, and substituting a grave accent on the last syllable. The erroneous reading subsists in all the editions anterior to that of Wesseling and Valckenaer; but in that of M. Borheck it has been corrected.

Ὁ Μαραθῶν] *Marathon.* We find likewise in the Ms. B of the Royal Library, ἡ Μαραθῶν, an expression peculiar to the Ionians, as is remarked by Thos. Magister, voc. Μαραθῶνα, p. 597. See also Porphyrius, *Quest. Homer.* viii. p. 92. The other Greeks used this substantive in the masculine.

CIII. Ὀλυμπιάδι] *At the Olympic games.* It is not known in which of the Olympiads Cimon obtained these victories. See Corsini, in *Catalogo Olympionicarum.*

Πέραν τῆς διὰ κοίτης καλεομένης ὁδοῦ] *The road which crosses Cæle.* In the former editions the reading was διακοίτης, in a single word. MM. Wesseling and Valckenaer have restored, upon excellent authorities, διὰ Κοίτης. Cæle<sup>c</sup> is a part of Attica, near the Melitean gates, where the tomb of Cimon was. Those of Herodotus and Thucydides were in the same place. Not far from this spot was the Ceramicus; for Ælian says that Miltiades<sup>d</sup> had the mares which had obtained the three prizes at the Olympic games buried in the Ceramicus.

Εὐαγόρου Λακεδæμονος] *Evagoras of Lacedæmon.* Evagoras also gave honourable burial to his horses,<sup>e</sup> which had also gained the prize in the Olympic games three times.

CV. Φειδιππίδην, Ἀθηναίων μὲν ἄνδρα] *Phidippides.* The ancients

<sup>a</sup> Strab. lib. x. p. 687. B.

<sup>b</sup> Diog. Laert. lib. iii. segm. 23. p. 184.

<sup>c</sup> Marcellin. in *Vita Thucydides*, p. 3.

<sup>d</sup> Ælian. *Hist. Animal.* lib. iii. cap. 21.

p. 700.

<sup>e</sup> Id. *ibid.*

vary much as to this name. Some, for instance, Cornelius Nepos<sup>a</sup> and St. Clement of Alexandria,<sup>b</sup> call him Philippides; and others, as Herodotus, Phidippides: neither do the various Mss. of this last author agree upon the point. It is one, however, of very little importance.

This Phidippides was Hemerodromus, or a runner by profession.

Περὶ τὸ Παρθένιον οἶκος, τὸ ὑπὲρ Τεγέης] *Near Mount Parthenion, above Tegea.* On the road from Tegea to Argos,<sup>c</sup> we first come to a chapel with a statue of Esculapius; after that, on the left hand, at about the distance of a stadium, to the ruins of a temple of Pythian Apollo. On regaining the high road, we find close to it a grove of oaks consecrated to Ceres, and in the grove a chapel of that goddess, surnamed Corythean Ceres. Near this spot is the temple of Bacchus Mystes. Then begins Mount Parthenion. A piece of land is shown there which is consecrated to that god. A little further on is a temple of Pan, on the spot where that god appeared to Phidippides, and gave him important counsel, as the Athenians and Tegeatæ relate.

Οὐδὲ μὲν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖνται] *They offered him no worship.* St. Clement of Alexandria says,<sup>d</sup> "the Athenians did not even know Pan, before Phidippides informed them who he was." With all possible respect for this father of the church, he appears to me to be in the wrong on this point. It does not follow that the Athenians had no knowledge of this god, from their having instituted no festival in honour of him.

Ἐόντας εὖνοῦ] *Who bore them good-will.* So in the Greek; but we must write εὐνοῦ, from the nominative εὖνοος, which we find in Book vii. § CLXXIII. The Ionians resolve the contraction, according to the remark of Gregory, archbishop of Corinth, in his *Treatise on the Dialects*, p. 228. Καὶ τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὸν βοῦν καὶ τὸν χοῦν διαλύουσι, καὶ λέγουσι νόον καὶ βοῦν καὶ χροῦν.

Ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει Πανὸς ἵπον] *A chapel to Pan, under the citadel.* "When you have descended, not to the lower city, but only a little below the propylæa of the citadel, you will find a fountain, and very near it a chapel of Apollo, and another of Pan."

After the victory of Marathon, a song was sung in honour of this god, called Σκαλὼν, which is quoted by Athenæus,<sup>e</sup> but much more correctly by M. Brunck, in his *Analecta*:<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Corn. Nepos, in Miltiad. cap. iv.      <sup>e</sup> Pausan. Attic. sive lib. i. cap. xviii.  
<sup>b</sup> Clem. Alexandr. Cohort. ad Gentem, p. 68.  
<sup>c</sup> Pausan. Arced. sive lib. viii. cap. liv.      <sup>f</sup> Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. xv. cap. xiv.  
<sup>d</sup> Pausan. Arced. sive lib. viii. cap. liv. p. 709, 710.      p. 604. D.  
<sup>e</sup> Clem. Alexandr. Cohortat. ad Gen-      <sup>f</sup> Brunck. *Analect. Vet. Poet. Græc.*  
tes, p. 38. lin. 27.      Vol. i. p. 156. viii.

"Pan, protector of illustrious Arcadia, who art pleased with the dance and the company of laughing nymphs, ever take part in our joy, and in our songs, which are the expression of it. We have obtained the victory, as we desired, and the gods have brought from the temple of Pandrosus the crown dear to Minerva."

This crown was formed of branches of the olive consecrated to Minerva, which was preserved in the temple of Pandrosus in the citadel, and which was that of Minerva. The poet, whoever he was, has by a bold figure placed the olive crown for Victory, of which it was the symbol. This induces me to believe that the last four verses at least are Pindar's, who was very free in the use of such figures. The particle *ὡς* in the last verse appears to me an alteration, but I do not know what to substitute for it. This last verse appeared obscure to M. Hermann.\*

I will not, however, suppress the fact, that two critics of the most distinguished merit, MM. Brunck and Wyttenbach, to whose erudition I ought to defer, are of opinion that this song alludes to the victory obtained by some poet at the Panathenæa. Of this the public will judge. M. Wyttenbach<sup>b</sup> also thinks that the parts of two verses have been improperly joined together as one, and that the last four verses, beginning with *Νικήσαμεν ὡς ἱβουλόμεθα*, are Pindar's. This is also the opinion of MM. Heyne<sup>c</sup> and Hermann. It is certain that both the style and the dialect of these last four verses are very different from those of the other seven. M. Valckenaer has also made corrections in the former verses, which the reader may consult. They are found in his edition of the *Phœnissæ* of Euripides, p. 30. See also the *Fragments of Pindar*, collected by M. Schneider, p. 18. and 19.

I think also that it is the assistance given by Pan on this occasion, that is alluded to in the following enigmatical verse of the *Syrinx* attributed to Theocritus:<sup>d</sup>

Ὅς οἶόνεν ἡρόπταν ἰσάνδρα  
Παπαφόνον.

'Who has extinguished the warlike courage of the sons of Perseus.'

The statue of Pan was doubtless in the chapel above mentioned. It was Miltiades who erected it, as we find from the following inscription of Simonides:

"Miltiades<sup>e</sup> has erected me, Pan, with the goats' feet, the pro-

\* *Pindari Carmina* ex edit. Heyne, Vol. iii. p. 200.

<sup>b</sup> In a letter which he did me the honour to write on the 12th Oct. 1778.

<sup>c</sup> *Pindari Carmina* ex edit. Heyne, Vol.

iii. p. 30.

<sup>d</sup> Theocrit. *Syrinx*, vers. 9. See what I have said on this piece, Book II. p. 487.

<sup>e</sup> *Analect. Vet. Poët. Græc.* Vol. I. p. 131. xxviii.

rector of Arcadia, who took part with the Athenians against the Medes."

Lucian speaks<sup>a</sup> of the cave of Pan situated at the foot of the citadel. It was probably in this cave that the statue was placed, and it is most likely the chapel of which Pausanias speaks in the passage above quoted.

This statue was of Parian marble, as appears by this other epigram in the Anthologia :

"The Athenians<sup>b</sup> have erected me, of Parian marble, near the citadel dedicated to Pallas, for having triumphed over the Persians."

*Λαμπάδι*) *The race of flambeaux.* The manner of this race was as follows.<sup>c</sup> A man, holding a torch in his hand, ran from the altar of the god in honour of whom this race was instituted, to a certain distance, without extinguishing the flambeau. If the flambeau of him who first attempted it went out, he handed it to a second, and he, in the like case, to a third. If the third was unsuccessful likewise, neither obtained the prize. This festival was established in honour of several of the divinities; as Minerva, Vulcan, Prometheus, Pan, Esculapius, &c. At the Panathenæa, or festival of Minerva, the Lampadophori started from the Piræus, and from the Ceramicus, or Academy, in that of Vulcan and of Prometheus.<sup>d</sup> There was in the Academy a statue<sup>e</sup> of Love, consecrated by Pisistratus, at which the sacred torch, borne in these races in honour of the gods, was lighted. The same honour was rendered to Pan, as we find from this passage of Herodotus, and from the Ms. Lexicon of Photius, under the word *Λαμπάς*. 'Αγὼν Ἀθήνησιν, Πανὶ καὶ Προμηθεὶ ἀγόμενος: 'a festival which is celebrated at Athens, in honour of Pan and of Prometheus.' But even without the authority of Photius, we might have concluded that the Athenians kept a lamp constantly burning before the statue of this god, as Pausanias says<sup>f</sup> was done at one of his temples in Arcadia. Hence the inscription LUCIDO PANI, which appeared<sup>g</sup> so mysterious to Reinesius. We find also, on a medal of Cerasus, the god Pan, holding in his right hand a lighted torch, and in his left a crook. Alexander celebrated a similar festival at Soli,<sup>h</sup> in Cilicia, in honour of Esculapius; but there is no mention of this race in the passage of Arrian, from which I derive this fact. A great number of authors make allusion to this custom, and amongst them Lucretius, in the following verses:—

<sup>a</sup> Lucian. Deor. Dialog. xii. p. 272.

<sup>b</sup> Antholog. lb. iv. cap. xii. p. 353.

<sup>c</sup> Pausan. Attic. sive lib. i. cap. xxx. p. 76.

<sup>d</sup> Id. ibid. p. 73.

<sup>e</sup> Plutarch, in Solone, p. 79. B.

<sup>f</sup> Pausan. Arcad. sive lib. viii. cap. xxvii. p. 677.

<sup>g</sup> Synagm. p. 173.

<sup>h</sup> Arrian. de Exped. Alexand. lib. ii. cap. v. § 1. p. 116.



Angrescant alie gentes, alie minuantur :  
Inque brevi spatio mutantur sæcla animantum :  
Et, quasi cursores, ritas lampada tradunt.

'One sees some nations multiply, and others dwindle away : a short space changes the generations : and, as in the race of the sacred games, the lamp of life is passed from hand to hand.'

I think it is to this custom likewise that Alcæus of Messena alludes in an epigram, which was published for the first time in Brunck's *Analecta*.

"Protarchus<sup>a</sup> is beautiful : he does not wish this at present ; but the time will come, when he will wish it ; for beauty, like the lamp which is handed from one to another in the race, passes rapidly away."

Ἡ δ' ὥρη λαμπρόν ἔχουσα τρέχει.

Horace has expressed the thought of the first verse, *Carm. lib. iv. Od. x. vers. 6.*

Dices, Hen ! (quoties te in speculo videris alterum)  
Quæ mens est hodie, cur eundem non puero fuit ?

A festival was celebrated also<sup>c</sup> at Corinth, in honour of Minerva, with a game called *Ἀμπαδοδρομικός*, 'the game of the race of the flambeaux,' in which young people ran, holding in their hands a lighted torch.

CVI. *Δευτεράριος ἐκ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἄστεος ἦν ἐν Σπάρτῃ*] Arrived . . . the day after his departure from Athens. That is to say, that in two days he marched 1140 stadia, which is the distance from Athens to Sparta. This appeared an instance of extraordinary expedition,<sup>d</sup> till Anystis, a Lacedæmonian courier, and Philonides, the courier of Alexander, performed in one day, according to Pliny, the journey from Sieyon to Elis, that is to say, 1200 stadia.

Pliny, however, is mistaken : for, reckoning every winding of the road from Sieyon to Elis, the distance will be scarcely more than 600 stadia, of 8 to the mile ; just as there were 1140 of these stadia between Athens and Sparta. Had he meant the smaller stadium, he should have expressed it ; because a line above, in mentioning the distance from Athens to Sparta, he speaks of the greater stadium, as the actual distance clearly proves.

Οὐ βουλομένοιαι λύειν τὸν νόμον. ἦν γὰρ ἰσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς εἰνάτη· εἰνάτη δὲ οὐκ ἐξελευσασθαι ἔβασαν, μὴ οὐ πλήρεις ὄντος τοῦ σελήνου.] To

<sup>a</sup> Lucret. lib. ii. vers. 76, &c.

vers. 56. p. 147. col. 1. lin. 14.

<sup>b</sup> Ar. Jert. Vet. Poet. Græc. Vol. i. p. 486. l.

<sup>d</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. vii. cap. 22. Vol. i. p. 286. lin. 13.

<sup>c</sup> Scholiast. Pindari ad Olymp. iii.

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*commence their march before the full moon, and they were then only at the ninth day of the month.* In the text, 'because they would not transgress the law; for it was the ninth day of the month. They said that they would not take the field, because the circle was not full.'

It was not the custom of the Lacedæmonians to commence a march before the full of the moon. This is confirmed by Pausanias, Book i. chap. xxviii.; by Lucian, on Astrology, chap. xxv. Vol. ii. p. 371, where he attributes the regulation to Lycurgus; by the author of the Treatise on Rivers, printed amongst the works of Plutarch, Vol. ii. p. 1157; by Hermogenes, de Inventione, lib. ii. cap. *ἐπὶ Νάμων εἰσφορὰς*, p. 45, &c. Notwithstanding these authorities, Plutarch, not content with denying the fact, asserts that the battle of Marathon was fought on the sixth of the month Boedromion, and that as the Lacedæmonians arrived shortly after the battle, they must have started before the full of the moon.

But can we persuade ourselves that Plutarch, who lived nearly 600 years after the battle of Marathon, could be more accurately informed as to the date of this battle than Herodotus, who had often conversed with those who had been in it? Plutarch, who always describes Herodotus as an evil-disposed writer, admits that he was ingenious. But had he been as dull as a Boeotian, I doubt whether he would have dared to advance such a falsehood, as to a matter so recent, and of which there were many eye-witnesses present, when he read his history at the Olympic games. M. Freret has most triumphantly refuted Plutarch, in the 18th Vol. of the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles-Lettres*, p. 135 and following.

CVII. *Συνεβάλετο δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ὄντιον*] *This dream made him conjecture.* Superstitious nations placed faith in dreams, and there were amongst them people who professed to interpret them. The dream here mentioned was considered as a fortunate one. "It is advantageous," says Artemidorus, "for the principal magistrate, or a chief person in the state, to dream of lying with his mother. The mother indicates his country; and as the body of a woman who lies with a man is voluntarily in his power, so he who has such a vision shall become master of the state."

Cæsar, the tyrant who abused the talents with which nature had endowed him, to reduce his country to slavery, had a similar dream; and though he did not believe in the immortality of the soul, as appears by his speech to the senate on the Catiline conspiracy, he yet had the weakness to put faith in this presage, and to be troubled by

\* Artemidor. *Oneirocriticæ*. lib. i. cap. lxxvii. p. 72

it; \* but the interpreters of dreams assured him that he should one day be master of the world.

CVIII. Οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἠπίστησαν] *Followed the advice.* M. Valckenner has ably defended the reading οὐκ ἠπίστησαν, against the person who proposed to substitute οὐκ ἠπειστήσαν, and he has proved that the ancients said ἀπίσθαι for ἀπεισθαι, 'to disobey.' I may add that ἀπίσθαι is frequently used in this sense by Sophocles, of which I will quote two examples :

\* Τὸ μὴ \*πικυρεῖν τοῖς ἀπιστοῦσιν τάδε.

'Show no indulgence to those who shall infringe these interdicts.'

The ancient scholiast explains τοῖς ἀπιστοῦσιν by τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσιν. *Εἰλεγον δὲ καὶ τὴν πειθῶ, πιστεῖν*, 'the disobedient;' for they also said *πιστεῖς* for *πειθῶ*, 'obedience.'

\* Οὐ δὲ ποῦ

Σὲ γ' ἀπιστοῦσαν

Τοῖς βασιλείοισιν ἄγοναι νόμοι :

'Is it not you, Antigone, whom they lead away for having violated the laws of the prince?'

The ancient scholiast very properly renders ἀπιστοῦσαν by μὴ πεσσοῦσαν, 'who have disobeyed.'

Ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν] *Near the altar.* I have spoken of this altar of the twelve gods, in note 3, on § VII. Book II.

CIX. Τὸν πολέμαρχον] *The Polemarchus.* The Polemarchus<sup>a</sup> was the third of the nine archons. He offered sacrifices to Diana Agrotera, or the huntress, and to Mars. These sacrifices<sup>b</sup> were made annually in commemoration of the victory of Marathon. He regulated<sup>c</sup> the funereal games, celebrated in honour of those who died in the field. He made funereal sacrifices to Harmodius and Aristogiton. He judged the Metoeci, or domiciled strangers, as we learn likewise from Aristotle,<sup>d</sup> and exercised over them the same authority that the Archon Eponymus did over the other citizens.

Τὴν συμβολὴν] *Who would have no battle.* We find τὴν συμβολὴν not only in the Ms. of Sanctoſt, but also in the Mss. A and B of the Royal Library. I change ἐλῆ to ἐχῆ, with M. Reiske : which alteration is approved likewise by MM. Valckenner and Wesseling.

CXI. Τοῦ μὲν δεξιῦ κέρας ἡγέτο] *Placed himself at the head of the right wing.* The tribe Æantis was in the right wing, and the

<sup>a</sup> Sæuton. Jul. Cesar. § vii.

<sup>b</sup> Sophocl. Aug. vers. 225.

<sup>c</sup> Id. ibid. vers. 387.

<sup>d</sup> Jul. Pollux. Onomast. lib. viii. cap. ix. secm. xxi. p. 910.

<sup>a</sup> Plutarch. de Herodoti Malign. Vol. ii. p. 562. A.

<sup>b</sup> Pollux, loco supenus laudato.

<sup>c</sup> Hæroclat. voc. Πωλέμαρχος.

polemarchus Callimachus was of that tribe. Plutarch proves this<sup>a</sup> from the Elegies of Æschylus, who distinguished himself in this battle. When the Athenians held council as to their march against the Barbarians, and came to the resolution of taking the field, adds Plutarch,<sup>b</sup> it was the turn of the Æantic tribe to preside over the assemblies. This same tribe distinguished itself also at the battle of Plataea.

Ἐν ἑκατὲν πεντητησίαι] *Every five years.* The Delia and the Panathenæa were celebrated every five years. I am inclined to think that Herodotus here means the Panathenæa, which were more magnificent than the Delia. But not having the work of Meursius at hand, I cannot say whether he is of the same opinion.

Since my first edition, I have found that Meursius agrees with me; and in support of his opinion, he cites this passage of Herodotus. See his work, entitled Panathenæa, cap. xxvi.

Τὸ πὲρ αὐτοῦ μέσων ἐγίγνετο] *There was in the centre only, &c.* The centre was composed only of the tribes Leontis and Antiochis; the first commanded by Themistocles,<sup>c</sup> the second by Aristidea.

CXII. Ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ διερέεοντο] *The army being drawn up.* Xenophon<sup>d</sup> relates that the Athenians made a vow to sacrifice to Diana as many goats as they should kill enemies, and that not being able to procure a sufficient number, they resolved to sacrifice to her annually five hundred. Ælian<sup>e</sup> relates the same fact a little differently. According to him, it was Miltiades who vowed to sacrifice 300 she-goats. We read in the scholiast of Aristophanes,<sup>f</sup> that the polemarchus Callimachus vowed to sacrifice to Diana as many oxen as he should kill enemies at Marathon; but that having killed a great number, and not being able to procure so many oxen, he offered in their stead she-goats.

The Polemarchus having been killed in the battle, it must have been his successor who made the sacrifice in his stead.

Meursius<sup>g</sup> says that Herodotus has mentioned this vow in Book vi., but Meursius is mistaken; he does not mention it, and this omission has drawn on him the reproof of Plutarch for his negligence.<sup>h</sup>

Οἷα ἵππων] *Cavalry.* Attica having no pastures, the Athenians could not maintain any cavalry; but took into their pay that of Thessaly.<sup>i</sup> But that country was then in the hands of

<sup>a</sup> Plutarch. Symposiac. lib. i. Quæst. 2. p. 628. D.

<sup>b</sup> Id. ibid. E, F.

<sup>c</sup> Plutarch. in Aristide, p. 321.

<sup>d</sup> Xenoph. Cyn. jun. Exped. lib. iii. cap. ii. § vii. p. 149.

<sup>e</sup> Æl. Var. Hist. lib. ii. cap. xiv. p. 129.

<sup>f</sup> Schol. Aristoph. Equit. vers. 637.

<sup>g</sup> Meursii Athen. Attic. lib. ii. cap. v.

<sup>h</sup> Plutarch. de Herodot. Malign. Vol.

ii. p. 562. A.

<sup>i</sup> Herodot. lib. v. § lxxii.

the Persians, and the Thesalians, moreover, favoured the Pisistratidæ.

*Δρόμῳ*] *Running*. If we may believe Pausanias,<sup>a</sup> the Messenians ran, long previous to these Greeks, in a battle with the Lacedæmonians; but this author is too modern to be opposed to Herodotus. At all events, this mode came into general use among the Greeks; many examples may be found in their history, especially in the Retreat of the Ten Thousand. Cæsar practised this method in a battle against Pompey with perfect success. He blames the conduct of Pompey, who forbade his troops to run. "Quod<sup>b</sup> nobis quidem nulla ratione factum a Pompeio videtur: propterea quod est quædam animi incitatio atque alacritas naturaliter innata omnibus, quæ studio pugnæ incenditur. Hanc non reprimere, sed augere imperatores debent."

Appian<sup>c</sup> quotes a passage from the Epistles of Cæsar, in which that great general blames the conduct of Pompey; for the run, observes he, adds both to the courage of the soldier and to the force of his blows; whilst his courage is extinguished by inaction, and he stands as a target which is the more easily hit.

I am not however of opinion that this means actual running, but a quick step, (*Gallicè*, 'le pas de charge.')

CXIII. *Ἐρίκωρ*] *Obtained the victory*. It is remarkable, that Herodotus makes no mention here of the exploits of Aristides. Plutarch must supply the deficiency. Aristides<sup>d</sup> was one of the ten generals, as also was Themistocles. In the council he was an advocate for giving battle. When his turn to command arrived, he yielded his right to Miltiades, and his example was followed by the other generals. Themistocles<sup>e</sup> and Aristides, the one at the head of the Leontic tribe, and the other at the head of the Antiochic, cut through the Persians, and drove them to their ships. The Athenians, then fearing for their city, repaired thither with nine tribes. Aristides was left with his at Marathon, to guard the prisoners and the booty. He did not deceive the good opinion that had been formed of him; for though the gold and silver lay scattered about, and the tents and vessels which had been taken were filled with magnificent furniture and incalculable riches, not only did he refrain from appropriating the smallest part of it to his own use, but likewise prevented others from so doing. There were some, however, who purloined a portion unknown to him, and of this number was Callias the torch-bearer.

The battle of Marathon was fought about the 6th of the month Me-

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Messeniac. five lib. iv. cap. viii. p. 297.

<sup>b</sup> Cæsar's Comment. de Bello Civili, lib. iii. § xxi.

<sup>c</sup> Appian. de Bell. Civilib. lib. ii. p. 782.

<sup>d</sup> Plutarch. in Aristide, p. 321. B.

<sup>e</sup> Id. ibid. C.



tagitnion, i. e. about the 17th August, 490 years before our era. See M. Freret, *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles-Lettres*, Vol. xviii. p. 149, &c. Father Corsini is of a different opinion; but had he seen the work of M. Freret, I doubt not that he would have changed his mind.

CXIV. Καλλίμαχος διαφθείρεται] *Callimachus was killed*. Herodotus does not say in what manner. Some of the rhetoricians have been pleased to say that he was pierced by so many arrows and javelins, that, instead of falling, he remained erect. See Polemon, in *Orat.* 1. p. 2. lin. 3. et seq. ex edit. H. Stephani, 4to. It is to this that Panteleus alludes in the following epigram, where he makes the Persians to speak thus: "Vain labours, fruitless war! What shall we say to our king when we appear before him? Sire, why have you sent us against warriors who are immortal? We throw darts at them, but they fall not; we wound them, and they do not fly. A single man has pillaged the whole army; though covered with blood, he stood amongst us like the statue of the invincible Mars, and, firm as a tree fixed to the ground by roots of iron, cannot fall. Perhaps he will even reach our vessels. Pilots, unloose the cables; let us fly from the threats of the dead."

This piece has been preserved to us by Stobæus.<sup>a</sup> Grotius has given it a place in his *Florilegium*, p. 51. Stephens, in his *Anthology*, has omitted the sixth verse, either from inadvertence, or because it was wanting in the Ms. of Stobæus, to which he had recourse. M. Brunck blames Grotius for writing in the third verse *τί μ' ἐπέρχας*. This is a mere typographical error, scarcely worth the pains of pointing out. In the edition of Stobæus, and in the *Anthology* of Stephens, we read *τί μ' ἐπέρχες*. The latter writer has in the eighth verse put *νείκερας* instead of *ἐπέρχας*, probably on the authority of some Ms. M. Brunck probably has not seen this edition, as he does not notice this new reading.

Κυνάγειρος] *Cynægirus*. Cynægirus was the brother of Æschylus, the tragic poet. He distinguished himself at the battle of Marathon; but it does not appear that he held any command, any more than Epizelus, as is pretended by the author of the *Parallel between the Greeks and the Romans*, falsely attributed to Plutarch, and printed with the editions of that author.<sup>c</sup>

"Cynægiri" quoque militis Atheniensis gloria magnis scriptorum laudibus celebrata est: qui post prælii innumeras cædes, cum fu-

<sup>a</sup> *Anthologia Græca*, post indices. *Analect. Vet. Poet. Græc.* Vol. ii. p. 404.

<sup>b</sup> Stobæus, *Sermo vii.* p. 91. Grotius in *Florilegio*, p. 51.

<sup>c</sup> Suidas, voc. Κυνάγειρος.

<sup>d</sup> Plutarch. *Opera*, Vol. ii. p. 303. B. C.

<sup>e</sup> Justin. lib. ii. cap. 12. p. 94.

gientes hostes ad naves egisset, constam navem dextra manu tenuit, nec prius dimisit, quam manum amitteret. Tum quoque amputatâ dextrâ, navem sinistrâ comprehendit; quam et ipsam cum amisisset, ad postremum morsu navem detinuit. Tantam in eo virtutem fuisse, ut non tot cœdibus fatigatus, non duabus manibus amissis victus; truncus ad postremum, et veluti rabida fera, dentibus dimicaverit."

Phasis, a painter, whom we hear of on no other occasion, had represented Cynægirus with both his hands. Cornelius Longinus wrote an epigram on this, which we find in the Anthologia, Book iv. cap. viii. Epig. xxxii. p. 213. "Happy Cynægirus! Phasis has not represented you like Cynægirus; he has given you two hands. He was a wise painter, who would not deprive of his hands a man, whose hands had immortalised him."

To this translation, I add that of Grotius, the elegance of which entitles it to notice;

To Phasis, Cynægirus, tamen non ut Cynægirum,  
Instructam æquidem fecit utraque manu.  
Sed caput pictor, manibus qui noluit orbem  
Pingere, qui manuum nomine morte caret.

Τῶν ἀφλάστον] *The upper part of the poop.* The Greek τὸ ἀφλάστον implies the elevated part of the poop, composed of large curved planks. To understand clearly what is meant by ἀφλάστον, we should be better acquainted with the construction of the ancient vessels, than I profess to be. The reader will do well, however, to consult Eustathius,\* from whom I have borrowed the above definition. This name was given to that part, because it was not easily broken: ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ ῥαδίως φλάσθαι, id est θλάσθαι, in the Attic dialect. The scholia attributed to Didymus explain this term but indifferently.

The Homeric Lexicon of Apollonius† says, that the ἀφλάστον is the same thing as the ἀκροστόλιον; but the scholast of Apollonius Rhodius proves that he is mistaken. The ἀκροστόλιον, says he,‡ is the upper part of the στόλος. Now the στόλος is the projecting timber which stretches from the part of the vessel where the name is painted to the prow. The ἀκροστόλιον, then, is the prow; but the poet (Homer) indicates that the ἀφλάστον was the poop. He then pretends that ἀφλάστον is by antiphrasis; because, says he, this part, which is only a thin board fastened to the poop, is easily broken.

The scholiast is quite in the right. The aphlaston was at the poop, as he very satisfactorily proves. But whether this part was

\* Eustath. in Homerum, Vol. ii. p. 330.  
1039, lin. 36.

† Id. ibid. lin. 39.

‡ Apollon. Lex. Homeri, voc. "Αφλα-

στον, p. 230.  
§ Scholast. Apollonii Rhodii, ad lib. i.  
vers. 1039, fol. 139.

weak, as he says, or very strong, as Eustathius contends, I am unable to decide.

CXV. Οἱ βάρβαροι ἐνανταπροσάμενοι] *The Barbarians retreated.* If we believe Heraclides of Pontus,\* it was Tharsippus of Eræudes, whilst, according to most of the historians, it was Euclees who carried to the archons the first news of this success. The battle was scarcely ended, when, without laying aside his arms, he ran, he flew, announced the victory, and fell dead at their feet.

Ἐνανταπροσάμενοι] *Without turning round the ships.* Ἐνανταπροσάσθαι signifies to retreat, without putting about the ship. They practised this manoeuvre on the present occasion, because they were close pressed by the enemy. See supra, note 1. on § xv.

Αἰρίην δὲ ἔσχε ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι] *They pretend at Athens.* I read with Plutarch,<sup>4</sup> αἰρίην δὲ ἔσχεον, and the rather, as in some Mss., and amongst them in those of the Royal Library, we find αἰρίην. Αἰρίην ἔχειν signifies properly, to be accused, to render one's self guilty. 'Καὶ μὴν, ἔφη, οὐ πάνυ γε βράδιόν ἐστιν εὐρεῖν ἔργον, ἐφ' ᾧ οὐκ ἂν τις αἰρίαν ἔχοι.' 'It is not easy to find a thing in which one may not render one's self guilty.' The same word also signifies, to have an ill name, to be blamed. 'Οὐ πολλοῦ γ' ἕνεκα χρόνου, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὄνομα ἔχετε καὶ αἰτίαν ὑπὸ τῶν βουλομένων τὴν πόλιν λοιδορεῖν.' 'In a short time, Athenians, those who would insult you, will take occasion from my death to give you an ill name, and to reproach you with it.' It means likewise 'dici,' 'perhiberi.' 'Μαθητὴν, ἢ τῶν ξένων τινά, ἢ τῶν πολιτῶν ἢ ἄλλον, ἐλεύθερον, ἢ δούλον (ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν) ὅστις αἰρίαν ἔχει, εἰὰ τὴν τοῦτων ἀμλίαν σοφός τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς γεγενῆσθαι; 'Can we name one of their disciples, whether stranger, citizen, or any other, free or slave, who is said to have become wise or honest by associating with them?'

We find a similar example in the first Alcibiades<sup>5</sup> of Plato, and it might even be supposed that one had been copied from the other. See also the Theætetus, and Casaubon ad Athenæum, lib. ix. cap. 11. p. 639. lin. 32.

Ἀσπίδα] *A buckler.* This was a signal for the Persians to attack Athens. Demetrius<sup>6</sup> likewise held up a gilded shield, as the signal for action.

The late M. Reiske, after having greatly perplexed himself to in-

\* Plutarch. de Gloria Atheniens. Vol. ii. p. 347. C.

<sup>2</sup> Id. de Herodoti Malignit. Vol. ii. p. 362. C.

<sup>3</sup> Xenoph. Memorab. Socratis Dicta, lib. ii. cap. viii. § 7.

<sup>4</sup> Plat. Apolog. Socratis, Vol. i. p. 38.

<sup>5</sup> Jachin. Socratic. de Virtute, § ii.

<sup>6</sup> Plato in Alcibade primo, Vol. ii. p. 119. A.

<sup>7</sup> Id. in Theæteto, Vol. i. p. 169. A.

<sup>8</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. xi. § li. Vol. ii. p. 344.

interpret this passage, thus ends his note : \* "Scutum eam ad rem significandam tolli consuevisse, ulibi non legi." It was a signal agreed on between the Alcæmonidæ and the Persians: we need seek no farther for an explanation of the mystery.

CXVI. Ἐβλήθησαν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ] *To the succour of their city.* The Persians took them for fresh troops. "Miltiades<sup>b</sup> quum ingentem Persarum multitudinem apud Marathonem fudisset, Athenienses circa gratulationem morantes compulsi, ut festinarent ad opem urbi ferendam, quam classis Persarum petebat. Quumque præcurriasset, implesetque mœnia armatis, Persæ rati ingentem esse numerum, et alio milite apud Marathonem pugnatum, alium pro muris suis opponi, circumactis extemplo navibus, Asiam repetierunt."

Ἐξ Ἡρακλῆϊον] *From a place consecrated to Hercules.* Ἡρακλῆϊον implies a field, a piece of ground consecrated to Hercules, and not a temple of that god; *τεμενος* is understood. See § CXIII, where we have Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ τεταγμένοι ἐν τεμένει Ἡρακλῆος, ἐπὶ λθοῦ βοηθέντες Πλαταιῆς. 'Whilst the Athenians were in order of battle, in the field consecrated to Hercules, the Plataeans came to their assistance.'

CXVII. Ἐπεσον μὲν ἑμφοτέρων τοσούτοι] *Such was exactly the loss of the one side and of the other.* The orators did not fail to swell the number of the dead; and inscriptions, dictated by vanity or flattery, attested that the Persians lost in this battle 200,000 men.<sup>c</sup> If Herodotus asserts any thing in praise of the Athenians, Plutarch, who takes every possible opportunity to depreciate him, avers that it is flattery; but when our historian does not exaggerate their advantages, as in the present instance, he then declares<sup>d</sup> that he conceals the grandeur of the victory, by reducing to nothing so memorable a success. So much for his candour. Justin says that the loss of the Persians amounted to 200,000 men. "Ducenta milia<sup>e</sup> Persæ eo prælio, sive naufragio, amiserunt." I insist on this passage, because Berneggerus does not appear to have understood it. This commentator, wishing to reconcile Justin with Herodotus, says that our historian speaks of those only who were killed on land, and that Justin includes those who perished at sea by shipwreck, and he cites Diodorus Siculus, Book xi. § xii. and xiii. The fact is, that there was no shipwreck; that Diodorus Siculus, in his 11th Book, speaks only of the expedition of Xerxes, and that the 10th Book, which treated of the battle of Marathon, is lost. 'Naufragium,' in the passage of Justin, is not to be rendered literally, but figuratively.

\* Ad Plutarch. de Herodoti Malignis. Vol. ix. p. 122.

<sup>b</sup> Suidas, voc. Μιλτιάδης, Vol. iii. p. 226.

<sup>c</sup> Plutarch. de Herodoti Malignis. p.

<sup>d</sup> Frontini Strategem. lib. iv. cap. vii. § 62. D.

§ 2th.

<sup>e</sup> Justin. lib. ii. cap. 12. p. 91.

Hippias, formerly tyrant of Athens, also lost his life in this battle. "Cecidit" at Hippias, tyrannus Atheniensis, auctor et concitor ejus belli, Dns patriæ ultionibus pones repotentibus." This is likewise confirmed by Cicero.<sup>3</sup> "Nefarius Hippias, Pisistrati filius, qui in Marathonis pugna cecidit, arma contra patriam ferens."

Hoidas however relates, under the word Hippias,<sup>4</sup> I know not on what authority, "that Hippias fled to Lemnos, where falling sick, he died, the blood gushing from his eyes. Thus was his country, against which he led the Barbarians, avenged. Thus was he punished, for having drawn down on himself the hatred of the gods of his country."

I need scarcely remark that this is the opinion of a superstitious man.

This battle was painted in the Portico, which the variety of the paintings had caused to be named *Pœcile*, but which was properly called *Perianæctœum*.<sup>5</sup> The *Platœans*,<sup>6</sup> and all the Athenians who had fought against the Persians, were represented in it. At the commencement of the battle, the victory appears to preponderate on neither side; as it proceeds, the Barbarians are seen to fly, and to push one another into a marsh. In the back ground are seen the Phœnician vessels, and the Greeks slaughtering the Persians who are endeavouring to escape to them. The Persians are painted with their large trowsers; which occasioned Perseus to describe this Portico as

<sup>1</sup> *Strepentis illius Mœlis*

*Porticus.*

It was Pannamus, brother of Phidias, who painted this battle. Pliny<sup>7</sup> says that the art of painting had at that time attained a high degree of perfection; and that Miltiades, Callimachus, and Cynægius, on the side of the Athenians, and Datis and Artaphernes on that of the Barbarians, were portrayed to the very life.

Pausanias<sup>8</sup> relates that the neighing of horses and the noise of the combatants might be heard every night in the plain of Marathon. Those, says he, who go to the place expressly to hear them, are very ill treated; but those who are there by accident, have nothing to fear from the anger of the genii. I quote this fable merely to remark, that Spon,<sup>9</sup> travelling over the same ground in 1676, was told by the inhabitants of the neighbouring village, that they were often terrified by hearing unknown voices in the night. The Albanian with whom he lodged, assured him that he had often heard them; that they re-

<sup>3</sup> Justin. lib. vi. cap. vi. p. 83.

<sup>4</sup> Cœd. Attic. lib. vi. Epist. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Suidas, voc. *Perianæctœum*, Vol. ii. p. 182.

<sup>6</sup> Suidas, voc. *Perianæctœum*, Vol. ii. p. 182.

<sup>7</sup> Plin. lib. 35.

<sup>8</sup> Pausan. Attic. voc. lib. i. cap. 27. p. 27.

<sup>9</sup> Spon.

<sup>1</sup> Pers. Satyr. lib. viii. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxi. cap. viii. Vol. ii. p. 690. lin. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. Attic. voc. lib. i. cap. xxi. p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Travels of Spon and Wheeler, Vol. ii. p. 184.



sumbled the voices of complaining women, but that, when he approached the spot, they retired. These good people had certainly never heard of the battle of Marathon; but the fable of these ghosts had been handed down to them by tradition.

A mound of earth was raised on the spot, by way of monument to the Athenians who had fallen in the battle, and another to the Plataeans. Columns were placed on the summits, and on these were engraved their names, and those of the tribes to which they belonged. The Persians were buried near the same spot. This monument still existed in the time of Pausanias, as well as the columns; which is not surprising: the care with which the ancients preserved whatsoever tended to exalt the character of their country is well known: but it is astonishing it should remain in part to the present day. Mr. Chandler<sup>a</sup> recognised it. It is a mound, says he, which rises on the plain. The columns have disappeared. A little further on, towards the north, adds he, is seen a square pedestal of white marble, which was probably the base of a trophy.

*Ἐπιζήλων*] *Epizelus*. If we may believe<sup>c</sup> the author of the *Parallels* attributed to Plutarch, his name was Polyzelus, and he was one of the generals; but it is highly probable, that he was only a private soldier, or at most an inferior officer, as was Cynægirus, whom he raises to the rank of general.

*Ἡρόδοτος*] *I was assured*. Du Ryer, Sahat, and Littlebury, say that Herodotus had heard the adventure from Epizelus himself. "But how did they come by this information?" asks M. Bellanger: "Sahat first asserted this, Du Ryer copied him, and Littlebury has copied either the one or the other of them."

To the story of Epizelus may be added that related by Plutarch. A great number of those who fought at the battle of Marathon,<sup>d</sup> says he, thought they saw before their ranks Theseus, completely armed, rushing upon the battalions of the Persians. This tale was not credited in the time of Herodotus, or he would not have failed to mention it.

CXIX. *Τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἐρετριέων ἀνδραποδισμένους*] *The Eretrians whom they had reduced to slavery*. There were 780<sup>e</sup> prisoners taken in Eretria, including old men, women, and children. The greater part of the Eretrians took refuge amongst the rocks of Eubœa. Four hundred were carried to Susa, of whom ten were women. The rest perished in Ionia and in Lydia.

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Attic, *supra* lib. i. cap. 1111. p. 79.

<sup>b</sup> Travels in Greece, chap. 1111. pp. 165, 166.

<sup>c</sup> Plutarch. Parallel. p. 306. C.

<sup>d</sup> Essai de Critique, &c. pp. 186, 187.

<sup>e</sup> Plutarch. in Lucæo, p. 17. A.

<sup>f</sup> Philostrat. Apollonii Vit. lib. i. cap. 1111. p. 31.

[Ἀρδέρικα] *To Ardericca.* This village is not the same that is mentioned in § CLXXXV. of Book 1.; that was in the territory of Babylon, this in Cissia.

[Ἀπὸ μὲν Σούσων δέκα καὶ διηκοσίου σταδίων] *Two hundred and ten stadia from Susa.* If we may rely on the testimony of Damis,<sup>a</sup> this village was in Media, one long day's journey from Babylon.<sup>b</sup> There are neither cities nor towns, says he, in Cissia, nothing but villages. The inhabitants are a wandering people, who rarely quit their horses. The residence of the Eretrians is in the heart of the country. They have secured themselves from the incursions of the Barbarians, by conducting round their abode a river, which serves as a rampart. The earth, impregnated with bitumen, has a natural bitterness; and the people are short-lived, owing to the bad quality of the water, which, being strongly tinctured with bitumen, operates on the bowels. Near the village is a piece of rising ground, of indifferent quality, which produces them a subsistence. Strabo<sup>c</sup> says, that the Eretrians were transported to Gordyene; but he is mistaken.

The following sepulchral inscriptions, relative to the Eretrians who were conveyed to Cissia, are attributed to Plato. In the first, it is said that they were transplanted to the plain of Ecbatana; in the second, that their settlement was near Susa: and it seems difficult to reconcile the two. But if we reflect that there was a city of Ecbatana,<sup>d</sup> called 'Ecbatana Magorum,' near to the mountains whither Darius had removed certain inhabitants of Ecbatana in Media, and that Susa was the nearest city of any magnitude to the former, we shall discover why Ecbatana is mentioned in the first of these inscriptions, and Susa in the second.

"Here he," in the middle of the plain of Ecbatana, those men who abandoned the ever-agitated waves of the Ægean sea. Adieu, Eretria, my illustrious country, I bid you farewell; and you, Athens, the neighbour of Eubœa; and you also, beloved sea.

"Eretrians of Eubœa, we are interred near Susa! alas! at what a distance from our dear country!"

[Υπορύπτας] *Which is towered.* Υπορύπτειν signifies, to put one thing under another for the purpose of raising it up. See Book 11. § CXXXVI. note 4; and Book 111. § CXXX. note 3. As to the machine called Κηλόμερον, see Book 1. § XCIII. note 1.

[Οἱ καὶ μέχρι ἐμὲ εἶχον τὴν χώραν ταυτήν] *They occupied it down to my time.* If we believe Philostratus, they occupied it even at the be-

<sup>a</sup> Philostrat. Apollon. Vit. lib. 1. cap. xxiv. p. 39.

<sup>b</sup> Philostratus did not know the city of Ecbatana, designated Ecbatana Magorum. See the sequel of the note.

<sup>c</sup> Strab. lib. xvi. p. 1063. D.

<sup>d</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. vi. cap. xxvi. Vol. i. p. 330. lin. 19.

<sup>e</sup> Analect. Vet. Port. Græc. Vol. 1. p. 173; xliii. et xliiv.

ginning of the Christian era, that is to say, more than 500 years afterwards; and Apollonius of Tyana, his hero, obtained<sup>a</sup> a promise from the king of the Parthians, that they should in future be secured from the vexations of the neighbouring nations.

CXXI. Καλλιὴ τῷ Φαινίππου] *Callias, son of Phænippus, and father of Hipponicus.* The genealogy of this Callias, as far as I have been able to gather from detached passages of different authors, is as follows:

Phænippus is the first of the family I find mentioned, and that only in the passage of Herodotus. His son was Callias, who purchased<sup>b</sup> the effects of the Pisistratidæ when they were banished from Athens. He was the winner in the horse-race at Olympia, &c.<sup>c</sup>

His son, Hipponicus, surnamed Ammon, also became rich, if we may believe Athenæus. "Diomnestes of Eretria," says he,<sup>d</sup> "having received from the Persian general a considerable sum in gold to be kept for him, guarded it carefully after the total defeat of the Persians: but when the king sent back the army with an order to destroy Eretria, each person carried his wealth to whatever place he thought most secure. The descendants of Diomnestes committed theirs to Hipponicus, the son of Callias; and when the Eretrians were all killed or carried away into slavery by the Persians, this treasure remained with Hipponicus."

Although Athenæus gives this anecdote on the authority of Heraclides of Pontus, I still consider it a fable; because it was only a short time before the battle of Marathon that the Persians invaded Eubœa, and attacked Eretria.

At all events, this Hipponicus had a son named Callias, who was in the battle of Marathon.<sup>e</sup> He was a Daducus, or torch-bearer.<sup>f</sup> A Barbarian mistaking him for a king, from his long hair, and a fillet which he wore round his head, threw himself at his feet, and showed him a ditch, in which was concealed an immense quantity of gold. Callias put him to death, and by this detestable means became possessed of the treasure. He was for this reason surnamed Λακκόλουρος, (rich from the ditch). Herodotus speaks of him, Book vii. § cxi. This Callias was sent as ambassador to Artaxerxes, surnamed the Long-handed, son of Xerxes, to ratify the treaty entered into by this prince with Cimon. Demosthenes mentions this circumstance.<sup>g</sup>

Hipponicus, who with Eurymedon<sup>h</sup> commanded the Athenian

<sup>a</sup> Phæstrat. in Vit. Apollon. lib. i. cap. xlii. p. 45.

<sup>b</sup> Herodot. lib. vi. § cxli. et cxlii.

<sup>c</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>d</sup> Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. xii. cap. ix. p. 525. l. et 537. A.

<sup>e</sup> Plutarch. in Aristide, p. 321. D.

<sup>f</sup> As to the Daduci, see the excellent work of M. De St. Croix, on the Mysteries of Paganism, p. 130.

<sup>g</sup> Demosthen. *περί Περσικῆς βλάβης*, pp. 25b 500.

<sup>h</sup> Thucyd. lib. iii. § xci.

troops in the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war, was son of this Callias, and father of another Callias, who dissipated his wealth with courtezans,<sup>c</sup> and died in the greatest poverty. This latter had a son, called Hipponicus, who married a daughter of the famous Alcibiades, whom he afterwards repudiated.<sup>d</sup>

The genealogy of this family therefore is as follows :

PHÆNIPTUS.  
|  
CALLIAS.  
|  
HIPPONICUS.  
|  
CALLIAS, the Daducæus.  
|  
HIPPONICUS.  
|  
CALLIAS.  
|  
HIPPONICUS.

We see, therefore, that the family was illustrious ; and we are the more surprised that a modern author should have advanced, within these few years, that he was of low rank. He has perhaps been misled by the epithet Daducus, or torch-bearer, given him by Plutarch, in Aristide, p. 321. He must have been ignorant that the Daducus was the second dignity in the Eleusinian mysteries, and was hereditary in the most illustrious families of Athens.

CXXII. Καλλίων δὲ τοῦτον ἔχον] *This Callias merits.* If this paragraph were wholly suppressed, as the learned and judicious M. Valckenuer remarks, the narration would be more clear and distinct. It was doubtless to the glory of Callias to have been the winner in the horse-race, and to have been second in that of the four-horsed chariots ; but he enjoyed this renown in common with many others, mentioned in the course of this history, and therefore should not be exalted over them. His conduct might be proposed as an example to fathers, in a work of a different nature from this, but certainly deserved no place in history. In short, this paragraph, which differs greatly from the style of our historian, seems to have been interpolated by some sophist anxious to pay court to Hipponicus, the son of this Callias. And what farther confirms me in this opinion, is, that this paragraph is wanting in the Ms. B of the Royal Library, in the Medici Ms., and in those of Cardinal Passionei and Dr. Askew. I have for this reason enclosed it in brackets.

CXXV. Τὰ ἀρκάδων] *Their first origin.* "The first Alcmaeon, from whom they were descended, according to Suidas, under the word Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι, lived in the time of Theseus."—BELLANGER.

<sup>c</sup> Anstoph. in Rania, vers. 432. et ibi Schol.

<sup>d</sup> Lynceus advers. Alcibiad. p. 142. lin. 18. &c.

M. Bellanger should rather have cited Harpocration than Suidas, as the latter writer had borrowed from the former. Alcæmon, the contemporary of Theseus, however, although of the same family, was not one of the ancestors of the Alcæmon mentioned by Herodotus. This latter was descended in a direct line from Alcæmon the last of the perpetual archons, and consequently from Neleus, king of Pylos. His genealogy was as follows :

NELEUS.  
|  
NESTOR.  
|  
PERICLYMENUS.  
|  
PENTHILUS.  
|  
BORUS.  
|  
ANDROPOMPUS.  
|  
MELANTHUS.  
|  
CODRUS.

Melanthus, having been driven by the Heraclidæ from Messenia, of which he had been king, came to Athens, and reigned there also. Codrus his son succeeded him, and was the last king of Athens. Medon, his eldest son, was the first perpetual archon. He was succeeded in regular descent from father to son by thirteen : Medon, Acastus, Archippus, Thersippus, Phorbas, Megacles, Diognetes, Pherecles, Ariphron, Thespheus, Agamestor, Æschylus, Alcæmon. The last of these governed but two years, that is, a part of the year 755, the whole of the year 754, and a part of the year 763 before our era. The names of his descendants until Megacles, who was annual archon in the year 612 before our era, are unknown ; but we learn from writers worthy of credit, that this annual archon was descended in a direct line from Alcæmon, last perpetual archon, and consequently from Neleus, the father of Nestor. Neleus having been born in the year 1391 before our era, and Megacles, one of his descendants, having been annual archon in the year 612 before the same era, this family must have subsisted for 799 years in the greatest splendour.

CXXVI. Τοῦτό, τε ὄμμα ἐπέβυον] *And having filled his mouth with it.* So in the Greek ; which the Latin translator has rendered, ' *cujus et os turgidum erat.* ' ' *His cheeks were swelled out.* ' This was in consequence of his having filled his mouth with gold. But it does not thence follow, that ἐπέβυον signifies, ' *was inflated.* ' Βέω signifies ' *impleo ;* ' and it is taken in this sense in Homer's *Odyssey*, Book iv. versè 124. *νήματος ἀσπυγγοῖο βεβυμένον :* ' *filled with spun wool.* ' See also the *Etymologicum Magnum*, p. 651. line 51.



Τεθριπποτροφήσαι Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀναπτεροι] *Victorious at Olympia in the race of chariots with four horses.* Alcmaeon was, according to Isocrates,<sup>a</sup> the first citizen of Athens who obtained the victory in the race of chariots drawn by four horses. A few lines lower down, the same author has ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν Τυράννων τοσούτων ὄντων αὐταὶ ἐμισήθησαν, κ. τ. λ. I understand by τῶν Τυράννων τοσούτων ὄντων, the Pisistratides and their partisans, who were very numerous; but if it be absolutely necessary to alter the reading, I should not be at all disposed to adopt that proposed by the Abbé Auger,<sup>b</sup> τηλικούτων, or τοιούτων, or συγγενῶν; and in preference to admitting either of these conjectures into the text, I should choose to correct τοσούτων αὐταὶ, for ὄντων is not found in the edition of Aldus.

Τοῦ Ἀνδρέω] *Of Andreas.* In Pausanias, we find Pyrrhon instead of Myron; but we must correct this author by Herodotus and Plutarch.<sup>c</sup> Kuhniius, who in a note gives the genealogy of Clisthenes, has forgotten Andreas.

Νικῶν ἐν αὐτοῖσι τεθριππῶ] *Conqueror in the chariot race.* The name of Clisthenes is not found amongst the conquerors in the Olympic games, and Father Corsini has omitted him in his Olympionics.

Clisthenes distinguished himself in the sacred war, undertaken by decree of the Amphictyons, to vindicate the majesty of the god of Delphi. Eurylochus of Thessaly, who claimed to be descended from Hercules, was the commander-in-chief,<sup>d</sup> and not Clisthenes, as Pausanias<sup>e</sup> asserts.

Clisthenes brought to the siege of Circha a very well-equipped and valiant body of troops; and as the siege was greatly protracted in consequence of provisions being furnished to the besieged by sea, he equipped a fleet at his own expense, for the purpose of cutting them off.

The Amphictyons, in acknowledgment of this important service, adjudged to him the third of the spoils of the Cisseans, and the Sicyonians instituted on this occasion the Pythian festival. This we learn from the scholiast of Pindar,<sup>f</sup> who cites Herodotus as his authority, though our historian never mentions it. The same scholiast is also mistaken, when he adds that they likewise gave Sicyonia to Clisthenes. They could not give him that which he inherited from his fathers.

CXXVII. Ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὲ χλιδῆς ἀπέκρο] *Had carried luxury and*

<sup>a</sup> Isocrat. de Bigis, Vol. li. p. 431.

<sup>b</sup> See the third Vol. of the edition of Isocrates by M. Auger, p. 152, and note.

<sup>c</sup> Pausan. Corinthiac. viii. lib. ii. cap. viii. p. 129.

<sup>d</sup> Plutarch. de his qui vero a Nummo puniuntur, Vol. ii. p. 563.

<sup>e</sup> Strab. Geograph. lib. ix. p. 641,

Schol. Pindari in Prolegomenis ad Pythiam, p. 163, Thesaurus in Oratore ad Athenienses in operibus Hippocratis, Vol. ii. p. 911.

<sup>f</sup> Pausan. Phocicæ, sive lib. x. cap. xxxvii. p. 894.

<sup>g</sup> Schol. Pindari ad Nem. ix. vers. 2. p. 290, col. 1. lin. 3.

*effeminacy to the highest pitch.* This Sybarite<sup>a</sup> left Italy with a thousand bird-catchers and cooks. In the repast<sup>b</sup> given by Clisthenes to his guests on their arrival, Smindyrides would allow no one to sit beside him at the table; saying that he would suffer none there but the princess, for whom he came. M. Blanchard,<sup>c</sup> who relates this anecdote after Suidas, expresses his regret that history does not mention the success of this pretender. If he had read Herodotus, he would have seen that Smindyrides did not obtain the princess.

The mere sight of a labourer tilling the ground fatigued Smindyrides, and the fold of a rose-leaf on his couch prevented him from sleeping. "Smindyridem<sup>d</sup> aiant fuisse ex Sybaritarum civitate: qui cum vidisset fodientem, et altius rastrum allevantem, lassum se fieri questus, vetuit illum opus in conspectu suo facere: idem impius questus est quod foliis rosæ duplicatis incubuisset."

Diodorus Siculus also gives some account of him, in *Excerptis de Virtutibus et Vitiis*, Vol. II. p. 550.

Σίρις Δάμασος] *Damasus of Siris; he was the son of Amyris.* We commonly read Damas of Siris, the son of Samyris; but Thomas Gale having found in the Ms. of Sancroft Δάμασος Ἀμύριος, MM. Wesseling and Valckenaer have made Δάμασος Ἀμύριος of it. I have given the preference to this reading, because Damasos is a Greek termination, and that Amyris is a usual name amongst the Italians.<sup>e</sup> This was the name of the inhabitant of Sybaris, who was sent by his fellow-citizens to Delphi to consult the god, and who passed for a madman, though his madness was true wisdom. We learn this from the *Lexicon* of Pausanias, cited by Eustathius on the *Iliad*, p. 298. lin. 4, &c. See also *Diogeniani Proverb. Centur.* III. Proverb. 26. p. 200. Athenæus<sup>f</sup> relates the same story, and gives the answer of the oracle. M. Lefebvre-Villebrune in his translation cites a proverb of Zenobius, which has no reference whatever to this subject.

Τίτορμος] *Titormus.* This Titormus<sup>g</sup> of Ætolia, according to the account of Alexander of Ætolia, was excessively voracious. He disputed one day with Milo of Crotona, which of them could devour an ox in the shortest time. This appears almost incredible. It is related,<sup>h</sup> however, of the latter, that he took on his shoulders a bull of four years old, carried it the length of a stadium, then killed it, cut it in pieces, and ate it up in one day. Theodore of Hierapolis relates

<sup>a</sup> Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. XII. cap. II. p. 641. C.

<sup>b</sup> Suidas, voc. Συβαριτῶν.

<sup>c</sup> Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscript. Vol. IX. p. 168.

<sup>d</sup> Senec. de Ira, lib. II. cap. XXV.

<sup>e</sup> Those people were called Italotæ.

who, not being natives, had taken possession of some part of the country of Italy, such as the Greeks.

<sup>f</sup> Athen. lib. XII. cap. III. p. 620.

<sup>g</sup> Id. lib. I. cap. II. p. 412.

<sup>h</sup> Id. ibid.

also, that Milo ate twenty minæ of meat and as much bread daily, and drank three congii of wine; that is, something more than seventeen pounds of meat, and the same quantity of bread. This latter feat is more within the scope of probability, and serves to render the two former ones incredible.

[*Ἀπὸ δὲ Φειδῶν*] *He was descended from Phidon.* The text is here evidently altered. I have followed the correction of Gronovius, which appears to me necessary; otherwise Herodotus, who is usually so accurate, would have confused the two Phidons; which is the less probable, as the latter of them lived pretty near his own time.

The ancient Phidon was, according to Strabo,<sup>a</sup> the tenth descendant from Temenus, and consequently the fourteenth from Hercules. These fourteen generations suppose an interval of 466 or 467 years. Hercules having been born in the year 3330 of the Julian period, 1384 years B. C., Phidon's birth must have been about the year 3791 of the same period, 923 years before our era. He is said to have invented measures, which from him were called Phidonian, weights, silver and other coin. Gellius, however, ascribes these inventions to Palamedes. "*Mensuras<sup>b</sup> et pondera Phidon Argivus invenit, vel Palamedes, ut maluit Gellius.*" Pythagoras, according to the musician Aristoxenus, was the first<sup>c</sup> who brought weights and measures into Greece. The Oxford Marbles attest<sup>d</sup> that Phidon was the inventor of weights and measures; and if any doubt remained, Julius Pollux would remove it. "The Phidon," says he,<sup>e</sup> "is a sort of vase, in which oil is kept, so named from the Phidonian measures." These passages throw light on each other. I may add, that the scholiast of Pindar<sup>f</sup> explains the words *ἱκεῖναι ἐν ἐφρασίῳ*, in the 27th verse of the 13th Olympic, by *τὰ Φειδῶναι ἀγγεῖα*, 'the vases of Phidon.' Though his explanation may not be just, it still follows that these were measures of capacity.

I have expatiated more on this point than I should have done, had not the celebrated D'Anville<sup>g</sup> asserted that Phidon invented itinerary admeasurement. This intelligent author rests his opinion on a passage of Strabo, which, from not having read attentively, he has not correctly understood.

As soon as a nation begins to be civilized, weights and measures become necessary to them, and they are not slow to invent them.

<sup>a</sup> Strab. lib. viii. p. 549. A.

<sup>b</sup> Plin. lib. vii. cap. lvi. Vol. i. p. 414. lin. 16.

<sup>c</sup> Diogen. Laert. in Pythag. lib. viii. segm. xiv. p. 109.

<sup>d</sup> Marmora Oxoniens. Epoch. xxxi. p. 23.

<sup>e</sup> Julii Pollucis Onomastic. lib. x. segm. clix. Vol. ii. p. 1310.

<sup>f</sup> Schol. Pindari, ad Olymp. ain. vers. 27. col. 2. lin. 9.

<sup>g</sup> Traité des Mesures Itinéraires anciennes et modernes, p. 2.

There is every probability that they were known in Greece long before the reign of Phidon. He may have rectified and improved those which existed in his time, and perhaps introduced others, more correct or more convenient than those previously in use: for it is scarcely possible that before this prince no such thing was known in Greece. The Egyptians and the Asiatics had had them before the existence of the Greeks, probably before Greece was peopled at all. If we believe \* Gregorius Abulpharagus, it was Samirus, who reigned at Babylon next after Nimrod, and who was contemporary with Sarug, father of Nachor, great-grandfather of Abraham, that invented weights and measures.

Ἐξαγοστήσας τοὺς Ἠλείων ἀγωνοθέτας] *In driving out the agono-thetæ of the Eleans.* The Pisæans, says Pausanias,† were the cause of their own ruin, by wishing to regulate the Olympic games, instead of the Eleans, who detested them. They called in to their assistance, in the 8th Olympiad, Phidon, tyrant of Argos, the most insolent of all the Greeks, and presided with him over the games. The same people, having raised troops amongst their neighbours, celebrated these games also, in the 34th Olympiad, with Pantaleon their king.

The Abbé Gedoy<sup>n</sup> has made several misconstructions in this passage, which prove clearly that he translated from the Latin. 1. In the Latin translation, there is 'Olympiade enim octavâ Elei,' instead of 'Pisæi;' and the Abbé has not failed to write 'the Eleans.' 2. There is not, 'they irritated the Eleans,' but 'in hatred to the Eleans.' 3. There is not, 'jealous of their privileges,' the introduction of which is superfluous. 4. The Greek has not, 'who by his tyranny had rendered himself odious to all Greece,' but 'the most insolent of all the Greeks.' 5. 'Having assembled all their forces,' whereas the Greek says those of their neighbours. 6. 'In their turn.' Not only is this not in the Greek, but it is against the meaning of the author. Thus, in seven lines, we have six misconstructions.

Strabo relates the same thing, Book VIII. p. 549. A, B.

The Agonothetæ presided over the games.

The Olympiads here mentioned, neither are nor can be those of Coræbus, which began in the year 776 before our era, but that of Iphitus, the date of which is 884 years before our era, as I have proved in a memoir\* read to the Academy of the Belles-Lettres. I have likewise proved in the same memoir, that Phidon invented weights and measures in 895, that he expelled the Agonothetæ of the

\* Gregorii Abulpharagi Chronicon Sy-

riacus, p. 9. ex edit. Liæ 1789. 4to.

† Pausan. Eliacor. poster. sive lib. vi.

cap. xiii. p. 509.

\* Mémoires de l'Acad. des Belles-Let-

tres, Vol. xlv. p. 43 et suiv.

Eleus in 856, and that he was dethroned by the Lacedæmonians 854 years before our era.

Διοσκούριος] *The Dioscuri*. Castor and Pollux. A compound Greek word, which signifies 'the sons of Jupiter.' This Euphorion seems to be a very different person from the Phormion\* mentioned by Pausanias, who also received Castor and Pollux. The latter was a Spartan, and Euphorion an Arcadian.

Τῶν Σκοπαδίων] *The family of the Scopadæ*. See M. Bellanger's *Critical Essays*, p. 276. We may add to what is said by that critic, that this family was very wealthy; inasmuch that their riches became proverbial. Critias,<sup>†</sup> one of the thirty tyrants, is represented in the *Elegies* as wishing for the riches of the Scopadæ. Moses du Soul, on this passage of Plutarch, says that nobody mentions these Scopadæ, and he suspects we should read Scopas. But besides Herodotus, Theocritus, *Idyll*. xvi. verse 36, and Callimachus in *Suidas*, under the word Σκοπιδῆς, speak of the Scopadæ. Quintilian<sup>‡</sup> and Ælian<sup>§</sup> also name several persons Scopas. The one mentioned by Quintilian was the son of Creon. Simonides, in a piece addressed to him, says, that it is a difficult thing<sup>¶</sup> for a man to be always upright, to act always in conformity with a sound judgment, and to be without reproach, or rather, as the Greek expresses it, 'to have the hands, feet, and mind, all square, and unexceptionably fashioned.' This Scopas, together with a number of guests whom he was entertaining, were crushed by the falling-in of the ceiling of the room in which they were feasting. Simonides alone escaped from this misfortune. Quintilian, at the place referred to, and Phædrus, *Book* iv. *Fab.* xxiv. verse 28, relate the same fact. Phædrus says that the vault of the roof fell in; but I think that in the time of Simonides there were no vaulted roofs in Greece.

CXXVIII. Καὶ τῆς ὀργῆς] *Their inclinations*. So in the original, which has been rendered 'et iracundiam,' and by M. Bellanger, 'their aptness to anger.' MM. Wesseling and Valckenner have passed over this passage, without noticing that it has been improperly rendered. In a work so difficult and so well executed as is their new edition of our historian, the attention cannot fasten with equal intentness on every passage, and the one in question has escaped them. 'Ὀργή' signifies 'the character,' 'the inclinations.' We find it in this sense in a thousand authors, and especially in *Theognis*. "Learn," says he, "to endure ridicule: you will be patient out of your own house, if you come to know the character of any one."

\* Pausan. *Laconic.* *ave* lib. ii. p. 247.

† Plutarch. in *Cimone*, p. 484. F.

‡ Quintilian. *de Institut. Orat.* lib. xi. cap. ii.

§ Ælian. *Var. Hist.* lib. xii. cap. i. p. 718.

¶ Plat. in *Protagorâ*, Vol. i. p. 339. A, B.



• Εἶδε φέρειν τὰ γαλοῖα· θύρῃ δὲ καρτερὸς εἴς,  
Γινώσκων ὄργην ἦν εἶν' ἕκαστος ἔχει.

Thus we must read it, and not εἰ δὲ in two words, as we find in the edition of Aldus.

CXXIX. Κατακλίσιος τοῦ γάμου] *To celebrate the marriage.* Κατάκλισαι τοῦ γάμου, is strictly the act of placing the husband upon the nuptial couch by the side of his bride, or the act of lying beside the bride on a couch at table. Diodorus Siculus has an example of this, which is cited by M. Wesseling in his note. 'Ἐν δὲ τῷ μετὰ τὴν ὑφίξιν δείπνῳ προσιόντος τινὸς ὅπως κατακλιθῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν, εἰπεῖν δὲ κατὰ τὸ κήρυγμα πᾶρεσιν ἢ μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς, ἢ μόνος κατακλιθσόμενος. 'At the repast which succeeded his arrival, some one having advanced in order to place himself on the bed where he was, he told him, that he was come according to the proclamation, to sit on the bed beside his wife, or else to be there alone.'

This explanation did not seem satisfactory to M. Coray, and he therefore proposes the following.

"I should prefer, by a slight change, reading κατακρίσιος, which appears to me authorised by the following words, τὸν κρίνει ἐκ πάντων. The meaning would then be, 'the day that Clisthenes had fixed to decide the marriage, by declaring whom he would choose for a son-in-law. Κατακρίσιος stands here for the simple κρίσιος. We find a thousand examples in Herodotus of the preposition being superfluous, or at least appearing so. But if it be thought better to preserve the signification of the preposition, it might then be explained by 'definitive judgment,' and thus I believe to be the true meaning. It might also be rendered by the term 'adjudication,' taking this word nearly in the sense of κυρώσιος, which he has employed before, § CXXVI. ὡς κυρώσοντος Κλεισθέμευ τὸν γάμον ἐν ἐνιαυτῷ; and afterwards, § CXXX. ἐκεκύρωτο ὁ γάμος Κλεισθέμευ, and § CXXXI. ἀμφὶ μὲν τῇ κρίσει τῶν μνηστήρων τσαῦτα ἐγένετο."—CORAY.

I do not see the necessity for any change, and am still of my former opinion.

Προϊούσης δὲ τῆς πύσης] *Whilst they were engaged in drinking.* In Greece it was not the custom to drink during the repast, but after they had done eating. We find an example of it in the Retreat of the Ten Thousand. When drink<sup>c</sup> was brought to Aristus, at the table of Seuthes, he answered that he had not yet finished his dinner, and that they might hand it to Xenophon, who had done eating.

Κατέχων πολλὸν τοὺς ἄλλους] *Who attracted the attention, &c.*

<sup>a</sup> Theophrastus Gnom. vers. 311 et 305.

<sup>b</sup> Diodor. Sic. Vol. ii. p. 550.

<sup>c</sup> Xenoph. Anab. lib. vii. cap. iii. § vii. p. 306.

Literally, 'who very much detained the others.' Herodotus means, that all the company admired him, that their eyes were fixed on him, that he attracted the attention of all present, and engaged (κατέχων) them all in observing his person. This, unless I am greatly mistaken, is the meaning of the Greek; but I doubt whether the Latin version can be so understood, at least not so clearly.

M. Coray writes to me:

"You have translated, 'who attracted the attention of the whole company.' This translation is very good, taking it in the sense of, 'who occupied (κατέχων) the whole company in observing his person.' Permit me only to ask you, if it would not be better to turn the phrase thus, 'who mastered, who reigned over the whole company, who outshone all the other guests.' Κατέχω, which signifies properly 'to hold, to occupy,' is first employed in a metaphoric sense for ἀρχω, δεσπόζω, as we find it in Herodotus, lib. II. § LIX. Τούτων δὲ ὧν τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ μὲν Ἀττικὸν κατεχόμενον . . . ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου, that is to say, ἀρχόμενον, τυραννόμενον; and in Sophocles, Œdip. Col. vers. 380:

Ὡς αὐτίκ' Ἄργος ἢ τὸ Καδμείον πέδον  
Τιμῇ κατέχων.

As in Athenæus, lib. VII. cap. VII. p. 283. B. τοῖς τὴν Σαμοθράκην κατέχουσι θεοῖς. It is afterwards made to signify that dominion over the opinion of others, that a clever man has over a fool, a man of learning over an ignorant man, and sometimes an impudent coxcomb over a man of simplicity and candour. This is precisely the same signification which we give in French to 'dominer, régner.' An example will render this apparent, and the more so, as I shall select a passage which applies in like manner to a festival. It is from Lucian,\* δῆλος ἦν φόβος ἀντὶ αὐδοκίμουσι, καὶ κατέχοντι τὸ συμπόσιον. The critics have observed, that this phrase is synonymous with τυραννεῖν τὸ συμπόσιον, which the same author has used in the Dialogues of the Courtizans, Dial. III. Vol. III. p. 285. This synonymy is confirmed by Herodotus, lib. V. § LXXVIII. in which he employs κατέχομενοι and τυραννόμενοι in the same sense."

I do not see sufficient difference between the signification which I have adopted, and that proposed by M. Coray, to induce me to alter my translation.

Ἀδελῆσαι ἐμμέλειαν] *To play the Emmelia.* The ancient dances were of two kinds, the warlike dances and the dances of peace. The first were called Pyrrhic, and the other Emmelia. These latter were

\* Lucian. conviv. seu Lapith. § XIX. Vol. III. p. 432.

again subdivided. There were those which, though lively, were decent and modest. Plato, in his *Laws*,\* speaks in praise of them. The air to which the Emmelia were danced, bore the same name. This species of dance was introduced in the<sup>d</sup> tragedies.

There was another kind of Emmelia, differing greatly from this. It was indecent and grotesque; as is proved by Herodotus. Hippoclide was one of those who sought the daughter of Clisthenes in marriage. His wit sparkled during the repast, and wishing afterwards to give his future father-in-law a specimen of his talents, "he told the flute-player to play the Emmelia: the flute-player obeyed, and Hippoclide began to dance. He was very well satisfied with himself; but Clisthenes, who was amongst the spectators, looked on him with an eye of displeasure."

M. Burette quotes this passage, to prove that the Emmelia was a solemn air; but he translates it thus:

"Hippoclide commanded the flute-player to play him a serious air, to which he danced the dance called Emmelia, appearing very well satisfied with himself."

This learned academician had not observed that there were more dances than one called by this name. He has applied to the passage of Herodotus what Plato says of the Emmelia, who describes it as a decent dance, as we have seen above. The Emmelia mentioned by Herodotus is very different. They were amusing themselves after the repast, and amongst other things, with dancing. Clisthenes would have had no cause to be displeased with those who danced solemn dances; but he had a bad opinion of Hippoclide, from seeing him dance the Emmelia: he was offended at his want of modesty, at his impudence, τὴν ἀναιδείην, as our historian expresses it. The Emmelia of Herodotus was not, therefore, a solemn dance, but an indecent one, the air of which could scarcely be serious. We find from Hesychius,<sup>e</sup> that the Emmelia was a satirical dance; and according to that author, Æschylus has used that word to designate this species of dance. It was also called Sicinnis. The Sicinnis, according to the same lexicographer, was a comic and lascivious dance. The dances of the satyrs were very indecent. Clisthenes having considered the Emmelia danced by Hippoclide as indecent, it may in this sense be said to have been satiric. For the genealogy of Hippoclide, see note 4. on § xxxv.

Υρόνρευ] *Looked at him with an eye of displeasure.* 'Υρόντα δειν signifies 'circumspicere,' and 'limis et iratis oculis adspicere,' the

\* Plat. de Legibus, lib. vi. Vol. ii. p. 816. B.

<sup>e</sup> Hesychius, under the word Ἐμμέλια.

Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, Vol. ii. p. 125.

<sup>d</sup> Hesychius, voc. Ἐμμέλια.

same as *προβλεῖν* and *ἐπιθεῖν*. See M. Ernesti on Callimachus, Hymn. in Delum, vers. 62.—WESSELIING.

*Ἀπυρξήσας τὸν γάμον*] *Your dancing has set aside your marriage.* The Greek expression is much more energetic: it answers nearly to the English phrase, 'you have danced away your marriage.' Stephens has explained it in his Thesaurus, Vol. II. p. 1483, E; by the indecency of your dancing, you have lost your marriage.

*Ἀπο τούτου μὲν τοῦτο οὐκ ἐνόμizεται*] *This answer has since become a proverb.* Lucian has used this proverb on many occasions. "Ἐπεὶ πρὸς γε τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ οὐκ ἀνὰ πάντα κατηγορῶσιν, ἱκανὸν ἂν εἴη μοι τὸ, οὐ φρονίis Ἱπποκλείδῃ: 'As to the rest, if they should accuse me all together, I should content myself with the proverb, Hippocleides cares not.'

*Ὁ γὰρ φυλὰς καὶ τὴν δημοκρασίην Ἀθηναίοισι καταστήσας*] *Who divided this people into ten tribes.* Herodotus simply says that Cleisthenes divided the people into tribes. This general expression wants accuracy, because we might understand from it that before his time the people were not divided into tribes. We know that there were four tribes before the time of Cleisthenes. We must read this passage, therefore, according to that in § LXIX. of Book v. on which, see note 2. Lest a cursory reader might be mistaken, I have thought it better to explain this passage by the other.

CXXXI. *Τῆς Κλεισθέως Ἀγαρίστης*] *Agarista, a daughter of Cleisthenes.* This is clear enough. Hippocrates had a daughter, who was named Agarista, after Agarista the daughter of Cleisthenes, her grandmother. I cannot, therefore, comprehend why the celebrated Markland<sup>a</sup> should say that she was the wife of Cleisthenes.

CXXXIV. *Αἱρετοί*] *Alone.* After having said that all the Greeks were so far agreed, it appears that he opposes the testimony of the Parians alone to that of the other Greeks, and I have for this reason translated *αἱρετοί Παριοί*, 'the Parians alone.' It is beyond a doubt, that *αἱρετοί* is taken in this sense. See Lucian, *Dialogi Deorum*, x. § II. Vol. I. p. 230. and the note of the late Hemsterhusius.

*Μιλτιάδῃ ἀπορόντι*] *Whilst Miltiades was embarrassed.* The narrative of Cornelius Nepos is very different from that of our historian. He had no doubt other sources of information, and perhaps followed Euphorus, who had probably committed to writing the traditions of the other Greeks. I have thought proper, however, to give it a place here, that the reader may conveniently compare it with that of Herodotus.

<sup>a</sup> Lucian. *Apolog.* pro Marcedo conduct. Vol. II. § xv. p. 724.

<sup>b</sup> In notes ad vers. 130. *Iphigenia in Aulide*, p. 21.

"After the battle of Marathon, the Athenians gave to the same Miltiades seventy vessels to attack the islands which had assisted the Barbarians. He compelled the greater part of them to return to their duty, and some of them he subdued; but Paros, proud of its riches, would not submit. Upon which he landed his troops, formed a line of circumvallation round the place, and thus cut off all assistance, whether in men or provisions. He then fixed his machines of war, and approached nearer to the walls.

"When he was on the point of taking possession of the city, a wood at some distance on the continent, which was in sight of the island, was suddenly seen on fire in the night, without the cause of the accident being known. The flames being perceived both by the besieged and the besiegers, each party imagined that it was a signal given by the fleet of the great king. On this the Parians gave up all thoughts of surrendering, and Miltiades, fearing lest the fleet of the king should arrive, set fire to his works, and returned to Athens with the same number of vessels with which he had sailed from thence. The citizens were exasperated against him. He was accused of treason, and of having accepted the money of the king, for retiring without doing any thing, when he might have become master of the place. He was then ill from the wounds which he had received at the siege. As he was, for this reason, incapable of defending himself, his brother Tisagoras spoke for him. After a discussion and examination of the affair, the sentence of death was remitted; but he was condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents,\* the amount of the expenses of the expedition. Not being able to pay the fine, he was put in prison, where he died."

Cornelius Nepos adds, that his conduct before Paros was rather the pretext than the real motive for his condemnation. The Athenians had but lately recovered their liberty, and, in their anxiety to preserve it, they feared all whose talents raised them above the level of their fellow-citizens. Besides, the sovereign authority, which he had enjoyed in the Chersonesus, subjected him to the suspicion of still retaining a taste for it, and consequently rendered him formidable to his countrymen.

[*Ἱεροδόρα*] *Priestess*. So in the Greek. Suidas observes,† that in Herodotus *Ἱεροδόρα* is the same as *ἱερεῖα*, 'a priestess'; for my own part, I think that the Neocora was charged with the decoration of the temple, and that the Hypozacora was subordinate to her. I have followed Suidas, however, in my translation.

\* Corn. Nep. in Miltiade, cap. vii.

† Suidas, voc. *Ἱεροδόρα*.

‡ 770,000 liv (or 11,250*l*. sterling.)



CXXXVI. Προσγενομένον τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τοῦ θανάτου] *The penalty of death was remitted.* I am more inclined to trust to Plato, who asserts, "that the people condemned him by a decree to be precipitated into the barathrum, and that if the prytanis had not opposed it, he would have been thrown there." The epistates of the prytanea whose turn it was to preside chose nine proëdri, one from each tribe, except from that which was in office. These nine proëdri with the epistates of the prytanea presided over the assemblies of the people, to maintain order, and take care that nothing was done contrary to law. If matters were conducted in an orderly manner, the epistates permitted the people to give their votes, and it was his office to take them; but when he found that the people were misled by factious persons, he refused to do so. See note 5. on § LXXXI. of Book v. This chief magistrate was called also Prytanis. We may recollect that Socrates, on a very critical occasion, adopted a still more generous line of conduct. The Athenians having beaten the Lacedæmonians near the Arginusæ, the commanders pursued the enemy's vessels, and gave orders to two of their number to take up those who were shipwrecked, as well as the bodies of those who had fallen in the battle. The latter were prevented from doing so by a tempest which came on. These commanders were accused of having betrayed a most essential duty, and the people resolved to condemn them to death. The prytanes refused to take the votes; but as the people threatened to involve them in the same decree, they submitted. Socrates, who was then<sup>a</sup> epistates, alone opposed the wishes of the people, and, in spite of the cries and threats of the enraged multitude, he would not permit them to come to the vote.

It were to be wished that Plato had handed down to us the name of the generous citizen, who thus preserved the life of Miltiades.

Κατὰ τὴν ἁδικίην] *For his fault.* As Cornelius Nepos has said: "Ea his quinquaginta talentis æstimata est, quantus in classem sumptus factus erat."

CXXXVII. Τὰς σπερτέρας θυγατέρας] *The young girls of the Athenians.* In all the editions and all the Mss. we read, 'the young girls and the young lads,' θυγατέρας τε καὶ παῖδας, except in that of San-croft, where the words τε καὶ παῖδας are omitted. I have followed the reading of this Ms., which was approved by the late M. Wesseling. If we let the old reading remain, it will not agree with the sequel, in which the girls alone are mentioned. Besides, we know it was

<sup>a</sup> Plato in Gorgia, Vol. i. p. 516. E.      1. § xviii.; hb. iv. cap. iv. § ii.; Hellenic.

<sup>b</sup> Xenoph. Socrat. Memorab. lib. i. cap.      lib. i. cap. vii. § ia.

the custom in Greece for the young women to go alone to fetch water.

CXXXVIII. Πεντηκοντήρους ἑρμῶμεροι] *They equipped vessels.* The Greek implies, 'having obtained vessels of fifty oars.' It is not probable that the Pelasgi, who had not long before crossed from Attica to Lemnos, should have had no vessels of their own. The reading ἑρμῶμεροι, in Sancroft's Ms., does not appear to me any better. I have translated as if there had been *κατεσκευάσμεροι*; and it would seem that the Latin translator adopted the same reading, as he renders the phrase by, 'navibus quinquaginta remorum instructis.'

Τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκας] *Of Athenian women.* So in the Greek. It is as well to observe, that the Athenians, who were called Ἀθηναῖαι, never gave to their wives the name of Ἀθηναῖαι, because Minerva was called in Homer Ἀθηναία; such was their superstition. They designated their wives by a periphrasis, as in the present instance, or by the word Ἀεραῖ,<sup>6</sup> 'female citizens,' because Athens was called Ἄερον, or the city, *per excellence*.

The Pelasgi carried off the Canephore, that is to say, the young girls who carried the sacred baskets in the festival of Diana. Philochorus, who communicates this circumstance, appears to me in the right;<sup>c</sup> but when he says that the Pelasgi were called Sintii, that is to say, wicked, because of this abduction, he transgresses probability, as Homer gives this name to the Lemnians.

This festival was termed Βραυρώνια, from the name of the town where it was celebrated. A goat was sacrificed there,<sup>d</sup> and the rhapsodists chanted portions of the Iliad. This festival was celebrated every five years, and the Decemviri, called ἑπονοῖαι, presided at it. We are to understand by these five years, after the revolution of four, and in the beginning of the fifth. It is to this space of time, that the valet of Trygæus in Aristophanes<sup>e</sup> alludes. Trygæus having personified this festival, which he terms Theoria, from a name common to all the festivals, says, "There is that Theoria which we formerly took to Brauron, and which we caressed when we were heated with wine." The valet answers, *ὅσον ἔχει τὴν ἑπαικτικὴν ἡμετέραν*, "quantum culus iste quinto quoque anno voluptatem adfert!" Young girls consecrated to Diana<sup>f</sup> celebrated this festival in saffron-coloured garments. They could not be more than ten years old, nor

<sup>a</sup> Eustath. in Homeri Iliad. A. p. 84. lin. 12.

<sup>b</sup> Id. ibid. lin. 72.

<sup>c</sup> Scholia Græca Scriptoris Anonymi, in Homeri Iliad. lib. i. p. 123.

<sup>d</sup> Hesychius, voc. Βραυρωνίαι, p. 761.

<sup>e</sup> Jul. Pollucis Onomasticon, lib. viii. cap. ix. segm. cxi. Vol. ii. p. 927.

<sup>f</sup> Anstoph. Pac. vers. 873 et seq.

<sup>g</sup> Suidas, voc. Ἀεραῖ.

less than five. Thus the women mentioned by Herodotus were in fact young girls, who had not attained a marriageable age.

This consecration was called \* *Ἀρκτεία*, the young girls were named † *Ἀρκαί*, 'bears;' and *Ἀρκεύειν* signifies 'to be consecrated,' when mentioned with reference to these young girls. Suidas, at the word *Ἀρκτος*, assigns the reason for this.

Ἀμα Θόαντι] *With their king Thoas*. The text of Herodotus is perfectly clear, and can signify nothing more than I have expressed in my translation. The scholiast of Euripides says the same thing: ‡ *αἱ Λήμνιαι γυναῖκες τοὺς σὺν Θόαντι πάντας ἀπέκτειναν*. 'The women of Lemnos killed all the men, together with Thoas.' Writers subsequent to Herodotus have asserted, that the princess Hypsipyle spared her father Thoas. The poets have preferred this latter mode of telling the story, because it afforded some touching scenes. Amongst these, Metastasio, in his interesting piece called *Issipile*, has skillfully availed himself of the incident.

The Abbé Bellanger found this passage of Herodotus obscure, only § because he wished to reconcile it with subsequent writers, who have mentioned the same circumstance; as if it were an uncommon thing for these writers to differ from the father of history. The fact is, that the passage of Herodotus is very clear, and M. Bellanger's remark so obscure, that it is difficult to make out any meaning from it.

The women of Lemnos massacred their husbands for the following cause. ¶ The Lemnian women annually celebrated a festival in honour of Venus; but having discontinued this custom, the goddess avenged herself for the slight by imparting to them a disagreeable odour, which prevented their husbands from approaching them. The women, conceiving themselves disinclined by their husbands, slew them all. But, it may be said, if this were the reason of their aversion conceived by the Lemnians for their wives, how came the Argonauts to be captivated by them? This objection seems to me easily obviated, if we advert to the little delicacy observed at the present day by those who return from a long voyage.

CXXXIX. Πολλὸν τῆς Λήμνου] *At a considerable distance from Lemnos*. Such, I think, is the meaning of the words, which has not been expressed by any translator. The Pelusgi impose two condi-

\* Hesych. voc. *Ἀρκτεία*, p. 538.

† Harpocrat. voc. *Ἀρκεύσαι*, p. 28; Suidas eadem voc.

‡ Harpocrat. et Suidas ibid.

§ Schol. Eurip. ad *Hecub.* vers. 887.

¶ *Essais de Critique*, &c. p. 191.

‡ Schol. Euripid. ad *Hecub.* vers. 887; Conf. Apollodor. lib. 1. cap. ix. § xvii. p. 50.

tions, which they deem it impossible to fulfil:—the first, that the Athenians should set sail with a north wind, because it was impossible to come from Attica to Lemnos with any other than a south wind;—the second, that they should perform the voyage in a single day, because the distance was considerable, and that if a time had not been fixed, it would have been easy to comply with the condition.

CXL. [Ἡφαιστίδες] *The inhabitants of Hephestia.* Charax,\* in the 10th Book of his Chronicles, relates, that Hermon, tyrant of Hephestia, alarmed at the power of the Persians, said that to oblige the Athenians, who were his friends, he would ratify the promises of the Pelasgi; and that thereupon he gave up the city without fighting. Χάραξ ἐν δεκάτῳ Χρονικῶν φησιν, ὅτι . . . τῶν Ἡφαιστιῶν Τύραννος Ἑρμῶν τῶν Περσῶν φοβηθεὶς τὴν δύναμιν ἔφη χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, φίλοις οὖσιν, ἐμπεδοῦν τὰ ὑμολογηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν Πελασγῶν, καὶ ἀμαχεῖ, παρέδωκε τὴν πόλιν. It will be perceived that I have adopted the corrections of M. Valckenaer.

Zenobius relates the same circumstance, and he adds that the pretext made use of by Hermon afterwards became<sup>d</sup> a proverb, as applied to those who, being compelled to do any thing, yet profess to do it from a wish to oblige.

Οὕτω δὲ] *Such was the manner, &c.* There is some difference in the account given by Cornelius Nepos, which I will subjoin:

“When Miltiades went to found a colony in the Chersonesus, he landed at Lemnos, and summoned the inhabitants to acknowledge the authority of the Athenians; the Lemnians jestingly answered, that they would submit, when he should come from his home to Lemnos by a north wind. The north wind is directly adverse for those who would go from Athens to this island. Miltiades, who had no time to stop, continued his voyage, and arrived in the Chersonesus. . . .

“When he was in tranquil possession of the Chersonesus, he returned to Lemnos, and summoned the inhabitants to deliver up the city, agreeably to their promise. They had in fact promised to surrender, if he came from his home to Lemnos by a north wind. He now lived in the Chersonesus, and Lemnos was inhabited by the Carians. Although this event had fallen out very contrary to their expectations, yet the power of the enemy had more effect on them than his arguments; they dared make no resistance, and evacuated the island.”

\* Stephan. Byzant. voc. Ἡφαιστία.

<sup>b</sup> Zenobii Proverb. Centur. iii. 86. p.

<sup>c</sup> Corn. Nep. in Miltiade, cap. i.

<sup>d</sup> Id. ibid. cap. ii.

Cornelius Nepos is mistaken, however, in saying that Lemnos was then inhabited by the Carians. Besides the passage of Herodotus, we have the testimony of Zenobius,\* who informs us that Hermon then reigned there over the Pelasgians. Although this author is not very ancient, having written in the time of the Emperor Adrian, yet his authority is not without weight, as he could procure the greater part of the works which had appeared before his time.

\* Zenobii Proverb. Centur. iii. 85. p. 73.



## NOTES ON HERODOTUS.

### POLYMNIA. BOOK VII.

I. Μεγάλως κεχαραγμένον] *Greatly irritated.* Κεχαραγμένος. This expression is applied to animals who grind their teeth with rage. See Miscellan. Observat. Vol. II. Part. 1. p. 17. Hesychius explains this word by ὀργισμένος. See the notes on that author.

Πλοῖα] *Transport vessels.* Νῆες or νῆες are vessels of war; πλοῖα vessels of burden, calculated for transporting provisions, or cavalry. According to Didymus,<sup>a</sup> in the 10th Book of his Treatise on Rhetoric, πλοῖα are round vessels, and νῆες vessels of war. This distinction is founded on a passage of Aristotle<sup>d</sup> on the rights of war. The Tarentines having about that time besought Alexander, king of Epirus, to assist them in the war they had to sustain against the Barbarians, that prince set sail with fifteen ships of war, and a great number of vessels fit for conveying cavalry.<sup>e</sup> The first he designates by the term νῆες, and the other by πλοῖα.

II. Ἀραβουζάνης] *Artabazanes, &c.* I believe this Artobazanes is no where else mentioned in history. I conjecture, however, that Mithridates, the celebrated king of Pontus, who resisted the Romans for forty years, and was beaten only by Pompey, was one of his descendants. Diodorus Siculus,<sup>f</sup> Polybius,<sup>g</sup> and other authors, trace the descent of this prince from one of the seven Persians who conspired against the Magus Smerdis, but without specifying which. Appian of Alexandria is somewhat more particular. He says: Mithridates died. He was the sixteenth descendant from Darius, son of Hystaspes, and the sixth from Mithridates, who shook off the Ma-

<sup>a</sup> Ammonius de Differentiis Vocabulorum, voc. νῆες, p. 268.

<sup>b</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>c</sup> I here read, with M. Valchenant, φερεγγαῖς, instead of στρατηγικοῖς.

<sup>d</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. xix. § 21. Vol. II. p. 348.

<sup>e</sup> Polyb. Histor. lib. v. § 25. p. 510.

<sup>f</sup> Appian. ad Bell. Mithrid. p. 411.

cedonian yoke and founded the kingdom of Pontus." He does not indeed point out from which of the sons of Darius he was descended; but as Florus\* calls this prince Artabazes, it is natural to conclude he means the same with the Artabazanes of Herodotus, though, by an error not unusual with him, he supposes him the same with the founder of the kingdom of Pontus. This Artabazanes held probably the satrapy of Pontus, which was enjoyed by his descendants down to Mithridates, surnamed Cistes, the founder, who threw off the Macedonian yoke, and became king of the country.

The sixteen generations give 533 years, Darius having been born about the year 4164 of the Julian period, 550 years before our era, and Mithridates having died in the year 4651 of the Julian period, 63 years before the Christian era, there is a difference of 46 years. I am therefore inclined to read in Appian, "he was the fifteenth from Darius, son of Hystaspes."

[Ερασία2or] *They were disputing.* According to Plutarch, this happened differently. "Darius<sup>†</sup> being dead, some wished to place on the throne Ariamenes, because he was the eldest, and others Xerxes, because Atossa, his mother, was the daughter of Cyrus, and he had been born after the accession of Darius to the throne. Ariamenes came from Media, not as an enemy, but with the calmness of one who would maintain his cause before his judges. Xerxes, who was on the spot, was then exercising the functions of royalty. On the arrival of his brother, he laid down his diadem, together with the upright tiara worn by the kings, and went forth to meet and salute him. He also sent him presents, the bearers of which said, from him, 'Your brother Xerxes sends you these presents out of respect. If the Persians decide in his favour and declare him king, you will occupy the next rank to him.' Ariamenes answered, 'I gladly receive these presents from my brother. I think that the crown belongs to me. All my brothers shall retain their honours, and Xerxes be distinguished above all the rest.' As the day of judgment approached, the Persians unanimously appointed as judge Artabanus, brother of Darius. Xerxes, who trusted principally to his influence over the populace, protested against this appointment; but he was reproved by Atossa, his mother. 'Why do you refuse to be judged by your uncle, who is the most upright man in all Persia?' said she. 'It is a fine thing to be brother to a king. Why then fear the issue of a contest, where the second prize is so brilliant?' Xerxes was persuaded; and the two princes laid their claims before Artabanus. He decided in favour of

\* Flori Epitome rerum Romanæ, lib. iii. cap. v. p. 467. Edit. Duker.

† Plutarch. de Fraternali Amore, Vol. ii. p. 485. D, E, F.

Xerxes, and proclaimed him king. Ariamenes, hastily quitting his seat, prostrated himself before his brother, took him by the hand, and led him to the throne." I am apprehensive, however, that this account of Plutarch may be borrowed from Ctesias, who takes every possible opportunity of contradicting Herodotus. Perhaps, too, Plutarch may be mistaken as to the name of the prince who disputed the crown with Xerxes. See note 1. to § v. *infra*. The Emperor Julian<sup>a</sup> coincides with Plutarch. "After the death of Darius," says he, "there arose disputes on the subject of the succession to the throne; but the competitors preferred submitting their claims to the decision of justice, rather than to that of arms." The reader may also consult the note of Ezech. Spanheim on this passage, p. 217, in which he cites several similar examples.

III. Ἀναβέβηκώς ἐς Σούσα] *Arrived at Susa*. Xerxes<sup>b</sup> gave to Demaratus the towns of Pergama, of Teuthrania, and of Halisarnia, because he had accompanied him in his expedition against Greece. Eurysthenes and Procles, his descendants, possessed them so late as the first year of the 95th Olympiad, that is to say, 78 years after, when they joined Thimbron, the Lacedæmonian. See note 3. to § civ. *infra*.

Ἀτοσσα] *Atossa*. This princess<sup>c</sup> was daughter of Cyrus, and wife of his brother Cambyzes. She afterwards married the Magus Smerdis, and, after his death, Darius, over whom she possessed considerable influence.<sup>d</sup> She was the first<sup>e</sup> woman, according to Hellanicus, who ever wrote letters. If we may believe Aspasius, her son Xerxes, in an access of fury, tore her in pieces, and ate her.<sup>f</sup> Ἐπέρχῃ δὲ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς μανίᾳ ἔφαγε τὴν αὐτοῦ μητέρα κρουνομήσας.

IV. Ἀποδείξας] *Having declared*. Ezechiel Spanheim<sup>g</sup> asserts that he who was nominated successor became the colleague of his father, in case the latter returned in safety from his expedition. Herodotus does not mention this.

Βασιλεύουσα τὰ πάντα ἔξ τε καὶ τρεῖςκαιῖνα ἔτεα] *Having reigned thirty-six years*. This prince died in the fourth year of the 73d Olympiad, 485 years before our era. The battle of Marathon was fought in the third year of the 72d Olympiad. Darius employed three years in preparations, in the fourth year Egypt revolted, and this prince died the year after, as we learn from Herodotus.

The Oxford Marbles fix the death of this prince in the archontate of Aristides, consequently in the year 4226 of the Julian period, 489

<sup>a</sup> Juliani Imperat. Opera, Orat. l. p. vii. § iii.

<sup>b</sup> 33. B.

<sup>c</sup> Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. iii. cap. i. § iv.

p. 128.

<sup>d</sup> Herodot. lib. iii. § lxxviii. lxxviii.

<sup>e</sup> Id. ibid. § cxxxi. cxxxi. et lib.

Her. No.

<sup>f</sup> Clem. Alexand. Stromat. lib. i. § xvi.

p. 364. lin. 8.

<sup>g</sup> Aspas. ad Aristotelis Ethic. p. 124.

<sup>h</sup> Ad Julian. pp. 278, 279.

years before our era, which answers to the first six months of the third year of the 72d Olympiad, and to the last six months of the fourth year of that Olympiad. The authority of these Marbles, no doubt, carries considerable weight; but that of Herodotus overbalances them, because he was almost contemporary with the events he narrates, and the author of these Marbles wrote 220 years after his death.

St. Clement of Alexandria is mistaken<sup>a</sup> in assigning forty-six years to the reign of this prince; or it may be a fault of the copyists. Ctesias, § XIX, gives him but thirty-one years; but the Canon of Ptolemy agrees with our historian.

Οὐδέ οἱ ἐξέγευετο οὐρε τοὺς ἀκροαῶντας Αἰγυπτίους τιμωρῆσθαι.] *Without having had the satisfaction of punishing the revolt of the Egyptians.* This is a positive assertion; but Aristotle advances the direct contrary. "The example," says he,<sup>b</sup> "is as if we should say that we must arm against the king of Persia, and not suffer him to subjugate Egypt. Darius, in fact, did not advance into Greece till after he had taken Egypt; as soon as that country was in his power, he turned his arms against the Greeks." This says clearly enough, that he attacked and reduced Egypt, and then proceeded to Greece. The authority of Herodotus, nearly a contemporary, is preferable even to that of Aristotle, who lived at a period quite remote from those times. This also may be an error of the copyists.

V. Τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἐκείνου Ἑέρξεα] *His son Xerxes.* Plutarch<sup>c</sup> says that Arimenes, or Ariamenes, as he calls him in another<sup>d</sup> place, disputed the crown with his brother; but that Xerxes having been declared king, Ariamenes rendered him homage, and served him with so much zeal and cordiality, that he died in the battle of Salamis.<sup>e</sup> Herodotus, who names a great many children of Darius, does not mention Ariamenes, and calls the prince who disputed the crown with Xerxes, Artabazanes. Moreover, it was Ariabignes, brother of Xerxes, who fell<sup>f</sup> on the day of Salamis; but besides that this name is wholly different from Arimenes or Ariamenes, it does not appear that he ever disputed the crown with Xerxes. It is possible that the Ariamenes of Plutarch and the Ariabignes of Herodotus may be the same, and that Plutarch attributes to Ariamenes the actions of both Ariabignes and Artabazanes. See note 2. to § II. supra.

Δέσπορα] *My lord.* In the Greek *Δέσπορα*, a term which signifies master, and expresses his relationship to his slave. The kings of the

<sup>a</sup> Clem. Alexand. Stromat. lib. i. p. 395. lin. 15.

<sup>b</sup> Aristot. Rhetoric. lib. ii. cap. xx. p. 569. E; 570. A; vel lib. ii. cap. xvi. sect. ii. p. 120. ex edit. Rhetoric. Oxoniensi, 1759. 8vo.

<sup>c</sup> Plutarch. Apophthegm. Vol. ii. p. 173. B.

<sup>d</sup> Id. de Fraternali Amore, Vol. ii. p. 488. D.

<sup>e</sup> Id. ibid. F.

<sup>f</sup> Herodot. lib. viii. § lxxxix.

East were despots, and all their subjects slaves. The Greeks, who held in abhorrence every thing bordering on slavery, considered their kings only as magistrates who watched over the public safety, and procured for the nation all possible advantages. They therefore called them *despotes*, a term which expresses the care they took of their people. That generous nation acknowledged the gods alone for masters, and would suffer no man to assume that name. Euripides\* makes the servant of Hippolytus say, 'Ανά· Θεοὶ γὰρ δεσποῖναι καλεῖν χρῆν. Father Brumoy has rendered this verse: 'Prince, the equal of the gods, for such is the name which is due to our masters.' This writer, accustomed to the servile language of modern times, has imagined that the word *despotes* applied to princes, and that the servant of Hippolytus considered his masters as gods. But the Greeks were at that time too proud to acknowledge their fellow men for their masters, and too religious to give to a mortal the appellation of a god. This verse, therefore, ought to be rendered, 'King, for the name of master is due only to the gods.' The scholiast of Euripides has so taken it. Τὸ μὲν Ἀνά ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰππολύτου, τὸ δὲ Δεσποῖναι ἐπὶ Θεῶν; 'the word Ἀνά is said of Hippolytus, and that of Δεσποῖναι is to be understood of the gods.'

Xenophon, speaking to the Greeks who had followed the standards of the young Cyrus, has made use of the following maxim, which ought to be engraven deeply on the hearts of men: "'Adore the gods, and never acknowledge a mortal for your master."

VI. Τῶν Ἀλεωνάδων) *Of the Aleuadae.* 'The family of the Aleuadae reigned at Larissa, as we learn from Aristotle.<sup>d</sup> Hence, the epithet of 'Larissæus,' which Ovid<sup>e</sup> gives to Aleuas. They descended from Aleuas, whom the oracle of Delphi declared king of Thessaly, in the manner which, on the authority of Plutarch, I shall relate. His pride and haughtiness had rendered him obnoxious to his father, who wished to humble him; but his uncle received and favoured him. The Thessalians having sent to Delphi tickets on which were inscribed the names of those they wished to have for king, this uncle sent one for Aleuas, without the knowledge of his father. The pythoness having declared him king, his father affirmed that he had sent no ticket on his behalf, and every one thought there must have been some error in transcribing the names. The god being again interrogated, the pythoness answered, in confirmation of her first decision: 'I name the red haired man brought forth by Archedice.'

\* Euripid. Hippolyt. vers. 284.

<sup>b</sup> Théâtre des Grecs; Vol. II. p. 175. Edit. 1749. 12mo.

<sup>c</sup> Xenoph. Anab. lib. II. cap. II. § 10. p. 149.

<sup>d</sup> Aristot. Politic. lib. V. cap. VI. p. 391. l.

<sup>e</sup> Ovid. Ides. vers. 323.

<sup>f</sup> Plutarch. de Exilio Amore, Vol. II. p. 352. A, B.



"Thus was Aleuas declared king by the authority of the god, and the address of his uncle. He distinguished himself above all his predecessors, acquired renown for his country, and greatly augmented its power."

These Aleuades amounted to three in number, Thorax, Thrasydæus, and Eurypylus.\* They compelled<sup>b</sup> the Thessalians to side with Xerxes; but the latter being afterwards irritated against the Phocidians, voluntarily followed the standard of that prince.<sup>c</sup>

Διαθέρην χρησμῶν τῶν Μουσέων] *Who made a trade of the oracles of Musæus.* In the Greek διαθέρην. Gronovius explains this word, 'venditorem,' and Valla, 'edissertatorem.' Thomas Magister interprets it, ὁ καθιστῶν καὶ οἰκονομῶν, and M. Wesseling is of his opinion. This Onomacritus had under his custody the books of Musæus, occasionally consulted them, and undertook to interpret them. But Herodotus says something more. Διαθέρης signifies a man who sells, or carries on a trade. We find also in our author (Book I. § 1.) διαρθεσθαι τὸν φόρτον, "to sell his cargo," as well as in Xenophon and in a thousand other authors. Ulpian,<sup>d</sup> on the second Olynthiac of Demosthenes, explains διαρθεσθαι by πωλῆσαι. I have therefore decided in favour of the explanation of Gronovius, which is moreover supported by the approbation of Mr. Toup.<sup>f</sup>

Λάσου] *Lasus.* Lasus was a poet and musician, and,<sup>g</sup> according to some, one of the seven wise men of Greece. It is said that he was the son of Charmantides, or of Sisymbrius, or, according to Aristoxenus, of Chabrinus.<sup>h</sup> He was born at Hermione, a town of Argolis;<sup>i</sup> which town is properly placed by Suidas, under the word Λάσου, in Achaia, for Argolis formerly bore this name; see Book I. note 1. to § cXLV. He flourished in the 68th Olympiad, and was contemporary with Darius,<sup>k</sup> the son of Hystaspes. He instituted the Cyclic chorus,<sup>l</sup> and invented the Dithyrambus.<sup>m</sup> *Ælian*<sup>n</sup> has preserved to us the following passage, which is, I believe, the only one that remains: Σκύμνος εἰρημένον τὸ βρέφος τὸ τῆς λυγγός. 'The young of the lynx is called scymnus.' On the subject of the Dithyrambus, see Book I. § xxiii. note 3.

\* Herodot. lib. ix. § lvi.

<sup>b</sup> Id. lib. vii. § lxxii.

<sup>c</sup> Philostrat. Herotic. cap. xix. § xv. p.

743.

<sup>d</sup> Herodot. lib. i. § i.

<sup>e</sup> Ulpian. ad Demosth. Olynth. 2. pp.

14. 23. ex edit. Morel.

<sup>f</sup> Emendationes in Suidam, pars iii. p.

270.

<sup>g</sup> Diogen. Laert. in Thalate, lib. i. argum.

xlii. p. 25. Confer. Suid. voc. Λάσος.

<sup>h</sup> Diogen. Laert. ibid.

<sup>i</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>k</sup> Suidas, voc. Λάσος. See my Chronological Canon, year 4206.

<sup>l</sup> Suidas, voc. Κυκλικὸς χορός.

<sup>m</sup> Clem. Alexand. Stromat. lib. i. p.

365. lin. 3.

<sup>n</sup> Ælian. de Nat. Animal. lib. vii. cap.

xlvi. p. 437.

An ode upon the Centaurs,\* in which no use was made of the sigma, has also been attributed to him, but not by universal consent. That composed on Ceres, surnamed Hermione, according to Heraclides of Pontus, is certainly from his pen, and not a single sigma occurs in it.

Δίμα-ρα μέλπω Κόραν τε Κλυμένοιο ἄλοχον.

'I sing Ceres and Proserpine the wife of Pluto.'

Τὴν τε ἑλασιν ἐξηγούμενος] *In speaking of the passage.* In the text, τὴν τε ἑλασιν ἐξηγούμενος: which the Latin translator has rendered, 'et expeditionem enarrans.' I doubt, however, whether he has laid hold of the true meaning of the passage. See the *Acta Eruditorum*, Ann. 1760. p. 218.

VII. Ἐπιτρέπει Ἀχαιμένει] *He appointed Achæmenes their governor.* This prince, who was son of Darius, and a younger brother of Xerxes, was named governor or satrap of Egypt, in the year 4230 of the Julian period, 484 years before our era. In the year 4234 of the Julian period, 480 years B. C., he commanded the Egyptian troops,† forming part of the army with which Xerxes attacked Greece. Egypt having revolted under Artaxerxes, in the year 4251 of the Julian period, 463 years B. C., the king sent against them Achæmenes, who in the year following‡ was killed by Inaros, the leader of the revolt.

VIII. Οὐ κατηγήσομαι] *I do not intend.* Dionysius of Halicarnassus§ has translated this speech of Xerxes into the Attic dialect. The reader will do well to consult it, together with the notes of MM. Valckenaer and Wesseling.

Οὐδαμᾶ καὶ ἡτρεμήσαμεν] *Never remained inactive.* Ἀρρεμέω signifies, 'I remain inactive.' We have seen, Book I. § cxc. ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἐπὶ πρότερον τὸν Κύρον οὐκ ἡτρεμιζοῖν: 'As they had long known that Cyrus could not remain inactive.' Herodotus has in the same sense said ἀτρέμας εἶχειν, Book VIII. § xiv. and xvi.: Book IX. § LII. and LIII. The Latin translator of Dionysius of Halicarnassus has therefore been guilty of a misconstruction, in rendering 'οὐδένα χρόνον ἡτρεμήσαμεν,' 'nunquam timore vacavimus.' We should have translated 'nunquam conquievinus.' This word is frequently used in this sense by Hippocrates. See Fœsli *Œconomia Hippocratis*, at the word Ἀρρεμέας, p. 107.

Ὑπερβύωμαι ὑμῖν] *To communicate to you.* Herodotus always uses ὑπερβύωμαι, and ὑπερβύεσθαι τι τινί, on occasions where the other Greeks employ ἀνακοινῶσαι and ἀνακοινῶσασθαι. It is in vain that

\* Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. x. cap. 221. p. 455. C, D, lib. xiv. cap. 7. p. 624. E, F.

† Herodot. lib. vii. § xcvi.

‡ Id. lib. iii. § xii.

§ Dionys. Halicarn. de admiranda vi dicendi in Demostheno, § xli. Vol. II. pp. 307, 308.

\* Id. ibid. p. 307. lin. 22.

Thomas Gale, on the authority of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, would persuade us to read here *ὑποθεωμαι*. In all the editions of that author, it is true, we find *ὑποθῶ ὑμῖν*. But in an excellent Ms. of the Royal Library, marked 1745, we read *ὑπερθῶ ὑμῖν*, which is the true reading of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

*Τούτων μέντοι εἵνεκα ἀνάρρηται*] *This is what animates me*. Such is the explanation given to this word by the ordinary lexicons, though Stephens does not appear to approve of it. But what sets it beyond a doubt is, that Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in his translation of this oration, explains it by *ἀνάρρημαι*.

*Ἐν ἡμετέρῳ*] *In my house*. See the note of M. Wesseling. It appears that in the passage of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, p. 308. before the notes of Sylburgius, they used to read *ἐν ἡμετέρῳ*, which is also the reading of the Royal Ms. The note of Sylburgius in the edition of Hudson is faulty, and more correct in that of Leipsic, 1691, fol. p. 38. of the notes on the 2d Vol. col. 2. lin. 50.

*Ἴνα δὲ μὴ ὑμῖν δοκέω*] *But that it may not appear, &c.* The close of this answer, as given by Valerius Maximus, is much more haughty. "Ne viderer<sup>d</sup> meo tantum modo usus consilio, vos contraxi. Cæterum mementote parendum magis vobis esse quam suadendum."

X. *Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρατρίψωμεν*] *But by comparing it with, &c.* In the Greek *παρατρίψωμεν*. It is not by rubbing one piece of gold against another that we can tell which is the best. And I therefore have not hesitated to adopt the reading of Sancto's Ms. *ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτέρῳ συγκρίνηται*, which indicates the only method of proving pure gold, that was known before the discovery of the touch-stone.

*Ἀμφοτέρῳ*] *By sea and land at the same time*. The Ms. D in the Royal Library has *οὕων ἀμφοτέροισι ἐχώρησε*. But M. Coray is of opinion that we should preserve the reading *οὕων ἀμφοτέρῳ σφί ἐχώρησε*, and place a point after *διέφθειραν*, which is in the same line. Σφί appears to me to be necessary, and I am altogether of his opinion. I have therefore conformed my translation to it. I do not doubt that such of my readers even, as do not understand a work of Greek, will perceive that it renders the argument of Artabanes more forcible.

*Σὺ δὲ μὴ βούλευ ἀπικέσθαι*] *Do not expose yourself, I entreat you*. *Μὴ βουλευέσθαι* cannot be allowed to remain. People do not deliberate whether they shall expose themselves to a manifest danger, when urged by no sort of necessity. M. Wesseling changes this word to *μὴ βούλεο*, which I adopt the more willingly, as we find in the Mss. B and D of the Royal Library, *μὴ βούλεν*.

<sup>a</sup> Dionys. Halicarn. de admirandis et  
dicendi in Demosthenae, § 31. Vol. II. p.  
307. lin. 36.

<sup>b</sup> Valer. Maxim. lib. II. cap. v. Es-  
sem. 2.

Οἷδ' ἐφ' φανράζεσθαι] *Causes them to disappear.* In the Greek, οἷδ' ἐφ' φανράζεσθαι, which Gronovius has rendered, 'nec sinit insollescere,' and M. Bellanger, 'God suffers not their insolence.' Du Ryer has passed over the passage.

Hesychius explains φανράζον δόμῳ by φαίρον. It is easy to perceive that we should read \* δόμων, and that this author had in view the following verse of the *Andromache* of Euripides:

\* Ἄλλ' εἰσιθ' εἴσω, μὴδ' φανράζον δόμων  
Πάροιθε τῶνδε.

'Enter and appear no more before this palace.'

Thomas Magister says, φανράζομαι, τὸ ἀπλῶς φαίνομαι. And he cites this verse as being from the *Orestes* of Euripides; but it is certainly from the *Phœnissæ*, as has been remarked by the commentators:

\* Μή τις πολιτῶν ἐν τριβῇ φανράζεται.

'For fear that one of our citizens should appear in the road.' The Scholiast has well explained it, μή τις ἀπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν φαίνεται ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ.

The term, it is true, occurs in the *Orestes* of Euripides, and that has given rise to the mistake of Thomas Magister.

\* Ὅδε τις ἐν τριβῇ φανράζεται.

'Some one appears on the road.'

Constantine has not been deceived. He explains φανράζεσθαι in his *Lexicon*, 'conspicuum esse, cerni, in conspectu versari,' and he cites this passage of Herodotus. Scapula gives to this same passage an energy which does not belong to it, and which is even contrary to the meaning of our historian. He has only copied Stephens, who says the same thing in his *Thesaurus*, at the word φανρασία, Vol. iv. p. 36. H. and p. 37. A.

Οἷδ' ἐν μιν κτιζεῖ] *Do not occasion him the slightest discomposure.* The reading οἷδ' ἐν μιν, which has been followed by Stobæus, is also found in the Ms. B of the Royal Library. If we read μιν instead

\* The iota subscript has occasioned a multitude of errors, which still disfigure our editions. As in the Mss. it is written at the side instead of under, and is often joined to the first letter of the next word by a slight dash, which seems to connect them, it has frequently been mistaken for the 'nu.' I have pointed out an example of it in my translation of the *Retreat* of the Ten Thousand, and several in my notes on Herodotus, but as this error occurs very frequently in various authors, I

have thought proper to advert to it. The reader may consult also Brunck's notes on Euripides, Aristophanes, and Apollonius Rhodius. The 'nu' ill written, and of which one leg has been effaced, is, in like manner, often mistaken for an iota subscript.

\* Euripid. *Androm.* vers. 876.

\* Under the word φάσμα.

\* Euripid. *Phœnissæ.* vers. 93.

\* Id. *Orest.* vers. 1279.

of *μιν*, the sense would be somewhat different. Gronovius has rendered this passage 'parva vero nec leviter lædit,' though he read *μιν*.

Δένδρεα τὰ τοιαῦτα] *The tallest trees.* Δένδρεα τὰ τοιαῦτα, trees of this sort, 'arbores ejusmodi.' That is to say, the largest, as he has just spoken of the largest edifices. Τα τοιαῦτα must not be made to relate to βέλεα, as has been done by all the translators.

Βροττήν] *Blindness.* I here take βροττήν for a spirit of insatiation and blindness, ἐμβροτησία.

Δι' ὧν ἐφθάρησαν] *And consequently it perishes.* In the Ms. A in the Royal Library, we find δι' ὧν ἐσφάλησαν; but in the Ms. B, δι' ὧν ἐφθάρησαν, which is the true reading.

Ἐπαίρει αὐτὸν βασιλεῖα στρατεύεσθαι] *You incite the king to march in person against.* The Greeks more frequently prefix ὥστε to the infinitive:

Ἄ Οὔτοι μ' ἐπαίρει ὥστε θυμῶσαι φρένας  
Τοῖς σοῖσι κόμπους.

'The haughtiness of your discourse shall not make me angry.'

Ἄ Κέπρις γὰρ ἤθελ' ὥστε γίγνεσθαι τάδε.

'For Venus wished that these things might happen.'

On the word ἐπαίρει, see the notes of Kuster on the 42d verse of the Nubes of Aristophanes. The gloss quoted by Brunck, on this verse, explains ἐπῆρε, by παρεκίνησε, κατέπεισε.

Γνόνα] *Knowing.* Γνόνα must relate to τινα, and not to Μαγδόνιον. I mention this, because among the papers of M. Bellanger I find a note by a man of letters which advanced the contrary, and this note had caused M. Bellanger to waver in his opinion.

XI. Γεγονῶς] *Ancestors.* "The Achæmenides were a family or tribe (φρίτη according to Herodotus, μοῖρα according to Stephanus the geographer, φύλον according to Strabo,) in the country of the Pasargadæ, Book i. § cxxv. They were descended and took their name from Achæmenes, father of Cambyses and grandfather of Cyrus. Achæmenes is called Perseis, because he was descended from Perseus; and it is for this reason that the kings his successors, and their descendants, are called Perseides, Book i. § cxxv.

Danaus and Lynceus of Chemmis, a city of Egypt, had established themselves in Hellas (Greece), Book vii. § xc1. Perseus was the son of Danaë, ibid. and Book vi. § l111. l1v., and Book vii. § lxi.; and Danaë was descended from Lynceus, for Lynceus had a

• Euripid. Supplic. vers. 681.

• Hippolyt. vera. 1127.



son named Abas; Abas had Acrisius and Proetus, and Acrisius was the father of Danaë, according to Apollodorus, Book 11. chap. 11. § 1. 11. pp. 77, 78. Gale's edition; from Danaë sprung Perseus, according to Herodotus, Book 11. § xc1., and Apollodorus, Book 11. chap. 19. § 1. p. 83, &c. Thus Perseus was descended from Lynceus, and his family was originally from Chemmis, according to Herodotus, *ibid.*

"Perseus married Andromeda, daughter of Cepheus, son of Belus, and had by her a son named Perses. The Persians were then called 'Artai' by the neighbouring people, but by the Greeks 'Cepheneæ,' from the name of Cepheus. (Book VII. § Lxi.) Perseus left his son Perses with Cepheus, who had no male children; the Persians took from this Perses a new name, viz. that of 'Persæ;' and their kings, who were descended from him by Achæmenes, took the surname of Perseides. See also Apollodorus, Book 11. chap. xiv. § v. p. 89.

"Achæmenes was descended from this Perses, but not immediately: for the geographer Stephanns, under the word 'Achæmenia,' says, that he was the son of Ægeus.

"As the genealogy of the kings of Persia was traced from Perseus, the son of Jupiter and Danaë, they were exceedingly proud of it. Achæmenes, Cyrus, and Cambyzes, might justly be so, because they were descended directly from Perseus, by the male line. But Xerxes was descended only by the female line; for he was the son of Darius, Darius was the son of Hystaspes, Hystaspes the son of Arsames, Arsames of Ariamnes, and Ariamnes of Teispes, according to Herodotus, Book VII. § 11. Teispes (adds Herodotus, according to the usual reading,) was the 'son of Cyrus;' Cyrus was the son of Cambyzes, and Cambyzes was the son of Achæmenes, (another reading has, Cambyzes was son of Teispes, and Teispes was son of Achæmenes). It is thus that Xerxes traces his genealogy; he has not carried it back further than Achæmenes, 'the grandfather' (or, according to another reading, which places Teispes between Cambyzes and Achæmenes, 'great-grandfather') of Cyrus. It does not appear that Darius, son of Hystaspes and father of Xerxes, descended from the family of this Achæmenes in a direct line by the male side. But we know that the maternal grandfather of Xerxes was Cyrus, and that he reckoned Achæmenes amongst his maternal ancestors; for he was the son of Darius and of the daughter of Cyrus, who was sister to Cambyzes, the son of Cyrus. We do not, therefore, see how he was descended by so many degrees in a direct line on the male side from Achæmenes. Observe, that in the Greek of Herodotus we have *Τείσπερος*, a genitive which may come either from the nominative *Τείσπερς* (as *βασιλέως* in the third declension contracted), or from the nomina-

tive *Τείσπει*, as *Δημοσθένης* of the first declension contracted. The Latin version of Herodotus translates 'Teispei,' as coming from the nominative 'Teispeus;' Salmasius, Exercit. Plin. p. 1183, says, 'Teispes' in the nominative. Which of the two is correct?

"Darius, son of Hystaspes, and father of Xerxes, succeeded Cambyzes, son of Cyrus, after the extermination of the Magi. Xerxes was the son of Darius and of the daughter of Cyrus, who was the sister of Cambyzes, as I have before said: Cyrus was therefore his maternal uncle: thus much is clear and evident from Herodotus. The genealogy, therefore, which Xerxes gives of himself, Book VII. § XI, is false. For, according to this genealogy, Cyrus is the fifth ancestor of Xerxes, (as Xerxes goes back from Darius his father to Hystaspes his grandfather, from Hystaspes to Arsames his great-grandfather, from Arsames to Ariamnes his great-great-grandfather, from Ariamnes to Teispeus his fourth ancestor, and from Teispeus to Cyrus his pretended fifth ancestor,) whereas he was only his maternal grandfather. Cyrus, I say, would be his fifth ancestor according to this genealogy, since Teispeus is there set down as the son of Cyrus, who is the third ancestor of Darius, son of Hystaspes, and father of Xerxes. Now it is impossible that Teispeus should be at the same time the son of Cyrus, and great-great-grandfather of Darius, son of Hystaspes: for this Darius married the daughter of Cyrus, who would thus be the sister of Teispeus, his great-great-grandfather, if Teispeus had been the son of Cyrus; and we can scarcely imagine a man to marry the sister of his great-great-grandfather, and have children by her: yet it is certain that Darius married the daughter of Cyrus, and by her had Xerxes. Neither does it appear that Teispeus was the son of Cyrus; no ancient author asserts it; indeed all history contradicts it, for it informs us that Cyrus had but two sons, Cambyzes and Smerdis.

"The passage of Herodotus, Book VII. § 11, is therefore corrupt. A negation is wanting before τοῦ Κύρου: this negation, according to Salmasius, Exercit. Plin. p. 1183. is *μὴδὲ*; and instead of *μὴ γὰρ εἶναι ἐκ Δαρείου τοῦ Υστάσπεος, τοῦ Ἀρσάμεος, τοῦ Ἀριμνέω, (or Ἀριπαμνέω, or Ἀρμνέω, according to other readings,) τοῦ Τείσπεος, τοῦ Κύρου, τοῦ Καμβύσέω*, (here some Mss. add τοῦ Τείσπεος,) *τοῦ Ἀχαμένεος γεγονῶς, μὴ τιμωρησάμενος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους*, we must read *μὴ γὰρ εἶναι ἐκ Δαρείου . . . ΜΗΔΕ τοῦ Κύρου . . . μὴ τιμωρησάμενος, &c.* 'that I am not the son of Darius,' who was 'the son of Hystaspes,' who was 'the son of Arsames,' who was 'the son of Ariamnes,' who was 'the son of Teispeus,' nor one of the descendants 'of Cyrus,' who was 'the son of Cambyzes,' who was 'the son of Achaemenes, if I do not avenge myself on the Athenians.' The copyists, accustomed from the four preceding τοῦ to write τοῦ without *μὴδὲ*, have omitted the nega-

tion μηδὲ, 'neque;' or perhaps they may have purposely suppressed it, not understanding the meaning of Herodotus, and it therefore appearing superfluous.

"Xerxes, in this genealogy, speaks first of his paternal ancestors, of Darius his father, Hystaspes his grandfather, Arsames his great-grandfather, Ariamnes his great-great-grandfather, and Teispeus his fourth ancestor. He speaks first of those from whom he was descended in a direct line by the male side; and afterwards of his maternal ancestors, of Cyrus his maternal grandfather, of Cambyses his great-grandfather, the father of Cyrus, and of Achæmenes his great-great-grandfather, or his fourth ancestor, if we put a Teiapeus between Cambyses and Achæmenes. He does not speak of Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, king of Persia; and his maternal uncle, as he was neither one of his paternal ancestors, nor one of his maternal ancestors. Cambyses (that is, the ancient, the father of the great Cyrus, who transferred the empire of the Medes to the Persians,) is, in this genealogy of Xerxes, the son of Achæmenes, τοῦ Κίρου, τοῦ Καμβύσεως τοῦ Ἀχαιμένεως, whereas in Book I. § cxi. Herodotus says that the father of this same ancient Cambyses, the husband of Mandane, and father of Cyrus, was not Achæmenes, but another Cyrus, ὡς ἀπὸ Μανδάνης τε αἱ καὶ τῆς Ἀστυάγης θυγατρὸς καὶ Καμβύσεως τοῦ Κίρου: so that the ancient Cambyses was not the immediate descendant of Achæmenes, not his son, but the son of a Cyrus, and merely one of the descendants of Achæmenes in a direct line by the male side. We know not, however, by how many descents, for we do not find in the ancient authors whose son this Cyrus (the father of the ancient Cambyses) was, though we learn from Stephanus the geographer that Achæmenes was the son of Ægeus.

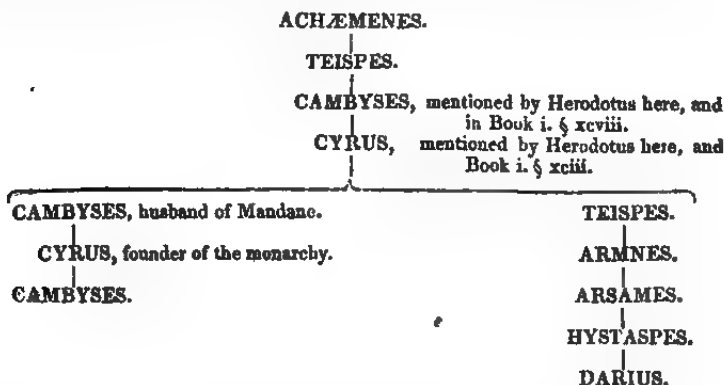
"How many difficulties does this genealogy offer? But may we not conclude that Xerxes, after having named his paternal ancestors regularly from father to son, (or rather from son to father,) passes suddenly to his maternal ancestors, and makes an abridged enumeration of them so as to trace back to Achæmenes; and that in this enumeration he omits the least illustrious, in his impatience to name Achæmenes; that τοῦ Κίρου does not signify 'the son of Cyrus,' but only 'one of the descendants of Cyrus,' (for in fact Xerxes was not the son of Cyrus, but only son of the daughter of Cyrus,) and likewise that τοῦ Ἀχαιμένεως does not signify that Cambyses the ancient was the 'son' of Achæmenes, but only 'one of the descendants' of Achæmenes.

"Cyrus the great, on account of his conquests, Cambyses the ancient, from having married Mandane the daughter of Astyages and mother of Cyrus, who transferred the empire of the Medes to the Persians, and

Achæmenes, as having given the name of Achæmenides to a tribe or family which became the most illustrious amongst the Persians, deserved to be named in the maternal genealogy of Cyrus. The mother of Xerxes, though daughter of the great Cyrus, and the father of Cambyses the ancient, are not named, because there was no circumstance which distinguished them; and for this reason, Xerxes passes at once to Cyrus his maternal grandfather, without naming his mother, and from Cambyses the ancient to Achæmenes, without mentioning the father of this Cambyses.

"Darius was the son of Hystaspes; he was the eldest son, and about twenty years old when Cyrus made war on the Massagetæ: Herodotus remarks, that he was left in Persia, because (although twenty years of age) he was not considered old enough to go to the war: Hystaspes was the son of Arsames, and was a prince of the family of the Achæmenides."—BELLANGER.

Τὸν Κυρῶν] *Cyrus*. M. Bellanger, in the preceding note, has endeavoured to prove that Darius was descended from Achæmenes only by the female side, and that consequently we should read *μηδὲ* before τοῦ Κύρου. Salmasius<sup>a</sup> was also of this opinion. But Arsames, the grandfather of Darius, was undoubtedly of the family of the Achæmenides. Herodotus (Book i. § ccix.) positively says so. The mistake into which these two critics have fallen, has been their taking the Cyrus here mentioned for the founder of the Persian empire, whereas he was in fact his grandfather. The following is, in my opinion, the genealogy of this family; and I so find it, or very nearly, in Paulmier de Grentemesnil,<sup>b</sup> and in Thomas Gale.<sup>c</sup>



Æschylus,<sup>d</sup> in his tragedy entitled 'Persæ,' gives a very different

<sup>a</sup> Exercit. Plinian. ad Solini Polyhist. cos. p. 30.  
p. 831.

<sup>b</sup> Exercitat. in optimos Auctores Græ-

<sup>c</sup> In notis ad Herodot. § ccix. lib. i. p. 8.

<sup>d</sup> Æschyl. Pers. 762.

genealogy. According to this poet, a Mede first governed the Persians, and his son succeeded him. After him came Cyrus. A son of Cyrus was the fourth. Merdis was the fifth. Artaphernes killed him. Maraphis was the sixth, and Artaphernes the seventh. At length, fortune having favoured Darius, he was the eighth.

Stanley thinks that these two Median princes were Cyaxares and Astyages. It may be so. But according to this hypothesis, Æschylus should have named three, as it was Phraortes, the son of Deioces,\* who conquered Persia. Neither can I agree with this writer in thinking, that Darius, the Mede of the Scriptures, is Astyages, maternal grandfather of Cyrus. Darius the Mede reigned only over the Babylonians, and Astyages was only king of the Medes. Stanley recognises the Magus Smerdis, in Merdis. As to Artaphernes and Maraphis, this writer conjectures, that these two conspirators occupied the throne immediately after the assassination of the Pseudo-Smerdis; and that Darius, having put them to death, himself ascended the throne. For my own part, I prefer the conjecture of M. Schutz,<sup>b</sup> who imagines that some scholiast, wishing to explain the words οἱ τοῖς ἑνὶ χροῖ, in the 774th verse, had added the names of the seven conspirators in three additional verses; that of these, two being lost,

Ἐαὶς δὲ Μίραρις ἐβδόμη δ' Ἀραρράνης,

the third had remained, and from the margin got into the text. This appears to me the only way of justifying Æschylus.

Πίλοψ] *Pelops*. Pelops and his father Tantalus were originally of Sipylum, a little town on the frontiers of Phrygia and Lydia. Such is the opinion expressed by Euripides in his *Iphigenia in Aulis*, verse 953. Apollodorus<sup>c</sup> says that Niobe, having quitted the city of Thebes, came to seek her father Tantalus at Sipylum.

In the time of Pelops, Phrygia was neither under the dominion of the Persians nor of the Medes. It was<sup>d</sup> subject to Assyria. The Medes subdued the Assyrians, and to their empire succeeded that of the Persians. The Median and the Persian kings considered the ancient kings of Assyria as their ancestors, because they inherited their empire. These three nations constituted one empire, the power of which

\* Herod. lib. i. § cii.

<sup>b</sup> Æschyl. Trag. ex edit. Schutz, Vol. ii. in excursu 2. ad Persas, pp. 123, 124.

<sup>c</sup> Apollodori Biblioth. lib. iii. cap. v. § vi. p. 164.

<sup>d</sup> The Persians were the successors of the Medes, and the Medes of the Assyrians. The latter possessed the empire of all Asia, and Troy was, according to Plato, (de Legibus, lib. iii. Vol. ii. p. 680. D.) under their dominion. Hence the

climber nations of the Persians. The ancient writers possessed sources of information, as to the history of Assyria, which we do not. We know little of that country but what we learn from Herodotus. Now, according to this historian, so far from Troy having been subject to the Assyrians, Lydia never became so even to the Medes, and Cyrus appears to have been the first prince who subjugated Asia Minor.



in process of time passed from the one to the other. Herein we recognise the haughtiness of the despots of the East, who, not content with treating their subjects as slaves, had the shamelessness to boast of it.

XII. Οὐτε ὁ συγγνωσκόμενός τοι πάρα] *No one will approve your conduct.* This is the only meaning of which the Greek phrase is susceptible. I find, nevertheless, that a critic, whose remarks are amongst the papers of M. Bellanger, suggested the following: 'and he who speaks to you' will not approve your determination.

XV. "Ὀνειρον φαντάζεσθαι μοι] *A phantom appeared to me.* In the Ms. of the Royal Library, we find φοιτῶν ὄνειρον, and in that of Sancroft, ἐπιφοιτῶν ὄνειρον. This latter reading is erroneous, because verbs in *aw*, in the neuter of the present participle, form the contraction in *ōr*.

XVI. Οὐ τῷ πρώτῳ οἱ κελεύματα πειθόμενος] *Did not comply with his first invitation.* Because, in Persia, it was a capital crime to sit on the king's throne. "Ilis eum (Persis) in sella Regis concessisse capitale foret."\*

"Ἴσθαι ἐκείνο, παρ' ἐμοὶ ἀέριται] *It is as commendable, in my opinion.* "Stoπε<sup>b</sup> ego audiui, milites, eum primum esse virum, qui ipse consulat quid in rem sit: secundum eum, qui bene momenti obediāt.

"Sapientissimum<sup>c</sup> esse dicunt eum, cui quod opus sit veniat in mentem: proxime accedere illum, qui alienius bene inventis obtemperet."

Περύκοντα] *You excel.* Περύκοντα signifies the same thing as ὑπερήκοντα. We have before met with this verb in this signification (Book vi. § LXXXVI.) See M. Abresch, Dilucidat. Thucyd. p. 374.

Ὀὐκ ἐῷντά σε] *Forbids you.* The Mss. A and B of the Royal Library have οὐκ ἐῷντα σε; the editions, οὐκ ἐῷντος σε. The sense is the same. 'Ἐῷντα relates to ὄνειρον; the Greeks say ὁ ὄνειρος and τὸ ὄνειρον. 'Ἐῷντος agrees with θεοῦ τινός.

Πεπλανῆσθαι] *Proceed usually.* Whether we leave πεπλανῆσθαι, or read περιπλανᾶσθαι with M. Valckenaer, we must necessarily alter the Latin translation. "Vagari et oberrare solent hæ species insomniorum circa ea quæ quis . . ." If we preserve the usual reading, I should, with M. Reiske,<sup>d</sup> place περὶ before τὰ. But I prefer the correction of M. Valckenaer.

Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐπιφοιτήσῃ] *But that he goes to seek you.* The reading οὐδὲ ἐπιφοιτήσῃ gives no meaning. I have followed the conjecture of Cornelius de Pauw and M. Valckenaer, who read αἰ δὲ ἐπιφοιτήσῃ.

\* Quint. Curtius, lib. viii. cap. iv. § xvi. Vol. ii. p. 547.

<sup>b</sup> Tit. Liv. lib. xxi. § lxi.

<sup>c</sup> Cic. pro Cluentio, § xxi.

<sup>d</sup> Miscell. Lipsien. nova, Vol. viii. p. 481.

This conjecture, however, ceases to be our; for we find it so written in the Ms. D of the Royal Library.

Αἰρὸ παραρτῆσαι] *Can induce you to change it.* We must read, with the Mss. A and B in the Royal Library, αἰρὸ παραρτῆσαι. M. Wesseling, who adopts this reading, rests it on the authority of the Ms. of Sancroft; which proves that these Mss. have been very negligently collated. At least we must place a colon after αὐτοεργῶσαι, as in the Ms. B.

XVII. Ἦλθ' οἱ τὸ καὶ] *Came to seek him also.* If I were here to express a doubt of the reality of this vision, or to pronounce it a device of Mardonius or of the Pisistratidæ, I should say nothing unreasonable; but I prefer leaving such reflections to the discernment of the reader, confining my attention to such points of history and geography as may be more or less involved in obscurity.

XX. Τέσσαρα ἔτην ἔληπε] *Four entire years.* Darius was employed three years\* in making the necessary preparations for the war against Greece; in the fourth year, Egypt revolted,<sup>†</sup> and this prince died in the year following, which was the fifth after the battle of Marathon. Xerxes occupied four years in preparations, and in the course of the fifth put his army in motion. At length, after a very long march, he arrived at Sardis, where he wintered.<sup>‡</sup> At the commencement of the spring, he advanced to Abydos,<sup>§</sup> and thence into Greece. It follows from this account, that Xerxes did not pass into Greece, till the eleventh year after the battle of Marathon. This agrees very well with the relation of Thucydides,<sup>¶</sup> who says, that this prince undertook his expedition in the tenth year after that battle.—WESSELING.

M. Bellanger thought that Diodorus Siculus<sup>‡</sup> and Dionysius of Halicarnassus<sup>§</sup> were mistaken in placing the expedition of Xerxes in the archontate of Calliades, and in the first year of the 75th Olympiad. But those authors are perfectly right. We have but to remember that the Athenian year commenced with the Olympiads at the summer solstice, only a little before the Peloponnesian war, according to the alteration of the calendar by Meton, and that the archons entered on their office at the commencement of the civil year, which began six months earlier. Thus Xerxes may have commenced his march at the beginning of the archontate of Calliades, or a little before it, and have arrived in Greece in the same archontate. The six first months of the office of this magistrate answer to the

\* Herodot. lib. vii. § i.

† Id. ibid. § iv.

‡ Id. ibid. § xviii.

§ Id. ibid. § xxv.

¶ Thucydid. lib. i. § xviii.

‡ Diodor. Sic. lib. xi. § i. Vol. i. p. 403.

§ Dionys. Halicarn. lib. i. § i. p. 536.

last six months of the fourth year of the 74th Olympiad, and the last six months of his archontate to the first six months of the first year of the 75th Olympiad.

With regard to the consuls whom these historians make to enter on their office at the same time with Calliades, we may remark that Diodorus Siculus follows the *Fasti Consularii* of Fabius Pictor, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus those of Cato, which differ. It is therefore not surprising that the names of the consuls given by these two historians should not be the same.

Πέμπτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἀνομένῳ] *In the course of the fifth.* In the Greek, πέμπτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἀνομένῳ. M. Reiske<sup>a</sup> thinks that this should be rendered, 'quinto autem anno exeunte,' but he gives no reason for it. Νῦξ ἀνέται in Homer is interpreted by Eustathius,<sup>b</sup> τελειοῦται. M. Wesseling agrees with him. See his note.

This expedition of Xerxes was predicted about eighty years before by the prophet Daniel, in the following words: "Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia; and the fourth shall be far richer than they all: and by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Græcia."

Ἐπιμύπτερο] *To endeavour to avenge himself.* We may remark here the force of the imperfect ἐπιμύπτερο, which indicates the desire, the effort. Darius did not avenge himself on the Scythians, but he endeavoured to do so. I believe I have made the same remark before.

XXI. Ὑπὸ μαστιγῶν] *With the whip.* Such was the military discipline of the Persians, many examples of which are to be found in Herodotus and Xenophon. A soldier thus treated, must have been insensible to honour. See note 1. on § LVI., as also my translation of the Expedition of Cyrus, with the notes, Vol. I. p. 229.

XXIV. Αὐτὸ ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε] *Caused Mount Athos to be cut through.* If we may believe Plutarch,<sup>d</sup> Xerxes wrote to Mount Athos the following absurd letter: "Divine Athos, who liftest thy summit to the skies, do not oppose to my workmen hard stones difficult to cut through; or I will have you cut down, and precipitated into the sea."

The canal was begun a little above Sanè, so that that town was enclosed in the island, which, before the works undertaken by the orders of Xerxes, was a peninsula. Thucydides<sup>e</sup> positively asserts this.

<sup>a</sup> Miscellanea Lips. nova, Vol. viii, p. 481.

<sup>b</sup> Eustath. ad Homer. Iliad. lib. x. vers. 251. p. 802. lin. 8, &c.

<sup>c</sup> Daniel, chap. xi. verse 2.

<sup>d</sup> Plutarch. de Irâ cohibendâ, p. 455.

<sup>e</sup> Thucyd. lib. iv. § cix.

XXV. Ἄλλον ἄλλῃ ἀγινόντας] *Meal or flour.* Ἄλλον relates to εἶδος ἀγνησμένον, which is at the end of § XXI. : τὸν δὲ δὴ πλείονος occurs in the Mss. A and B of the Royal Library.

Λευκὴν Ἀκτὴν] *Leuce Acte.* White coast. The southern promontory of Eubœa, 300 stadia distant from Sunium, was called Leuce Acte.\* But that is not the place meant here. The place which Herodotus now speaks of, is a coast of the Propontis, mentioned by Lysias, in one of his orations against Alcibiades.† Demetrius of Magnesia says, on the authority of Harpocration,‡ that there being several white coasts, Lysias, in this passage, means that of the Propontis.

XXVI. Τῆς ἀγορῆς] *The public square.* Salmasius§ reads ἐξ αἰῶνις τῆς ἀγορῆς, in the citadel; and he founds this upon the assertion of Xenophon, who says,¶ that the sources of this river were below the citadel. But the public square might be on that very spot. See the notes of Wesseling and Valckenaer.

Σιληνὸς Μαρσύου] *Of the satyr Marsyas.* Hyagnis, a Phrygian,§ invented the flute at Celenæ. He flourished at the same time with Erichthonius, king of Athens, in the year 1506 before our era. Marsyas, his son,¶ succeeded him in the art of playing on this instrument: after much practice‡ he became proud of his proficiency, and ventured on a contest with Apollo, but was defeated. The god flayed him alive. Hyginus\* relates, that Apollo delivered him to a Scythian to flay. "Apollo victum Marsyam ad arborem religatum Scythæ tradidit, qui eum ei membratim separavit." According to the correction of Scheffer.

The Scythians have since been the executioners of public justice at Athens. I think that Hyginus spoke in anticipation, and that 'Scythæ,' in this sentence, merely signifies an executioner.

The punishment of Marsyas, according to Fortunio Liceti, is nothing more than an allegory. Before the invention of the lyre, says he, Hieroglyph. cap. cxix, the flute was esteemed the most delightful of instruments; but after the introduction of the lyre, the flute got out of fashion, and no longer made the fortune of the player. In those remote times, pieces of leather were circulated as money; and the flute-players then gaining very little, the poets feigned

\* Strab. lib. ix. p. 612. B.

† Lysias contra Alcibiadem deserti ordinis. p. 142. lin. 16.

‡ Harpocrat. Lex. voc. Λευκὴ Ἀκτὴ.

§ Exercitat. Pliniana. ad Solim. Polyhist. p. 480.

¶ Cyn. Expedit. lib. i. p. 11. Edit. Hattchins. Oxon. 1735. 4to.

§ Marmora Oxoniensis, p. 40.

¶ Plutarch. de Musica, Vol. ii. p. 1122. F; 1112. E.

‡ Diodor. Sic. lib. iii. § lii. Vol. i. pp. 227, 228.

\* Hygini Fabulæ, Fab. 166. pp. 279, 280.

that Apollo, who played the lyre, had skinned Marsyas, the flute-player.

Marsyas was a satyr (Silenus); nor does Herodotus confound him with Silenus, the companion of Bacchus, as Le Blond, in his description of the cabinet of the Duke of Orleans, p. 205, reproaches him with doing. Le Blond was doubtless ignorant that the old Satyrs were called Sileni. See the *Etymologicum Magnum*, at the word Σαίληνός.

XXVII. Ἀντὶ Λυδῶν] *A Lydian by nation*. Hely \* says that he was a Bithynian, but he is mistaken.

Plutarch, de Virtutibus Mulierum, pp. 262, 263, does not name this rich nobleman Πέθιος, with Herodotus, but Πύθης, genit. Πύθew, accusat. Πύθηκ. "They relate," says he, "that the wife of Pythes, who lived at the time of the expedition of Xerxes against Greece, was celebrated for her wisdom and good-nature. Pythes had discovered some gold mines, and the riches which he drew from them were the objects almost of his adoration. His whole attention was absorbed by these mines, and he had no other care than that of turning their produce to account: he sent to them all the citizens of the city which he governed, and obliged them, without any distinction, to dig, carry, and purify the gold, leaving them not a moment's leisure to attend to their own concerns; so that many of them died, and the rest, worn down by fatigue, despaired of being able to bear up against it any longer. Their wives at length took the resolution of entreating the wife of Pythes in their behalf. They went to her palace with branches in their hands, and other tokens of supplication, and laid down the branches before her door. The princess appeared, listened to their complaints, and sent them away with hopes of a change for the better. In the mean time, she sent for certain goldsmiths, in whom she had confidence, shut them up in an apartment of the palace, and ordered them to make loaves, cakes, fruits, and all those things which she knew that Pythes liked best, in gold. All being completed by the return of Pythes, who had been on a journey, he asked for his supper. His wife introduced him to a table covered with all kinds of meats and provisions manufactured in gold; but there was nothing fit to eat or drink, all was gold. He at first contemplated with pleasure these artificial provisions; but his eyes were soon satiated with the glittering spectacle, whilst his stomach was yet craving. A second time he demanded something to eat; and his wife set before him all that he asked for, but still in gold. He became at length impatient, and cried out that he was dying with hunger. 'What do you complain of?' asked his wife; 'I give you such as I have. You have gold in large quantities brought,

\* Plut. Hist. Nat. Vol. ii. lib. xxxiii. cap. 2. p. 628. lin. 16.



and nothing else; nobody here thinks of any thing but gold; their labour is employed only in amassing it: no one either sows, or plants, or reaps. No one cultivates the earth, no one endeavours to make that common mother produce the nourishment fit for man: we only ransack her bowels for useless riches: we destroy ourselves by this oppressive labour, and the strength of the citizens is exhausted.' This discourse made an impression on Pythes. He did not, however, renounce the immense treasures which his mines produced, nor did he cease to work them; but for the succeeding time he employed only a fifth part of the citizens, and commanded the rest to apply themselves to agriculture and the arts. When Xerxes approached the sea to pass into Europe, and make war on the people of Greece, Pythes having given him a most magnificent reception, and made presents to all the army, entreated a boon of the king. 'Sire,' said he, 'I have several children; dispense with the attendance of one of them on this expedition, and permit him to remain with me to sustain my old age.' Xerxes was so irritated at this request, that he ordered the son in whose behalf Pythes had petitioned, to be immediately put to death, his body to be cut in two parts, and placed on each side of the road by which the army was to pass. The other sons of Pythes he took with him, and they perished in various actions. So barbarous a treatment plunged Pythes into an abyss of sorrow; he became insupportable to himself, and, as happens to those who have neither courage nor strength of mind, he was afraid to brave death, though he hated life. There was in the city a large bank or mound of earth, through which flowed a river called Pythopolites. He built a tomb on this bank, and turned the course of the river, so that it passed by the bank and washed the side of the tomb. The place of burial being thus prepared, he descended into it; and committing to his wife's care his city and his little territory, he forbade her ever to approach the tomb, but enjoined her to place his dinner every day in a small vessel, and let it follow the course of the river; to continue this till she should see the vessel pass the tomb with the victuals untouched, and then to send it no more, as she might be sure that he was then dead. Thus did Pythes pass the remainder of his days. His wife governed his little territory discreetly, and his subjects found their misery turned to happiness."

Plutus, the god of riches, is a blind god; neglecting people of worth, and lavishing his favours on the wicked. Theocrit. *Idyll.* x. verse 19, and the scholiast on the same passage.—BELLANGER.

Τῇ ἑλαιοῦ τῇ χρυσῇ] *The golden vine.* This vine was afterwards carried away from the citadel of Susa by Antiochus, in the

first year of the 116th Olympiad, 316 years before our era, and about 165 years after the interview of Xerxes with Pythius. As to the golden plane-tree, it was not so wonderful. It was so small,\* according to Antiochus, that it could scarcely afford shade to a grasshopper. It should be remarked, however, that this Antiochus was deputed by the Arcadians to the great king, and that, piqued at the little esteem in which that prince appeared to hold his nation, he endeavours to depreciate him as much as possible; and for this reason is not to be confided in.

The Persians having set fire to the citadel of Athens, the olive-tree placed in the temple of Minerva, in testimony of the contest which had taken place between that goddess and Neptune with respect to that country, was consumed. See Book VIII. § LV. On the other hand, Xerxes made very favourable proposals to the Athenians, if they would have treated with him. Ibid. § CXL. Himerius, a declaimer of the fourth century, lays hold of these two circumstances, and says:† "I will require of Xerxes the plane-tree for the branch of Minerva, that the citadel may contain two trophies of that goddess; the one, which she obtained from Neptune, the olive-tree; the other, which she gained from the Barbarians, the plane-tree." It is evident that Himerius alludes to this golden plane, which he desires should be required from Xerxes, because the sacred olive-tree of Minerva had been consumed. Paschal,‡ however, affirms, that Himerius describes two trophies of Minerva, one an olive-tree obtained in consequence of a contest with Neptune, the other a plane-tree gained from the Barbarians. The absurdity of this is too evident to need any further exposure. Theophilus, the son of Michael the stammerer, and emperor of the east, who was addicted to luxury, had improved upon this plane-tree of Pythius. He caused to be made§ a tree of gold, on which were perched little birds, which, by means of tubes skilfully arranged, sang melodiously.

XXVIII. Ἀργυρίου μὲν δύο χιλιάδας τάλαντων, χρυσοῦ δὲ τετρακοσίας μυριάδας στατήρων ἐκιδεούσας ἐπὶ χιλιάδων] *Two thousand talents in silver and in gold, and four millions, wanting seven thousand, of Doric stateræ.* The talent is worth 225*l.* The 2000 talents are consequently worth 450,000*l.* The four millions of stateræ of gold are worth 14,000 talents of silver, that is to say, 3,150,000*l.* Thus the total of the riches of Pythius amounted to 3,600,000*l.*

XXX. Ἐς Κύδραρα] *At Cydrara.* We find the name of this town written in the same manner in the Ms. B of the Royal Library.

XXXI. Μέλι] *Honey.* M. de Meziriac¶ thinks that Herodotus

\* Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. vii. cap. i. § xiv. p. 490.

† vii. Vol. iii. p. 454.

‡ Symeonis Magistri Annal. p. 416. C.

§ Himerii Declamation. p. 43. lin. 30.

¶ Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres,

‡ Paschal. de Corona, lib. viii. cap. tom. 12. p. 39.

means natural honey collected from shrubs, with which the inhabitants of the country made a certain composition. That is not his meaning. *Δημοεργοί* were confectioners, who had the art of extracting honey from tamarinds and from corn. The term *δημοεργός* is employed in this sense by Athenæus, Book 1. chap. xiv. p. 18. D. ἀνθοῦσι δὲ καὶ αἱ τῶν περὶ τὰ πέμματα δημοουργίαι. 'Confectioners excel in that which regards pastry and sweetmeats.' We find it also in the Apophthegms of Plutarch, p. 280. A. τῆς δὲ τῶν Καρῶν βουλίσσης Ἄδας ὄψα καὶ πέμματα παρεσκευασμένα περιττῶς διὰ δημοουργῶν καὶ μαγείρων φιλοτιμονιμένης ἀεὶ πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτὸν . . . 'Ada, queen of Caria, wishing to give him proofs of her zeal, sent him all sorts of viands and pastry, prepared in a superior manner by the most excellent cooks and confectioners.'

The more I examine this passage of Herodotus, the less am I inclined to think that this honey was natural; on the contrary, it appears to me to have been a sort of artificial honey, a composition.

*Κόσμος*] *Collars and bracelets.* *Κόσμος* signifies the ornaments peculiar to a woman; and *Ælian*<sup>a</sup> paraphrasing this passage says, necklaces and bracelets.

*Ἀθανάτῳ ἀνδρὶ*] *To an immortal.* I say, to an Immortal; as we might say, to a Dragoon. The immortals were a chosen troop of horse. Herodotus speaks of them more fully, § LXXXIII.

XXXIII. *Ἰπὸς σαρῖς προσδικοσσομένον*] *They crucified him.* I have decided in favour of this interpretation, on the authority of Hesychius, who says, speaking of *σaris*: ἐπιτίθεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ. 'The word *saris* is also used for the cross.' This arises undoubtedly from the little board which was placed above the cross, on which were inscribed the crimes of the sufferer, or sometimes only his name.

The passage of Hesychius may be explained, "They also place the *σaris* or little board above the cross." See Book 1x. § cxv.

XXXV. *Πεδέων ζεύγος*] *A pair of fetters.* *Diogenes Laertius*<sup>b</sup> affirms that those who have written on the Magi, condemn Herodotus for having said that Xerxes ordered fetters to be thrown into the sea, since the Magi regarded the sea as a divinity. But Joach. Kuhnus very justly remarks, in his note on this passage, that the ancients, when they considered themselves to have ground of complaint against their divinities, used them very roughly. Yet, as I remark in the next note, the invasion of Greece so incensed that people

<sup>a</sup> *Ælian.* Var. Hist. lib. ii. cap. xiv. p. 108.

<sup>b</sup> *Diogen. Laert. Proöm. segm. ix. p. 7.*

against Xerxes, that they charged his portrait with whatever was calculated to render it odious.

Ξρίσσας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον] *To brand its waters with a hot iron.* As they used to brand a criminal. I have added these words, 'with a hot iron,' in imitation of M. Dusaulez, in his translation of Juvenal. The actions which the Greeks impute to Xerxes appear greatly exaggerated; but, this I am persuaded, is to be traced to the hatred which his expedition against them had inspired. We know, too, the proverb of Juvenal, 'Græcia mendax.' Had we the history of Persia written by the Persians themselves, we might be able to trace out the truth even through the disguises in which they would probably have enveloped it.

We may remark that Herodotus does not affirm this latter circumstance. Juvenal<sup>a</sup> has been equally reserved.

Ille tamen (Xerxes) qualis rediit, Salamine relicta,  
In Corum atque Eurum solitus ævire flagellis  
Barbarus, Æolo nunquam hoc in carcere passus,  
Ipsum compedibus qui vinxerat Kanoisgaum<sup>b</sup>  
Mitius id sane, quod non et stigmate dignum  
Credidit.

Δολεπὴ ποταμῷ] *Deceitful river.* It appears strange that Herodotus should give to the Hellespont the name of river. But the learned and ingenious author of the *Voyage of Palmyra*, Mr. Wood, gives an excellent reason for this in his work, entitled 'a Description of the Troad.'<sup>c</sup>

"There is something remarkable in the epithet 'broad,' which is more than once by Homer given to the Hellespont: for it seems to be improperly applied to a sea, which is narrower than many rivers. And yet this poet is not single in representing it in this light, for Orpheus speaks of the broad Hellespont. Eustathius and other commentators have endeavoured to explain this term, but in a manner, I think, not satisfactory. I shall therefore beg leave to offer a conjecture upon this head, which occurred to me upon the spot. When I was sailing upwards from the Ægean sea into the Hellespont, we were obliged to make our way against a constant smart current, which, without the assistance of a north wind, generally runs about three knots in an hour. At the same time we were land-locked on all sides; and nothing appeared in view, but rural scenery: and every object conveyed the idea of a fine river, running through an inland country. In this situation I could hardly persuade myself that I was at sea; and it was as natural to talk of its comparative great breadth,

<sup>a</sup> Juvenal. Sat. 2. vers. 170.

<sup>b</sup> Description of the Troad, pp. 320, 321.

as to mention its embouchure, its pleasant stream, its woody banks, and all those circumstances which belong to rivers only. The epithet 'swift-flowing,' or 'rapid,' which the poet applies to it (but never to any other sea), shows that he considered it merely as a running stream; and Herodotus, who visited the Hellespont with the curiosity of a traveller, actually calls it a river."

Mr. Chandler\* is also of the same opinion.

XXXVI. Συθέρει] *They fastened together.* "There were two bridges," says M. Wesseling in a note, "the first composed of 360 vessels, which presented their sides to the Euxine sea; the second of 314, the heads of which were turned towards the Hellespont. The vessels of the first bridge were ranged side by side, and those of the second, end to end. The first bridge therefore must have consisted of a much larger number of vessels than the second."

Thus concludes M. Wesseling. It seems to me, however, that the direct contrary is to be inferred; for if the vessels, for example, were 60 feet long and 12 wide, the second bridge, which presented only the heads of the vessels, must have had five times as many, which was not the case; or the space occupied by the former must have been five times as long as that where they constructed the latter.

But this is not the greatest difficulty. The vessels of the first bridge presenting their sides to the Euxine sea, and, thus placed, being incapable of resisting the currents of that sea, especially with a north wind, must necessarily have been driven out of their line, which consequently would have prevented the completion of the bridge.

Major Rennel, whose talents are universally acknowledged, proposes an explanation of this passage, which I shall present to the reader, with some observations of my own, and which I make, less with a view of criticizing it, than with that of inducing the writer to offer some further elucidation, my only object in this work being the development of truth.

"Since the Hellespont in the neighbourhood of Abydos," says Major Rennel,<sup>d</sup> "has a very considerable bend in its course, first running northward from Abydos towards Sestos, and then taking a pretty sharp turn to the eastward; may it not have been, that the two lines of ships were disposed on different sides of the angle just mentioned, by which it might truly be said, that the ships in one line presented their heads to the Euxine, the other their sides, although the heads of both were presented to the current?"

I cannot conceive how the vessels of the first bridge, which presented their sides to the Euxine sea, could at the same time present

\* *Travels in Asia Minor*, by Richard Chandler, chap. iii. pp. 10, 11.

<sup>d</sup> *The Geographical System of Herodotus examined and explained*, p. 123



their heads to this sea, even if arranged transversely. Major Rennel seems also to be mistaken as to the placing of these vessels, as he says those of the second bridge presented their fronts to the Euxine sea, whereas Herodotus positively asserts that it was to the Egean sea.

I apprehend the matter thus: 1. The first bridge was constructed in a wider channel, as this bridge had the larger number of vessels, which presented their sides to the Propontis. The second must have been on a much shorter line, as it had forty-six vessels fewer; and moreover these vessels presenting their heads to the Egean sea must have occupied a much smaller space.

2. At that season of the year, when these bridges were constructed, the north winds did not prevail. It was not therefore necessary to oppose a very powerful resistance to the waves of the Propontis. For this reason, the vessels of the first bridge were arranged with their sides to the current. But as, at the same season, the south and south-east winds blew constantly, and it was necessary to guard against the waves of the Egean sea, the vessels of the second bridge were disposed so as to present their heads to that sea. By this arrangement, the waves of the Egean sea, in some degree weakened by having traversed a part of the Hellespont before reaching the line of vessels, were broken by the heads of the ships, which were the less likely to be driven away, as they were firmly anchored.

Si quid novisti rectius istis,  
Candidus imperti: si non, his utere mecum.

[Υπόφανσι] *A free passage.* Υπόφανσι signifies an opening which affords entrance to light, διέκλως υπόφανσι, a passage which permits vessels to pass and repass. See Book IV. § CLXXIX. note 3.

"Διέκλωσιν δὲ υπόφανσιν κατέλιπον τῶν πενηκοντῶν καὶ τρίχον. This last word appears to me peculiarly suspicious. Can Herodotus have written καὶ τριηρέων? This is but a conjecture, as to which I am far from confident."—CORAY.

Three passages were left in this bridge, for two reasons. The first, that the navigation of the small craft to and from the Euxine sea might not be interrupted; and the second, that the force of the current might be thereby diminished. Herodotus mentions only the former reason; the latter appears to me equally cogent. I think, therefore, we may leave τρίχον; for the more numerous these passages were, the less was commerce impeded; and the greater the number of outlets for the waves, the smaller would be their force. If, however, we had found τριηρέων in the place of τρίχον, I would have suffered it to

remain, as in this paragraph allusion is made not only to vessels with five benches of rowers, but also to those of three.

XXXVII. Ἐκλινών] *Disappeared*. There was no eclipse at Sardis in this year; but there was a very remarkable one in the year preceding, 481 years before our era, on the 19th April, as I have been informed by the late M. Pingre, of the Academy of Sciences. It therefore happened about the time of the departure of Xerxes from Susa. Herodotus, who had heard say that there was an eclipse at the time of the departure of Xerxes, imagined that it was on his departure from Sardis, which was a year later than that from Susa. Though Pythius might be alarmed by it, it does not follow that this eclipse did not happen till the moment of the departure from Sardis. And there is every reason to believe, that it was this terror that induced him, contrary to his natural disposition, which was avaricious, to make such magnificent presents to Xerxes, for the purpose of conciliating his favour, and disposing him to accede to his request.

Προδέκτρα] *Announced the future*. Προδέκτρα comes from προ-δεῖνναι, 'ante significo,' and consequently cannot signify 'praeses,' 'patronus,' as the dictionaries and Gronovius himself explain. Paulmier de Grentemesnil\* has very well explained it.

XXXVIII. Ἠρίδας τὰ νοεῖς, νοστήσεις ὅπως] *May you return, &c.* This is an imitation of the 18th and 19th verses of the 1st Book of the Iliad.

Ἵμῖν μὲν θεοὶ δοῖεν, Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες,  
Ἑσπέρσσι Πριάμοιο πόλιν, εὖ δ' οἰκαδ' ἰεσθαι.

'May the gods, O inhabitants of Olympus, by your hands overthrow the city of Priam, and happily bring you back again to your country!'

To have pointed out all the imitations of this sort, would have greatly extended these notes. I have therefore contented myself with noticing a few of them.

XXXIX. Τὸν χρόν πανοικῇ αὐτῇ γυναικὶ συνέπεσθαι] *And all thy house*. In the Greek, τὸν χρόν πανοικῇ αὐτῇ γυναικὶ συνέπεσθαι. These three datives at first occasioned me some little perplexity, and I thought that we should admit the reading of Aldus, πανοικῇ, without the iota subscript; but it has since occurred to me that πανοικῇ, though really a dative, is here taken adverbially, the same as σιγῇ, which we find every where, and πανοικῆρι, which is employed by Herodotus, Book 1. § LXII.; and that πανοικῇ is the same with πανοικί, which we find in the Dialogue of Æschines the Socratic, de Di-

\* Exercitationes in optimos Auctores Græcos, p. 31.

vitis, § 1. p. 36. and which signifies 'funditus' in this dialogue only with reference to *ἐξέλασθαι*, which follows.

*Ἀξίην*] *The reward.* With *ἀξίην* and *ἐλάσσω* we must understand *τιμὴν*, or some other equivalent substantive. *Τιμὴ* is taken either in a good or a bad sense, according to the occasion. All the authors abound in this mode of expression. One example will suffice. Lucian says, "ὡς ὑπόσχεσθαι τὴν ἀξίαν ὣν δέδρακε." 'That he may undergo a punishment proportioned to his actions, and that he may receive the reward of his crimes.'

*Μέσον διαταμεῖν*] *To cut him in two through the middle of his body.* "At<sup>a</sup> quanto Xerxes facilius? qui Pythio, quinque filiorum patri, unius vacationem petenti, quem vellet, eligere permisit: deinde quem elegerat, in partes duas distractum ab utroque viæ latere posuit, et hæc victimâ lustravit exercitum. Habuit itaque quem debuit exitum. Victus, et late longeque fusus, ac stratum ubique ruinam suam cernens, mediis inter suorum cadavera incescit. Hæc barbaris regibus feritas in irâ fuit: quos nulla eruditio, nullus litterarum cultus imbuerat."

XL. *Ἀναμῖξ, ὅν διεκεκριμένοι*] *Pell-mell, without distinction.* Herodotus does not mean to say that these troops were wholly without order, but that the soldiers were not classed according to their respective nations. It was nearly the same as in our regiments, in each of which we find soldiers from all provinces. Our historian makes this remark, because in the Greek armies each distinct people formed a separate corps, which was subdivided into smaller bodies, according to the number of tribes it comprised.

*Πεδίον μέγα τῆς Μηδικῆς τῷ οὐρομά ἐστι Νίσαιον*] *Of the vast Nisæan plain.* In this plain were superb studs of horses, to the number of 150,000. Alexander, on his return from India, had the curiosity to go to see them. There were then but 50,000, the rest having been carried off by robbers. See Book III. note on § XCII.

XLl. *Ἐς ἀρμάμαζαν*] *On a harmamaza.* This was a kind of carriage fitted with peculiar conveniencies, and adapted for women. See my notes on the Loves of Chereas and Callirrhœ, Vol. II. pp. 257, 258.

*Κατὰ νόμον τὰς λόγχας ἔχοντες*] *The point upwards.* This is not in the Greek; but I have added it, because it is what Herodotus means by the words, 'according to custom.' He here opposes this thousand men to the thousand mentioned in the preceding paragraph, who carried the points of their pikes downwards.

<sup>a</sup> Lucian. Piscator, § XII. Vol. I. p. 380.

<sup>b</sup> Arrian. Exped. Alex. lib. vii. § xlii.

<sup>c</sup> Seneca de Irâ, lib. iii. cap. xvii. Vol. II. p. 505.

i. p. 120.

Du Ryer and M. Bellanger did not understand this expression: they have translated it, 'in the fashion of the country.'

[*Ποιῖς χρυσέας*] *Apples of gold.* In the Greek there is καὶ μήλα: but it is necessary to repeat χρυσά, which occurs before. Had there been any difficulty in this, Athenæus would have removed it. \**Ἐν τῶν σιμῶων μήλα χρυσαῖα ἔχοντες.* 'They have apples of gold at the lower extremity of their pikes.'

XLIII. Τὸ Πριάμον Πέργαμον] *The Pergama of Priam.* Pergama was the name of the citadel of Troy. Herodotus adds 'of Priam,' to distinguish it from the city of Pergama in Mysia, which was afterwards the capital of a kingdom, and from Pergama, a city of the Pieræ. See the Geographical Table.

Τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ τῇ Ἰλιάδι] *Minerva of Troy.* Minerva Ilias, in the Greek. She had a temple in the citadel, as we learn from Homer.<sup>d</sup> She was held in great veneration throughout the country. Alexander the Great, on his visit to Troy, offered up sacrifices to her.<sup>e</sup>

We here perceive a palpable difference between the honours rendered by the Magi to Minerva, whom they considered as a divinity, and those which they paid to heroes who had been only men. To the former they offered sacrifices; to the latter they only poured libations.

An objection may be here taken against Herodotus. This historian had observed, Book i. § cxxxii., that the Persians in their sacrifices poured no libations in honour of the gods. On this occasion, however, they do so in honour of heroes. One might be led to imagine that our historian had contradicted himself, and a very well-informed person has accused him of it. It is easy, I think, to exculpate him. In Book i. § cxxxii. he speaks of the religion of the Persians, and of the rites which they observed. But here the Persians being in a foreign country, and feeling the necessity of conciliating the favour of the gods of the Greeks, they considered themselves bound to imitate that people in their form of worship. Perhaps, too, they thought by this compliance to attach to them more strongly those Greeks who were fighting under their banners. What is in my opinion a sufficient proof that they practised the Grecian rites with no other view, is, that Mardonius<sup>f</sup> employed Hegesistratus to sacrifice in the Greek method, that he might know whether he should give battle. But vexed that the entrails of the victims did not promise him success in case he commenced the attack, and being resolved at all

\* Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. xii. cap. ii. p. 510. B.

<sup>d</sup> Homer Iliad. lib. vi. vers. 89.

<sup>e</sup> Arriani Expedit. Alexandr. lib. i. cap. xi. p. 47.

<sup>f</sup> Herodot. lib. ix. § lxxvi.

events to force the enemy to action, he turned his back upon the Greek auspices, and followed the customs of his country."

[Γέργιθας Τευκρούς] *The Gergitho-Teucrians*. In the Ms. B of the Royal Library also, we find Γέργιθας Τευκρούς. The Gergithæ were the remains of the ancient Teucrians, as Herodotus informs us, Book v. § cxxvii.

XLIV. 'Εν Ἀβύδῳ] *At Abydos*. I have suppressed μέση, with the Mss. of the Royal Library, and the edition of M. Wesseling. If it be preserved, ἐν Ἀβύδῳ must be taken for the territory of Abydos.

Προεξέδρη λίθου λευκοῦ] *A tribunal of white marble*. On this mound or hill were placed seats for the nobles who were to accompany Xerxes, and another much more elevated, of white marble, for the king. This is what is meant by προεξέδρη; and which my translation scarcely expresses.

Τῶν νεῶν ἀμίλλαν] *A naval combat*. The editions of Gale, of Gronovius, and even that of Wesseling, have ἀμίλλαν γενομένην, 'factum.' This is wrong; it must be the present γενομένην, 'dum feret,' with the edition of Aldus, and that of Stephens of 1570, and the Mss. A, B, and D of the Royal Library.

XLV. Ἐδάκρυσε] *He shed tears*. The reflection made by Xerxes on the sad end of so many thousands of men, revive in his breast some sentiments of humanity; but ambition soon re-asserts its supremacy, and overpowers these better feelings. I greatly doubt whether Valerius Maximus has guessed the real source of the tears of Xerxes, and I think there is a dash of malice in what he says of them:<sup>a</sup> "Qui mihi specie alienam, revera suam conditionem deplorassee videtur: opum magnitudine, quam altiore animi sensu felictor." I am much better pleased with what Pliny the younger writes in his letter to Catinus: "Tam angustis terminis tantæ multitudinis vivacitas ipsa concluditur, ut mihi non veniâ solum dignæ, verum etiam laude, videantur illæ regiæ lacrymæ. Nam ferunt Xerxem, cum immensum exercitum oculis obisset, illacrymasse, quod tot millibus tam brevis immineret occasus." M. Wesseling thinks differently.

XLVI. Ἐσῆλλθε] *I am moved with, &c.* The reflection of this monarch is most just; but there was much folly in continuing this mad expedition, which must necessarily cut off so many thousands of men. We find ἐσῆλλθε in the Mss. A and D in the Royal Library, and εἰσῆλλθε in that marked B. A certain M. Fischer, and some other commentators of equal weight, whose names I do not bear

<sup>a</sup> Herodot. lib. ix. § xl.

<sup>c</sup> Plinii Jun. Epist. lib. iii. Epist. vii.

<sup>b</sup> Valer. Maxim. lib. ix. cap. xiii; Et. p. 205. tom. i. p. 260.



in mind, have not only expressed doubts as to the good faith of Stephens, but have even asserted that he introduced into the text or the margin merely his own conjectures. For my own part, I have observed, that in his editions of Herodotus and of Plato, the greater part of which I have carefully compared with the Mss. in the Royal Library, the text and the marginal readings are exactly conformable to one or other of those Mss. He certainly gave into a bad practice of those times, that of not citing authorities. See also M. Wytttenbach, in his preface to Plutarch, p. 79, German edition.

Γείνας τὸν αἰῶνα] *By seasoning our lives.* Γείνας is he who offers any thing to the taste, γεσπαμένος, he who tastes. For want of attention to this distinction, many have mistaken the sense of this passage, and amongst them M. Bellanger.\* Valla has erroneously translated 'dulce gustans sæculum.' Portus, or Stephens, has very properly corrected it, 'dulci gustu vitam aspergens.' M. Bellanger was in the wrong to censure this version, which he likewise erroneously attributes to Laurentius Valla. Valla's translation is absurd; for the divinity manifests no jealousy in being happy, but in reserving this happiness to itself, and communicating to mankind but a slender portion of it, with which it seasons the numerous ills that mankind experience. The ancients for the most part considered that the gods, in their jealousy of men, reserved to themselves unmixed happiness. See the notes of Wesseling and Valckenacr.

XLIX. Αἱ συμφοραὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀρχοῦσι] *To the mercy of fortuitous events.* This thought probably occasioned Sallust to say: "Neque<sup>δ</sup> regerentur magis quam regerent casus."

Τὸ πρῶτον αἰεὶ κλέπτουμεν] *Insensibly, and without perceiving it.* Κλέπτεσθαι, is to deceive one's self without perceiving it. But τὸ πρῶτον determines the kind of deception here meant.

Εἰ βουλευόμενος μὲν, ἀρρωδέει] *Admits the influence of apprehension in his deliberations.* "Priusquam incipias, consulto: et ubi consultueris, mature facto opus est." Sallust. Catilin. cap. 1.

Λ. Γνώμητι ἐχρῶντο ὁμοίῳ καὶ σὺ] *Had thought as you do.* The Ms. A of the Royal Library preserves the Ionic form ἐχρίοντο, and a line lower down χρῶμενοι. This Ms. never varies in this respect.

LIII. Σπυδῆρας] *Labour with zeal.* In the Ms. of Florence we read σπυδῆρω, in the Mss. A and D in the Royal Library σπυδῆρας, and in the Ms. B, σπυδῆρο. Gronovius and Wesseling read σπυδῆρε, which is the reading I have followed.

LIV. Οὐκ ἔχω ἀρκετῶς διασπῖναι] *I cannot positively decide.* We

\* Essais de Critique sur les Traductions d'Hérodote, pp. 190. 200.

<sup>δ</sup> Sallust. Bell. Jugurth. § 1.

must necessarily read διακρίναι with the Mss. A, B and D in the Royal Library, and several others cited in M. Wesseling's edition. M. Bellanger has very clearly explained this passage in his Critical Essays, p. 202. A little lower down, we read in the Mss. A and B of the Royal Library, κατῆκεν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος.

LV. Ὁ σύμμικτος στρατός] *The body of troops.* This corps was no doubt less numerous than Cornelius de Pauw apprehends, and may very well have passed in a single day and night. This is the body mentioned by Herodotus in § XL., and very different from that which is spoken of as having marched pell-mell, at the close of § XLI.

LVI. Ὑπὸ μαστιγῶν] *Under stripes of the whip.* The Persian troops were driven towards the enemy with the whip. See Xenophon, Cyri Expedit. lib. III. cap. IV. § XVI. p. 172. Such a species of discipline must necessarily degrade the soldier, and render him insensible to honour. See note on § XXI.

Ἄνδρα Ἑλλησπόντιον] *An inhabitant of this coast.* "When with this Hellespontian you consider Xerxes happy, at the time when he is crossing the sea on a bridge of vessels, cast your eyes on those who are employed in cutting the canal through Mount Athos under the lash of the whip, and on those whose noses and ears were cut off, because a tempest destroyed this bridge of vessels; and consider that it is your life, your condition, that these people would find most happy."

Ὁ Ζεῦ, τί δὴ ἀνδρὶ εἰδόμενος Πέρσῃ, καὶ ὄνομα ἀντὶ Διὸς Ἐπέεα θέμενος] *O Jupiter, why under the form of a Persian, and under the name of Xerxes.* Gorgias of Leontium<sup>a</sup> somewhere says, "Xerxes, the Jupiter of the Persians." Longinus justly ridicules this hyperbolic expression.

LVII. Περὶ ἐωυτοῦ τρέχων] *Himself incurring.* Περὶ ἐωυτοῦ τρέχων. This is an imitation of Homer, on which the reader may consult the Commentaries of Eustathius, Vol. II. p. 1264. line 15 and following, and the Ionian Lexicon of Æmiliius Portus, under the word τρέχειν περὶ ἐωυτοῦ.

LVIII. Τὰ ἔμπαλιν πρήσσω] *An opposite route.* The fleet, in order to sail out of the Hellespont, must necessarily turn its back upon the army, which was advancing towards the commencement of the isthmus and the city of Cardia.

Ἥλιον ἀνατολὰς] *The rising of the sun.* The summer rising, as Paulmier de Grentemesnil has judiciously remarked.

LIX. Τεῖχος βασιλείου] *A royal castle.* It would be very absurd

<sup>a</sup> Plutarch. de Animi Tranquillit. p. 470, E. <sup>b</sup> Longin. de Sublimit. cap. III. p. 10.

to translate here, 'a royal wall.' See Book III. note 3. to § XCI. and Book IV. note 1. to § XII., note 4. to § XLVI., and note 1. to § CXXIV.

*Tis réas atéψυχον ánelkýσαντες*] *When they had drawn their vessels on shore.* As the vessels of those times were not so large as ours, they were drawn on shore, when it was deemed necessary to remain any time in one place. This practice, which had been in use from the time of the siege of Troy, as we find in Homer, continued during the most flourishing periods of Grecian history. We often find it mentioned in the Hellenica of Xenophon.\* *Καὶ ὁ μὲν Λύσανδρος, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ τὸ ναυτικὸν συνετέτακτο, ἀνελκύσας τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἐφέῳ ναῦς, οὐκ ἐννεμήκοντα, ἡσυχίαν ἤγει, ἐπισκευάζων καὶ ἀναψύχων αὐτάς.* We may remark that this phrase is nearly parallel with that of our historian. The replacing of the vessels on the sea, was designated by the term *καθέλκεν*, or *καθελκύσαι τὰς ναῦς*. The same Xenophon, in the next paragraph of the same chapter, says, *ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀλίγας τῶν νεῶν καθελκύσας*, and two lines lower down, *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τοῦ Νοτίου καθελκύσαντες τὰς λοιπὰς τριήρεις . . .* Thucydides† and other historians likewise speak of this practice.

LX. *Ἐβδόμηκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες*] *One million seven hundred thousand men.* Though this prodigious number of troops may astonish us, it is by no means incredible. All the people under the dominion of Persia were slaves, and were obliged to march without distinction of birth or profession. Extreme youth or age were perhaps the only excuses admitted. Xerxes even says to Pythius, (§ XXXVIII.) "Thou shouldst have followed me with thy wife and thy whole house." This Pythius was a very aged Lydian nobleman, who had five sons in the service of the prince, and who entreated him to leave behind the eldest to take care of him in his old age. Voltaire, therefore, was not justified in considering this account as a fable,‡ or in supposing that Xerxes must have had a hundred million of subjects, because he had an army of two million men. Our customs must not be the standard by which we judge of those of the ancients. But had M. de Voltaire lived twenty years longer, he would have seen realised in France, that which he could not imagine to be possible in Persia. The most reasonable objection that can be made to the account of Herodotus is, that which did not occur to M. de Voltaire, viz. how so enormous an army could be provisioned? But this objection is anticipated by Herodotus, § I. "We have with us," says Xerxes, "plenty of provisions; and as the nations against which we are marching, instead of being wandering hordes, cultivate the earth, we shall find in their

\* Xenophon. Hellenic. lib. i. cap. v. § vi. Vol. iii. p. 33.

† Thucyd. lib. viii. § xi. p. 613.

‡ Questions sur l'Encyclopédie, tom. i. p. 21.

fields corn, which we can appropriate to our own use." In other places Herodotus has entered into further details.

Authors differ greatly as to the number of the troops of Xerxes. Ctesias<sup>a</sup> assigns him 800,000 men, without reckoning the chariots; Diodorus Siculus<sup>b</sup> the same number; but he copies Ctesias. Ælian<sup>c</sup> reckons 700,000; Pliny<sup>d</sup> 788,000; Justin,<sup>e</sup> 1,000,000, &c.

When we recollect that Herodotus was in a manner a contemporary, and that he had read his history to the Greeks assembled at Olympia, amongst whom there must have been many who had been in the battles of Salamis and Platœa, we must regard him as more worthy of credit than later historians.

Αἶμασι] *With a wall.* Αἶμασι is strictly a wall built with unhewn stone, and without mortar or other cement.

LXI. Πίλους ἀπαγέας] *They had caps of felt closely worked.* The Persians inhabited mountains, of which the climate was colder than the other countries of Asia which they had conquered; and moreover, had their caps been of wool, not worked into felt, as I had first translated, conformably to the text, they would have afforded them, throughout the campaign, but slender protection against the heat of the sun, and none at all against the rain. I therefore considered that the text must be corrupt. We find in Xenophon<sup>f</sup> the term εὐπαγής, which signifies 'compact;' but as this is an Attic word, I change it to εὐπηγέας, which we find in Hippocrates,<sup>g</sup> who wrote in the Ionian dialect, οὐ γὰρ πρότερον ἔχειαι τὰ ἐμβρυα σπένντα, ἢν μὴ ἰσχυραὶ αἱ μήτραι ᾖσι, καὶ εὐπηγέες. Thus πίλους εὐπηγέας are caps of felt closely worked; which will at once serve as a defence against rain, and the heat of the sun.

The scholia upon Plato, collected by M. Ruhnken and published<sup>h</sup> since his death, explain Πιλήσιως<sup>i</sup> τῆς διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐρίων πυκνώσεως γινομένης ἐσθῆτος.

Κεῖθωναι . . . ποικίλους, λεπίδας σιδηρέης] *Iron cuirasses.* All the Mss. are faulty at this place. I am convinced, with M. Biel,<sup>k</sup> that after ποικίλους we should read καὶ θώρηκας λεπίδας. Heliodorus gives a very detailed description<sup>l</sup> of the cuirass of the Persians.

Ἀναξυρίδας] *Long trousers.* In Greek, ἀναξυρίδες. Diodorus Siculus,<sup>m</sup> speaking of the Gauls, says, "Their dress is magnificent. They wear tunics of various colours, and long hose, which they call

<sup>a</sup> Ctesias in Persicis, § xxiii.

<sup>b</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. xi. § iii. Vol. i. p. 416.

<sup>c</sup> Ælian. Histor. Var. lib. xiii. cap. iii. Vol. ii. p. 836.

<sup>d</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxiii. cap. x. Vol. ii. p. 626. lin. 17.

<sup>e</sup> Justin. Histor. lib. ii. cap. x. p. 102.

<sup>f</sup> Xenoph. de Venatione, cap. ii. § viii.

<sup>g</sup> Hippocrat. de Mulierum morbis, lib. i. p. 174 lin. 5.

<sup>h</sup> Scholia in Platonem, Lugd. Bat. 1700. 8vo. p. 232.

<sup>i</sup> See M. Wesseling's note.

<sup>k</sup> Heliodor. Athiopie. lib. ix. p. 431.

<sup>l</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. v. § xxx. p. 383.

trowsers." Thus it seems that the Persians were not the only people who wore trowsers. The Gauls wore them, as we have just seen, and also the Scythians, if we may believe Ovid :<sup>a</sup>

Pellibus et laxis arcent male fngora braccis.

Xenophon,<sup>b</sup> describing the dress of Cyrus, represents him with trowsers of a purple colour. See the note of Perizonius, ad Æliani Var. Histor. lib. xii. cap. xxxii. p. 772. note 3.

[Γέρρα] *Gerrai*. A kind of wicker shield, of the form of a rhombus.

[ὑπὸ δὲ φαρετραῖς] *A quiver beneath it*. Herodotus says that the Persians carried their quiver beneath their shield, because on a march it was the custom to carry the shield across their shoulders.

Καὶ τῶν περσίων, Ἀρταῖοι] *Their neighbours called them Artai*. The Greeks anciently called the Persians 'Cephenes,' and the people who lived near the Persians called them 'Artai.' This name applied to the whole nation, and not to a particular part of it. Had Major Rennel<sup>c</sup> attended to this, he would not have said that the Artacene of Ptolemy and the Ardistan of modern geography were the same with the country of the Persians. Nor would he have advanced that the Arteatæ were the same with the Artai, had he consulted the last edition of Herodotus, or the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles-Lettres, Vol. xviii. p. 119, in which it is proved that ἀρτείας is the third person of the perfect preterite of the Ionic passive for ἄρηνται, 'pendent,' hang or depend. If this edition should ever fall into the hands of Major Rennel, I would solicit his attention to my 307th note on Book i.

[Λινέους θώρακες] *Cuirasses of linen*. Linen will resist the edge of iron or steel: "hi<sup>d</sup> casses (nempe e lino) vel feri aciem vincunt." But how did they acquire this power? The linen was steeped in sour wine mixed with a certain quantity of salt. As many as eighteen thicknesses of this were laid on each other and worked together, as they make felt. No arrow could pierce a cuirass made in this manner. Such was that of Conrad, described by<sup>e</sup> Nicetas Achominates. These cuirasses being proof against steel, they were introduced in many countries instead of iron ones. "Mutavit<sup>f</sup> genus loncarum, et pro sertis atque mænis lineas dedit. Quo facto expeditiores milites reddidit."

Οἱτοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἐκαλέοντο Σύριοι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων

<sup>a</sup> Ovid. Trist. lib. v. Eleg. vii. vers. 49. li. p. 155. lin. 22.

<sup>b</sup> Xenoph. Cynæd. lib. viii. cap. vi. § xiii.

<sup>c</sup> The Geographical System, &c. p. 286.

<sup>d</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xii. cap. l. Vol.

<sup>e</sup> Nicetas Choniata Imperium Isaacii Angelii, lib. i. p. 247. A.

<sup>f</sup> Corn. Nepos, in Iphicrate, cap. i. § iv. p. 205.



'*Ἀσσύριοι*] *The Greeks give them the name of Syrians, and the Barbarians that of Assyrians.* "When those" who write the history of the empire of the Syrians, say that the Medes were destroyed by the Persians, and the Syrians by the Medes, they understand only the Syrians of Babylonia, who constituted the empire of Ninus."

LXIV. *Καλάμινα*] *Of cane.* It is a kind of reed, of which we make walking-sticks. It is called bamboo. The Indians make bows and arrows of it to this day.

*Κυρβασίας ἐς ὅν ἀπυγμέναι ὀρθὰς εἶχον πεπηγυίας*] *Had felted caps terminating in a point.* The text has, *Κυρβασίας ἐς ὅν ἀπυγμέναι ὀρθὰς εἶχον πεπηγυίας*. This latter term indicates that the caps were of felt. *Πληθεῖς* is used in the same sense; we find it in an inscription of Theodorus, a small fragment of which is given in Suidas, under the word *σφαῖρα*, and the whole of which is in the Anthologia published by M. Reiske, p. 44., and still more correctly by M. Toup, Emendat. in Suidam, Vol. III. p. 183. M. Brunck, however, does not approve<sup>4</sup> the correction of Toup. The two first verses of this inscription are as follows:

*Σοὶ τὸν πληθέντα δι' εὐχάντου τριχὸς ἄμμου,  
'Ερμῶ, Καλλιτέλης ἐπέμασεν πέραςσον.*

'Calliteles has hung up in honour of you, O Mercury, this winged hat, of lambs' wool well carded and fulled.' See also note to § LXXI. p. 368.

*Σαγάραι*] *Sagaris.* A kind of hatchet peculiar to the Amazons,<sup>5</sup> which cut on one side only. The Ms. A and D of the Royal Library have *ἀξίνας σαγάραις* without the conjunction *καί*, which is the true reading.

The term *Sakr* signifies a hatchet in the language of the Armenians. See the Whistons, in the preface to *Moses Chorenensis*, p. v.

*Σκύθαις Ἀμυργίοις*] *Amyrgian Scythians.* *Ἀμυργίους* is omitted in the Ms. B of the Royal Library.

LXV. *Εἴματα ἀπὸ ξύλων πεποιημένα*] *Of cotton.* The Indians to this day wear garments of cotton, which their country produces in great quantities. It is found likewise in other places. "Superior" *para Egypti in Arabiam vergens gignit fruticem, quem aliqui gossipion vocant, plures Xylon, et ideo lina inde facta Xylina.*" M. Bellanger has translated, '*habits de Xyles.*' But this is speaking Greek in French. See Book II. § LXXXVI. note 11; Book III. § XLVII. note 1. and § CVI. note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Strab. lib. xvi. p. 1071. B.

<sup>3</sup> Anakt. Vet. Poet. Græc. Vol. III. in notis, p. 132.

<sup>4</sup> Hesychius, voc. *Σάγαρις*.

<sup>5</sup> Xenoph. Cyri Exped. lib. iv. cap. iv.

§ x. Vol. II. p. 215.

<sup>6</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xix. cap. i. Vol. II. p. 156. lin. 7.

LXVI. Γανδαρίων] *The Gandarians.* Major Rennel places them in Margiana, because, in Isidorus Characenus, he finds the towns of Gadar<sup>a</sup> and Apabartice<sup>c</sup> between Nisæa and Antiocha of Margiana. Hence this writer concludes that the Gandarians occupied the country of Gadar, and the Apurytes Apabarticene, and the rather, adds he, because Herodotus, Book VII. § LXVI. gives the name of Gardarians to those whom he had elsewhere called Gandarians.

To this I answer, 1. That we must not pronounce on the identity of one people with another, merely from a conformity of name; for by so doing we should perplex geography with an infinity of errors. This proposition appears to me so evident, that I shall not proceed to prove it.

2. We find throughout Herodotus, the Gandarians, and never the Gardarians. All the editions of this author, the Mss. in the Royal Library, which I have myself consulted, those inspected by M. Weseling, or by persons employed by him, have all Gandarians. What then becomes of Major Rennel's assertion? Perhaps it is an error found in the English versions of Littlebury and Beloe. The first having been translated from the Latin of Valla, abounds with misconstructions; and I have, therefore, not taken the trouble of thoroughly examining it: that of Beloe appeared some years after mine, and has but lately come into my hands. It appears to me the work of a clever and well-informed man; and if 'Gardarians' occur in it, I will take on myself to say it is a typographical error.

3. If the Gandarians were a people of Margiana, as Major Rennel asserts, how shall we reconcile this with Strabo, who places them east of the Indus, or with Hecateus, who places them on the western bank of that river? But see my Geographical Table, Art. GANDARIANS.

LXVII. Σαύρνας τε ἐνδεδυκότες] *Were clothed in a sagum of goats' skin.* In the text, σιούρνας τε ἐνδεδυκότες. The σιούρα or the σιούρνα is a goat's skin with the hair on. See the Lexicon of the terms of Plato, by Timæus, published by the late M. Ruhnken, p. 166; and M. Valckenner, Animadv. in Ammonium, p. 205.

LXIX. Ἀράβιοι δὲ ζειπίς ἡνεζωσμένοι ἔσαν] *The garments of the Arabs were full and spacious.* In the Greek, Ζειπαι, which were very full and loose garments, as we learn from Timæus, in his lexicon of the words of Plato. Χιτῶνες ἀνακεκαλυμμένοι, according to the correction of the learned M. Ruhnken.

These Arabs were probably Idumeans and Nabatheans. Those

<sup>a</sup> The Geographical System, &c. p. 295.

<sup>c</sup> Apabartice in Isidorus is an adjective

<sup>b</sup> Isidorus Characenus, p. 7. inter Geograph. Veteris Scriptores minores, Vol. ii.

which agrees with σάλας.

of Arabia Felix were never under the dominion of the Persians. The former extended from the confines of Judea to the Heroopolitic and Elanitic gulfs. The latter, contiguous to the Idumeans, stretched out further to the east.

Τόξα δὲ καλίστορα] *Which bent.* This has been translated 'bent bows,' as if all bows were not so. The author no doubt means to point out some peculiarity in the bows of the Arabs. "This term in Herodotus, (καλίστορα)," says Eustathius,\* "means bent backwards. When he says that the Arabs had bows καλίστορα, 'bent,' he does not mean simply bent, as for ordinary use, but bent backwards, such as are now often seen amongst barbarous nations."

Ὅιστοὺς μικροῦς] *Long arrows.* I have restored the ancient reading μικροῦς, which is authorised by the Mss. A and B of the Royal Library. In the Ms. D there is a chasm in this place, which has been filled up from some edition, μικροῦς. I do not see how they could shoot small arrows from large bows.

Λίθος ὅξυς πεποιημένος] *A pointed stone.* This stone is the 'smiris' of Dioscorides. 'Σμίρις λίθος ἐστίν, ἣ τὰς ψήφους οἱ θαυρολογῶνται σμήχουσι. "The smiris is a stone used by the jewellers to polish precious stones." It is our emery, a sort of metallic stone used by armourers, cutlers, locksmiths, lapidaries, statuarys, &c. for the purpose of cleaning and polishing metal, or to assist in cutting glass, marble, and precious stones.

Εἰς χρυσήν] *A statue in gold.* In the text, εἰς χρυσήν; but we must read, εἰκοδὴν χρυσήν, according to the following rule of Gregory of Corinth: τὰ εἰς ω λήγοντα θηλυτὰ ἐπὶ τῆς αἰτιατικῆς εἰς αὖν μετανοῦσι. 'Nouns feminine ending in ω, make the accusative in αὖν.'

LXX. Προμετωπίδια δὲ ἵππων] *The skins of horses' heads.* Προμετωπίδια are not here sheets of copper pierced for the ears and mane of the horse, as M. Reiske thought: "Exedapm̄tra sunt non ascoriata, (ridiculum enim ante frontalia aenea excoriata dicere,) sed pertusa, perforata, hiantia. Sic aptata erant illa antefrontalia, laminae illæ æneæ frontibus equorum apponi solitæ, ut ibi loci, ubi sunt aures et jubæ hiatus essent, per quos et hæ et illæ se exerèrent." Προμετωπίδια is a kind of helmet, made of the skin of the head of any animal. They were very common, and especially amongst the Germans, as appears by the plates to the edition of Cæsar's Commentaries, published by Samuel Clarke, London, 1712, folio. It was the head armour of ancient times. Hercules applied to this purpose the head

\* Eustath. ad illud. lib. iii. p. 375.  
lin. 8.

† Dioscorid. lib. v. cap. clvi. p. 389.

\* Miscellanea Lipsiensia Nova, Vol. viii. p. 483.

of the Nemean lion, as we find from the following verse of Valerius Flaccus :

\* *Cleoneo jam tempore clusus hiatu*  
*Aticles.*

Virgil gives one of a wolf's head to Ornytus :

† *Caput ingens oris hiatu,*  
*Et male texere lupi cum dentibus albis.*

The eastern Ethiopians had their heads covered with the skins of the heads of horses, torn off with the ears and the mane.

LXXI. *Ἀκοντίοισι δὲ ἐπικαύροισι*] *Javelins hardened in the fire.* In the text, 'burnt javelins.' The points of the javelins were hardened by means of fire. Homer, speaking of the weapon used by Ulysses to put out the eye of Polyphemus, says,

*Ἄφαρ δὲ λαβίων ἐπυράκτεον ἐν πυρὶ κηλέφ.*

Which Madame Dacier has well translated, '*J'en fis aussi-tôt durcir la pointe dans le feu.*' But Pope much better,

Whose point we harden'd with the force of fire.

The poverty of the armour of the Libyans contrasts strongly with the costliness and elegance of that of the other people who accompanied Xerxes.

LXXII. *Κράνη πεπλεγμένα*] *Were woven.* The description of the helmets of the Paphlagonians is obscure enough. Xenophon gives a more detailed and more intelligible account of them, in speaking of those of the Mosynœci. "They wear on their heads a leathern helmet, like those of the Paphlagonians, from the centre of which rises a tuft of horse-hair, which stands up in a point like a tiara." See my translation of the Expedition of Cyrus the younger, Book v. § xv. Vol. 11. p. 62.

LXXIII. *Τὸ ὄνομα μετέβαλον ἐς Φρύγας*] *That of the Phrygians.* If the Phrygians are a modern people, as I have before contended, Book 11. § 11. note 7. it will follow that the Armenians, who, according to Herodotus, are a colony of Phrygians, are much more so. But I have used the term only comparatively, and with reference to the Egyptians, whose antiquity is very remote. It may be that the Bryges passed from Europe into Asia, in very remote times, either from the restlessness incidental to people inhabiting a climate little favoured by nature, or owing to some revolution, of which, at the present

\* Val. Flacc. Argonaut. lib. 1. vers. 24.

† Virgil. Æneid. lib. 11. vers. 680.

\* Homer Odys. lib. 11. vers. 228.

† Xenoph. Expedit. Cyri, lib. v. cap. 14. § vi. p. 215.

day, we are ignorant. Established in Asia, they changed their name to that of Phryges; and when the country they inhabited became too populous, they sent forth colonies. And it was then, according to Herodotus, that they sent one to Armenia. Stephanus of Byzantium, under the word 'Armenia,' says likewise, that the Armenians came from Phrygia, and that their language greatly resembled that of the Phrygians.

But we shall perhaps do better to refer to Maribas of Catina, a Syrian author, who flourished about 130 years before our era. This writer, who had been recommended by Valasarcēs, king of Armenia, to Arsaces, king of the Parthians, the conqueror of Antiochus Sidetes, had access\* to the royal archives, and brought back to this prince a history of Armenia from the earliest times, written in the Chaldean language, and translated into Greek by order of Alexander the Great. This history makes no mention of a Phrygian colony, but that Haicus, who is considered as the father and the founder of the Armenians,<sup>†</sup> passed with his partisans from Babylonia into the country which has been since called Armenia, where his successors reigned down to Aramus, his sixteenth descendant, who gave to his people the name of Arameans, or Armenians, and to the country, that of Armenia. Josephus is of the same opinion. "From Aramus," says he,<sup>‡</sup> "came the Armenians, whom the Greeks call Syrians." This Aramus was, according to Moses Chorenensis, contemporary<sup>§</sup> with Abraham. To these authorities, may be added that of Strabo.<sup>¶</sup> "The Armenians, the Syrians, and the Arabians," says he, "have considerable affinity in their language, in their manner of living, and in the characteristic form of the body, more especially in those districts which border on each other. . . . The Assyrians, the Arianians, and the Arameans (Armenians), have a resemblance not only to one another, but to the Mesopotamians. We may also say that there is some affinity in their names; for those whom we call Syrians, are by the Syrians called Armenians and Arameans."

M. Schroëder,<sup>‡</sup> however, thinks that this resemblance in the terms of the Syrian, Arabic, and Armenian languages, mentioned by Strabo, applies only to modern times (by modern times, it is presumed he means those of Strabo); and he asserts that the ancient language of the Armenians was very different from those of the Syrians and of

\* Mosis Chorenensis Hist. Armen. lib. i. cap. vii et viii. p. 21 et seq.

† Id. ibid. cap. ix. et xi. p. 21 et seq. et p. 35.

‡ Josephi Antiquit. lib. i. cap. vi. § iii. p. 24.

§ Mosis Choren. Hist. Armen. lib. i. cap. iv. pp. 12, 13.

¶ Strab. lib. i. p. 70. B; p. 71. A.

‡ Schroëder, in Dissert. p. 92. in Grammatica sive Thesauri linguae Armeniacae. Amstel. 1711, 4to.



the Arabs. If this be the case, which we can scarcely doubt when avouched by so learned a man, it may be that the Armenians were a Phrygian colony, as Herodotus says. This opinion is supported likewise, as I have before observed, by the remark of Stephanus of Byzantium, that the Phrygian language has a considerable affinity with the Armenian. To settle this point satisfactorily, it would be necessary to have some work written in Phrygian, a thing which I should conceive not possible to be procured at the present day. I shall give the passage of Schroeder at length, because his work is exceedingly scarce in France. “Quod ad vitæ rationem attinet tenuem et ad corporum formam vividam, atque robustam, adde colorem facierum subfuscum, fateor magnum esse Syros inter et Arabes atque Armenos convenientiam; quod ad linguam vero, usi sunt Armeni autè litterarum suarum inventionem et Syrorum characteribus, fortassis etiam illis Arabum, vocumque, maxime in finibus regionum, ut se invicem intelligant, sæpe fit magna commixtio; addatur communis his gentibus pronuntiatio fortissima: sed si antiquam Haicanam linguam, ejus naturam ac nominum verborumque inflexionem consideres, nullam plane vel valde exiguam utrique istorum cum Armenorum linguâ cognationem intercedere, ex superioribus patet.”

LXXV. *Ἄλπεκτας*] *Foxes' skins*. Although the country to which these Thracians were transplanted was not so cold as that from which they had been driven, they retained their ancient customs. The description given by Xenophon of the dress of the Thracians of Europe, is perfectly conformable to that which Herodotus gives of the dress of the Asiatic Thracians. We may remark that he had himself led succours to Seuthes their king, and therefore spoke of their dress as an eye-witness. “There fell a good deal of snow,” says he,\* “and the cold was so intense, that the water brought to drink at the repast froze, and even the wine in the vessels, and many soldiers had their noses and ears frost-bitten. We then found that the Thracians were right in wrapping up their heads and ears in fox-skins, and in wearing when on horseback, instead of the chlamys, tunics which cover not only their breasts but their thighs, with long robes which hang down to their feet.”

Don Montfaucon fancies a wide difference between the account given by Herodotus and that of Xenophon; for the latter, according to Montfaucon,<sup>†</sup> says, that the Thracians wore on their heads fox-skins, whereas the former speaks of foxes. We cannot easily imagine how this critic could impute to Herodotus so palpable an absurdity. *Ἄλ-*

\* Xenoph. *Anab.* lib. vii. cap. iv. § ii. p. 414.

† *Antiquité Expliquée*, tom. iv. part. i. pp. 28. 31.

*περὶ* signifies the skin of a fox, *δορὺ* being understood. See my translation of the Expedition of Cyrus, Book vii. § xxxv. Vol. ii. p. 225. note 43.

*Ζειρά*] *A very capacious robe.* *Ζειρά* is a sort of garment worn over the tunic, very full and loose. *Ζειραὶ, χιτῶνες ἀνακεκολλημένοι, ἢ ἀνάκωλοι*, says the Etymologicum Magnum. Harpocration says nearly the same thing: *Ζειρά, ἦτοι σείρά, ὡς τῶς, ἣν ἐνδύματι, ὃ ἐπεκδύοντο μετα τοὺς χιτῶνας, ὥσπερ ἑφαιτίδας.* It is for this reason that I have added the words 'very capacious,' both here and in § Lxix. See the note on it, p. 371. *infra.*

*Πέλται*] *Light shields.* The Greeks in their language called them *πέλται*, 'peltæ.' Those who carried these shields were termed 'peltastæ.' But on the 'pelta,' see note 17 on Book i. of my translation of the Expedition of Cyrus into Upper Asia. The buckler of the heavy-armed troops was difficult to manage. Iphicrates substituted \* the pelta for it, about the third year of the 101st Olympiad, 374 years before our era. From that time we find no mention of 'hoplitæ' amongst the Greek troops.

LXXVI. *Εἰχον*] *They carried.* This cannot refer to the Asiatic Thracians, as he had just before been speaking of their origin, of their commander, and of their arms. Neither can it concern those of Europe, of whom he speaks in § clxxv. I therefore think with De Pauw, that there is a chasm here, and that the name of the nation and that of its commander are wanting. The late M. Wesseling suspected that it was the Chalybes, because these people had also an oracle of Mars, and because they were neighbours of the nations he had been speaking of, as we see in Book i. § xxviii.

*Προβόλους δύο λυκοεργίας*] *In the Lycian fashion.* "*Προβόλους δύο λυκοεργίας*: according to another reading, *προβόλους δύο Λυκοεργίας*, 'two boar-spears of the make of Lycia.' And perhaps this latter reading is the better; for, 1. It is certain that the ancients frequently designated different species of weapons by the country where they were made. The best arms are the cuirass, of Attic make, *θώραξ Ἀττικουργίας*; the helmet of the Boeotic make, *κράνον Βοιωτικουργίας*; the *πίλος*, (an ornament for the head, a sort of helmet or cap,) and the Laconic poniard, or of the make of Laconia, the Argolic buckler, the Cretan bow, the Acarnanian sling, the Ætolian dart, the Celtic sword, or sword of the Celts, and the axe of the Thracians, (Jul. Pollux, lib. i. cap. x. segm. 149. p. 101.) 2. The Thracians spoken of in this paragraph, wore armour nearly similar

\* Diod. Sic. lib. xv. § xlv. Vol. ii. p. 36; Corn. Nepos, in Iphicr. cap. i. § iii. p. 295.

to that of the Lycians, or rather of the Cilicians their neighbours. They each carried small shields made of ox-hides undressed, and two boar-spears. The Cilicians also carried small bucklers or targets of undressed ox-hides with the hair, and each of them two darts or javelins, (Book VII. § XCI.) It is probable that the two boar-spears with which they were armed, were spears or javelins of the Lycian make, *Λυκιοεργίας*. If *Ἀττικοεργής* and *Βοιωτιοεργής* signify 'the make of Attica,' and 'the make of Bœotia,' ought not *Λυκιοεργής* or *Λυκιοεργής* to signify 'the make or fashion of Lycia?' Are not all these words composed of *ἔργον*, 'the make or fashion,' &c.? Athenæus, *Deipnosoph.* lib. XI. cap. XI. p. 488. D, E, F, quotes the words *προβόλους δύο Λυκιοεργήσας*, from the 7th Book of Herodotus, and says that they were javelins proper for hunting the wolf, and made in Lycia. He expresses at the same time two significations, 'darts for hunting the wolf,' and 'darts made in Lycia.' He adds, that, according to the grammarian Didymus, they were darts made by a certain Lycios, who was a Bœotian, the son of Myron the statuary, according to Polemon, in his first Book on the Citadel of Athens; but that apparently the grammarian was ignorant that there are no words so compounded of the proper names of men, whereas there are many compounded of the proper names of cities and nations. For example, in Aristophanes, in *Pace*, *Ναξιοεργή κύνθαρος*, where *Ναξιοεργής* signifies 'made at Naxos,' and *Μιλησιοεργής* 'made at Miletus,' &c. See Suidas under the word *Λυκιοεργεύς*, Harpocration, &c."—BELLANGER.

LXXVII. *Καβηλῆες δὲ οἱ Μηϊότες*] *The Cabalian-Mæonians*. These people appear to be the same with the Cabalians of Book III. § XC. The inhabitants of Cabalis, a city situated near Cibra, to the south of the Mæander, according to Hecateus, as cited by the geographer Stephanus, under the word *Καβαλῖς*, were called *Καβαλῆες*; and according to Strabo,\* who calls the country Caballis, the people were called *Καβαλλεῖς*.† Herodotus calls them *Καβηλῆες* (Cabellians), because, according to the Ionic custom, the α is changed into η.

The Cybaritæ, who formerly occupied Cabalia, were descended from the Lydians, who were themselves Mæonians. Yet, as it appears by the passage of Strabo above cited, that it was the Cybaritæ, or rather Cibratæ, who were descended from the Lydians, and not the Cabalians, I am of opinion that Herodotus meant to speak of three different nations, the Cabalians, the Mæonians, and the Læsonians. Though the Lydians formerly bore the name of Mæonians, Mæonia nevertheless was anciently distinguished from Lydia. What

\* Strab. lib. xii. p. 934. C.

† Id. ibid. C.

† Id. ibid. p. 935. A.

favours my conjecture is, that it appears from Alexander Polyhistor, as cited by Stephanus of Byzantium, under the word *Kαβαλίς*, that the Cabalians were originally of Olbia. He does not indeed say which city of Olbia he means, and there were nine of the name. But as Strabo relates<sup>a</sup> that there were those who asserted that the Cabalians were Solymi, and that there was in the territory of this latter people a city of Olbia, we may conclude that these people were originally of Olbia of the Solymi: yet, as Herodotus adds that they were armed in the Cilician fashion, and as we know that there was a city of Olbia in mountainous Cilicia, I am more disposed to think that the geographer Stephanus means that city. In fact, whence should they have this kind of armour, but from their mother country? At all events, it appears from the passage of this geographer, that the Cabalians were not Mæonians by origin. I would therefore read in Herodotus, *Καθηλῆες δὲ καὶ οἱ Μήονες*, the Cabalians and the Mæonians.

I may add, that if the Lasomans were one and the same people with the Cabalians, as the learned Valckenaer conjectures, and that the Mæonians was only a cognomen of the Cabalians, Herodotus could not have said *τούτων πάντων ἦρχε Βάδρης*: 'Badres commanded all these nations.' Which certainly supposes that there were more than two; three even would scarcely suffice to justify this expression.

LXXX. *Τὰ δὲ νησιωτικὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης ἐπόμενα*] *The islanders of the Erythrean sea.* They are the inhabitants of the islands of the Persian gulf. These islands, which were very numerous, were under the government of the Persians. They stretched along the coast of Caramania and Persia. There were very few in the Erythrean sea, and they were at too great distance from Persia to have been ever conquered by its kings.

*Τοὺς ἀνασπάσους*] *Those whom he banishes.* The Hyrcanians<sup>c</sup> were transplanted into Lydia near to Sardis, the Bactrians<sup>d</sup> into Bactriana, the Eretrians<sup>e</sup> into Cissia, and the Peronians<sup>f</sup> into Phrygia; but I can find no people who were transported to these islands. *Ἀνάσπαστος* therefore must not be understood of a people removed from one country to another, but of individuals banished by order of the prince. Ctesias,<sup>g</sup> speaking of Megabyzes, uses this expression, *τοῦ μὲν θανάτου ῥύεται, ἀνάσπαστος δὲ γίνεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν ἐν τινὶ πόλει δρόμαρι Κύπρον.* 'His life was spared, but he was banished to Cyrtæ on the Red Sea.'

<sup>a</sup> Strab. lib. xiii. p. 935. A.

<sup>b</sup> Id. ibid. p. 933. B.

<sup>c</sup> Herodot. lib. iv. § cciv.

<sup>d</sup> Id. lib. vi. § cxix.

<sup>e</sup> Id. lib. v. § xcvi.

<sup>f</sup> Ctesias apud Phot. Cod. lxxii. p. 124. lin. 12.

LXXXII. Μεγάβυζος ὁ Ζωπύρου] *Megabyzes, the son of Zopyrus.* This Megabyzes has been mentioned in Book III. § CLX. note 2. He was son of the famous Zopyrus, whose actions are recorded by Herodotus in § CLII. and following of the same Book. He had a son named Zopyrus: see Book III. § CLX. note 2.

LXXXIII. Χρῆς δὲ, χρυσῶν τε πολλῶν καὶ ἄφθορον ἔχοντες] *They glittered with the multitude of gold ornaments they wore about their persons.* "illi aureos torques, illi vestem auro distinctam habebant."

LXXXV. Ἐν ἔρκεσι ἐμπαλασσύμενοι] *Enclosed in their nets.* We find ἐμπαλασσύμενοι, with a single λ, in the Mss. A and D in the Royal Library, and with two in that marked B. This word properly means 'enveloped.' Pausanias<sup>1</sup> applies to the Sauromati, what Herodotus here says of the Sagartii.

LXXXVI. ὄνοι ἄγριοι] *Zebras.* ὄνοι ἄγριοι or ὄναγροι is the same animal.

Many authors have spoken of the onager; but no one of them has given a more exact and detailed description of it than Philostorgus, in his Ecclesiastical History. "This country (the East)," says he, "possesses a kind of wild asses of a very high stature, whose skin<sup>2</sup> is curiously variegated with black and white, in zones or bands which extend from the spine of the back to the ribs and belly. They separate at this part, and form together circles mutually intertwined, presenting to the eye an appearance beautiful and wonderful from its variety." Oppian likewise, in his poem on the Chase, Book I. verses 183 and following, gives a description of it. By comparing these descriptions with that of the late M. de Buffon, (*Histoire des Animaux*, tom. XII. p. 7 et suiv.) we shall find that this animal and the zebra are the same. M. Schneider, in his notes on Oppian, p. 368. makes the same remark, citing in support of it the above authorities, to which he adds several others. This has not prevented M. Belin de Ballu, however, from expressing, in his edition of Oppian, p. 328. a contrary opinion, and deciding magisterially that M. Schneider had confounded the onager with the zebra; "onagrum cum asino pulchro vulgo *zebra* nominato parum docte confundit Cl. Schneider." See also my translation of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, Vol. I. Book I. p. 61. note 65.

<sup>1</sup> Quint. Curtius, lib. III. cap. III. § XIII. p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. Attic. sive lib. I. cap. 111.

<sup>3</sup> Philostorgi Historiæ Ecclesiast. compendium, lib. III. § XI. p. 104.

<sup>4</sup> M. Schneider, who cites this passage,

changes *κατὰ τὸ χεῖρ* to *κατὰ τὸ χεῖρ*, though no colours are mentioned in this description but black and white. M. de Valois has very properly rendered it, 'mirum in modum,' but I have translated it, I think, still more literally.



The same M. Belin, who has treated a learned writer like Schneider with so very little consideration, agrees in the remarks appended to his French translation of Oppian, p. 136. that 'the ancients often give to the zebra the improper denomination of the striped ass, or wild ass.' If the ancients gave to the zebra the name of wild ass, M. Schneider was not wrong in saying that the ouager, or *ὄνος ἄγριος*, was the zebra. Neither is the denomination at all improper, as M. Belin asserts; the Greeks having no term in their language to designate this animal, could not have found a name that would characterise it better.

*Λίβυες*] *The Libyans*. It cannot be the Libyans he means here. The text is manifestly corrupt. I am inclined to think we should substitute the *Ægli*, whom Herodotus places adjacent to the Bactrians, Book III. § XCII.

*Κάσπιοι*] *The . . . .* In the Greek, the Caspians; but as they have been mentioned a little before, some other people must here be intended. In § LXVIII. he joins the Outii and the Myci to the Paricani. Which of these two nations the Caspians have taken the place of, M. Wesseling will not venture to decide.

Cornelius de Pauw here reads 'the Arians;' but this conjecture is disapproved by M. Wesseling, and I think with reason. In fact, between the Arians and the Saci, there are the Bactrians, the Aparytæ, Margiana, and Sogdiana. I think, with Major Rennel,\* that it should here be Casia, which answers to the kingdom of Casgar. See the Geographical Table, Art. CASIANS.

LXXXVII. *Ἄρε γὰρ τῶν ἵππων οὔτε ἀνεχόμενον τὰς καμήλους*] *This animal (the horse) cannot endure the camel*. Herodotus, Book I. § LXXX. has said that the horse can bear neither the sight nor the smell of the camel; and that Cyrus was indebted, for the victory which he obtained over the Lydians, to the single circumstance of having opposed his camels to the Lydian cavalry. This aversion of the horse to the camel has long since been consigned to the region of fable; but perhaps the horse, when accustomed to the figure and the smell of the camel, no longer feels that terror of him which he did at first. I have, however, seen horses manifest great terror at the first sight of some camels which were brought to France.

LXXXVIII. *Συμφορὴν ἀνθέλκρον*] *Vexations (sâcheurs)*. So I render *ἀνθέλκρον*. See M. Valckenæer's excellent note.

LXXXIX. *Ἑπτὰ καὶ διηκόσιαι καὶ χiliai*] *Twelve hundred and seven*. According to Herodotus, and the poet Æschylus,<sup>d</sup> who was

\* The Geographical System of Herodotus, &c. p. 302.

<sup>d</sup> Æschyl. in Pers. vers. 330 et seq.

contemporary with him, the Persian fleet amounted to 1207 vessels; and according to Diodorus Siculus,\* to more than 1200. The enumeration of Herodotus is as follows :

Phœnician vessels . . . . .	300
Egyptian . . . . .	200
Cyprian . . . . .	150
Cilician . . . . .	100
Pamphylian . . . . .	30
Lycian . . . . .	50
Dorian . . . . .	30
Carian . . . . .	70
Ionian . . . . .	100
Islanders . . . . .	17
Æolian . . . . .	60
Hellespontian . . . . .	100
<b>TOTAL . . . . .</b>	<b>1207</b>

*Enumeration of Diodorus.*

Greek vessels . . . . .	320	} <i>Vessels of the Barbarians.</i>
Dorian . . . . .	40	
Æolian . . . . .	40	
Ionian . . . . .	100	
Hellespontian . . . . .	80	
Islanders . . . . .	50	
	310	
Egyptian . . . . .	200	
Phœnician . . . . .	300	
Cilician . . . . .	80	
Carian . . . . .	80	
Pamphylian . . . . .	40	
Lycian . . . . .	40	
Cyprian . . . . .	150	
<b>TOTAL . . . . .</b>	<b>1200</b>	

The quota of the different nations varies. Besides, Diodorus says that the Greeks had 320 vessels, whereas the enumeration gives but 310. These errors must be imputed to the copyists.

\* Lib. ix. § iii. Vol. i. p. 406.

Χηλενὰ] *Of woven rushes.* Hesychius explains the words *κἀντα χηλενὰ* by *πλεσνὰ ἐκ σχάτρου*, 'woven with rushes.' I have preferred this interpretation to that of Laurentius Valla, who translates 'cassides forcipiculatas,' which has been preserved by Gronovius. M. Bellanger understood the meaning of this passage, and explained it in the same manner as Stephens's Thesaurus.

Τὰς ἱρυσ] *The edges of which.* 'Irus is the edge or border of a shield. M. Bellanger has translated τὰς ἱρυσ μεγάλας ἐχούσας, 'raised up in large bumps on the outside,' because he confounded ἱρυσ, the edge of the shield, with the ὀμφαλὸς or 'umbo:' and, a little before, in the same paragraph, he has rendered ἀσπίδας ἱρυσ οὐκ ἐχούσας, 'shields, the middle of which did not project in a bump.' Mr. Hutchinson has fallen into the same mistake in the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, ἐπιλαμβάνεται αὐτοῦ τῆς ἱρυσ. 'Umbonem clypei ipsius apprehendit.' He should have translated, 'clypei ipsius oram apprehendit.' Suidas has very clearly explained it: ἱρυσ· περιφέρεια δῆλον. 'Irus' is the edge of the shield.' And he cites the passage of Xenophon which I have just quoted. It appears to me the more extraordinary that any one should have been mistaken as to the meaning of this word, as the same Suidas quotes also two verses of an epigram of Mnasilcas, in which both the edge and the middle of the shield are mentioned, the ἱρυσ and the ὀμφαλὸς, as being much worn by long service in war. Luc. Holstenius first gave this epigram in his notes on Stephanus of Byzantium, p. 349. Kuster, after him, quoted it in his notes on Suidas, under the word Ἀήσαρος. We find it in Reiske's Anthologia, p. 50. and again in Brunck's Analecta, Vol. i. p. 190. No. cxi.

This edge was of iron, and for this reason Polybius 'calls it σιδηροῦν σιάλωμα, 'ambitus scuti ferreus.'

The pikes, mentioned immediately afterwards, were probably long pikes used to push the vessels off from the shore, and to prevent boarding.

Τύκους μεγάλους] *Great axes.* In the Mss. A and B of the Royal Library, we read τύκους with a κ, which is an Ionism. The Ms. D has τοίχους, which is an error of the copyist. Τύκοι are large axes, as was understood by Valla. Eustathius explains it very clearly. In the Ms. A there is a marginal gloss, which in D has crept into the text, τύκους, ὅντι λίθοεικὸν ἐργαλεῖον, 'an instrument proper to polish stone.' This gloss has passed from the margin into the text in the edition of Aldus.

\* Xenoph. Cyr. Exposit. lib. iv. p. 333.

\* Polyb. lib. vi. § xxi. Vol. i. p. 662.

† Suidas, voc. ἱρυσ.

XC. Κεῖῶνας] *A citaris*. In the Greek, 'the kings had their heads covered with a mitre, and the rest wore tunics,' κεῖῶνας; which is nonsense. Corn. de Pauw asks jestingly if the Cyprians covered their heads with tunics. He alters the text, and substitutes κειράριος to κεῖῶνας; a very slight alteration, and which appears founded on Julius Pollux, lib. x. segm. 162. who cites κειράριον as from Herodotus. M. Wesseling, from whom I borrow this note, would have approved this change, had not the 'citaris' been peculiar to the Persians. But the Cilicians might have adopted this article of dress from the Persians.

XCI. Λαισῆια] *Little shields*. They were very light; Homer<sup>a</sup> calls them λαισῆιά τε πτερόεντα, winged shields. The grammarian Herodian pretends that all defensive arms are called λαισῆια, because held in the left hand, διὰ τὸ ἐν λαιῇ φέρεσθαι χεῖρ. But the contrary has been proved.

Ἀποκεδασθέντων] *Were dispersed*. Several authors speak of them, but all on the authority of Herodotus. See Pausanias, Achaic. sive lib. vii. cap. 111. p. 529.

Ἀμφιλόχῳ] *Amphilochus*. To what I have said on this Amphilochus, in note 2. on § xc1. Book 111. may be added, that Lucian<sup>b</sup> affirms that he was the son of Alcmæon, that monster who killed his mother. But it appears that he has confounded him with Alcmæon his brother. Some authors<sup>c</sup> will have it, that he conspired with his brother to kill their mother. Amphilochus delivered his oracles in dreams, at Mallus in Cilicia, as I have stated in note 2. on § xc1. Book 111. But it may be proved likewise by a passage of Lucian, which, though altered, it is easy to restore: <sup>d</sup> ἃ δὲ ἐν Ἀμφιλόχῳ τε ἤκουσα ἐν Μάλλῳ, τοῦ Ἱεροῦ ὑπερδιαλεχθέντος μοι, καὶ συμβουλευσάντος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμῶν, καὶ ἃ εἶδον αὐτὸς, ἐθέλω ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν. Ὑπερδιαλεχθέντος appeared suspicious to Moses Dusoul; but it was easy to correct this to ὑπὲρ διαλεχθέντος. 'I will tell you what Amphilochus has told me in a dream at Mallus, the advice which he has given me, and what I have myself seen.' I do not take this correction of Lucian to myself, for I think I have read it somewhere.

Κάλχαντι] *Calchas*. Every one has heard of Calchas, but perhaps few of his end. Mopsus,<sup>e</sup> the son of Manto and Apollo, on his mother's death, had by right of succession the oracle of Apollo at Claros. About the same time, Calchas, who had been wandering about delivering oracles ever since the siege of Troy, arrived at Colophon.

<sup>a</sup> Hænsenii Iliad. lib. v. vers. 453.

<sup>c</sup> Apollodor lib. iii. cap. vii. § v. p. 183.

<sup>b</sup> Lucian. Deor. Concl. § xii. Vol. iii.

<sup>d</sup> Lucian. Philopseud. § xxviii. Vol.

p. 531; Apollodor. lib. iii. cap. vii. § vii.

iii. p. 63.

p. 186.

<sup>e</sup> Conon. Narrat. vi. p. 249.

The two prophets disputed for a long time; but at length Amphimachus, king of Lycia, terminated their differences: for Mopsus forbade him to depart for the war, predicting that he would be beaten, and Calchas on the contrary exhorted him to go, with promises of victory: Amphimachus being entirely defeated, Mopsus received greater honours than ever, and Calchas killed himself.

XCV. *Νησιῶται*] *The islanders.* These Ionian islanders can be neither those of Chios, nor those of Samos; for these latter assembled at the Panionium, and formed part of the twelve cities; whereas the islanders here mentioned had no right in that assembly. Diodorus Siculus\* also joins the inhabitants of Samos and Chios with the Ionians, and he separates the islanders in the same manner as Herodotus. Who, then, can they be? This same Diodorus informs us, "The king," says he,<sup>a</sup> "had joined in his armament all the islands between the Cyaneæ and the promontories Triopium and Sunium." These were, therefore, the islands of Ceos, Naxos, Siphnos, Seriphos, Andros, and Tenos, which were Ionian, and founded by the Athenians, as we find in Herodotus, Book VIII. § XLVI. and XLVIII., and in Thucydides, Book VII. § LVII. where, however, we must read Τήνιοι instead of Τήιοι, the inhabitants of Tenos.—VALCKENAE.

Οἱ δωδεκαπόλεις Ἰωνες, οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων] *The twelve Ionian cities founded by the Athenians.* I am inclined to the opinion of M. Valckenaer, who thinks that this has been added by the copyists. I have not, however, ventured to suppress it; and have translated as if there had been in the original οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων.

XCVII. Κέρκυρα] *The cercuri.* The cercurus was a peculiarly long kind of vessel, invented by the Cyprians.<sup>c</sup>

XCIX. Ἀρτεμισίη] *Artemisia.* If we are to believe Ptolemy, a writer who has mixed up much of fable with some truth, "Artemisia, the daughter<sup>d</sup> of Lygdamis, who accompanied Xerxes in his expedition against Greece, fell in love with Dardanus of Abydos; but finding herself despised by him, plucked out his eyes whilst he was sleeping. Her passion being but the more inflamed by the anger of the gods, she repaired to Leucas by order of the oracle, and having precipitated herself from the top of the rock, was killed, and buried near the spot."

The rock Leucas<sup>e</sup> was so named from Leucas, the companion of Ulysses, who was killed by Antiphus. It is said that he erected a temple to Apollo Leucates. Those who leaped from this rock were

\* Diodor. Sic. lib. xi. § iii. Vol. I. p. i. p. 418.

400.

<sup>b</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>c</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. vii. cap. lvi. Vol.

<sup>d</sup> Ptolem. Hephest. apud Phot. p. 492.

lin. 20, &c.

<sup>e</sup> Id. ibid. lin. 2 et seq.



said to be cured of love. The reason of this is as follows. Adonis being killed, Venus sought for him every where, and having found him at Argos in Cyprus, she carried him to the temple of Apollo Eritheus, where she conversed with that god on the subject of her amorous passion. Apollo conducted her to the rock Leucus, and told her to leap from it. Having followed this advice, she found herself cured of her passion. She inquired the reason of this. And it is said, that Apollo told her, that being a prophet, he knew that Jupiter, who had always loved Juno, ceased to love her from the moment he sat down on that rock. Many others of both sexes were afterwards cured of their love, by leaping from the same rock.

The goddess, who was immortal, risked nothing by leaping from this rock; but a man either perished, or was so crippled, that he was likely to be cured of his passion.

*Τροζηνίους*] *Of Træzene.* The Træzenians<sup>a</sup> say that their first king was called Orus, and that he was an aboriginal of the country; that, from his name, the country was called Orea: that afterwards Althepus, son of Neptune and of Leïs the daughter of Orus, having succeeded his grandfather, the country received the name of Althepia . . . Saron succeeded Althepus . . . The succession of kings from Saron to Hyperes and Anthas, who built the cities of Hyperæa and Anthia, is not known. Aëtius, the son of Anthas, changed the name of one of these cities, and would have it called Posidonia; but Træzen<sup>b</sup> and Pittheus having come to Aëtius, the country had three kings instead of one; and the two sons of Pelops shortly became the most powerful. Pittheus, after the death of Træzen, united the two cities of Hyperia and Anthia, and made them one, which he named Træzene, after his brother. Many years afterwards, the descendants of Aëtius, the son of Anthas, having received orders to conduct colonies to various places, founded Myndus and Halicarnassus in Caria. The sons of Træzen, Anaphlystus and Sphettus, emigrated to Attica, where they gave their names to two towns. After the return of the Heraclidæ into the Peloponnesus, the Træzenians received into Træzene certain Dorians of Argos, who came to settle amongst them; for they recollected having been themselves subjected to the Argians.

C. *Τῶν νεῶν ἐκτελκυθεῖσιν ἐς θάλασσαν*] *And the vessels having put to sea.* We have seen before, (§ LIX.) that the vessels had been dragged on shore: we here find them pushed out to sea again. The

<sup>a</sup> *Phæm.* Corinthiac. sive lib. ii. cap. xxi. pp. 181, 182, 183.

<sup>b</sup> I know only this one passage in which Træzen is said to be the son of Pelops.

We gather from Apollodorus, lib. iii. cap. xiv. § vii. that Pittheus was the son of Pelops.

former operation was termed ἀνελύσαι τὰς νεᾶς, the second, καθελύσαι. See note 2. to § LIX.

Τὰς πρῶρας ἐπὶ γῆν γρέψαντες πάντες μετωπῆδον] *The prows turned.* Μετωπὸν τῆς νῆας, is the prow of the vessel, as the scholiast of Thucydides\* has explained.

CII. Τὰ μὴ . . . τις ὕστερον ὑπὸ σεῦ ἀλώσεται] *And you will never be able.* This phrase is somewhat perplexed. We must supply some deficiencies, and understand it as if it were ἐπειδὴ με ταῦτα λέγοντα κελεύεις ἀληθῆρ' χρῆσασθαι, (λέξω) τὰ (λέξαι) μὴ ψευδόμενός τις ὕστερον ὑπὸ σεῦ ἀλώσεται. 'Quando quidem his de rebus verba facientem me jubes ad veritatem loqui, ea dicam, quæ qui dixerit a te postea non arguetur mendacii.' Such is the explanation of M. Valckenaer: see his note.

Τὴν τε πενίην ἀπαμύνεται καὶ τὴν δεσποσύνην] *Against poverty and tyranny.* In the text, τῇ διαχρεωμένῃ ἡ Ἑλλάς, τὴν τε πενίην ἀπαμύνεται, καὶ τὴν δεσποσύνην. 'Virtue gives the Greeks arms against poverty and tyranny.' Virtue teaches them to endure poverty, and to resist tyrants. This is a fine maxim, and contains the highest panegyric on virtue which pagan philosophy could produce. It has however unfortunately incurred the censure of the Abbé Auger. He has changed τὴν πενίην to τὴν δουλείην, 'poverty' to 'slavery,' though slavery and tyranny give the same idea. This writer seems likewise desirous to keep out of sight the truth, that it requires more magnanimity to support poverty than to oppose tyranny.

CIII. Ὅρα μὴ μάτην κόμποι ὁ λόγος οὗτος εἰρημέρος εἴη] *Much vain-glory and boasting.* This has been translated, 'vide ne frustra id insolenterque faciatis.' Μάτην as well here as in a hundred other places signifies, not 'frustra,' but 'falso.' Euripides in his *Hippolyta*\* says, κομπάζειν μάτην, and in his *Hercules Furiosus*,\* κόμποι κενοί, which are words full of vain boasting. Sotion in *Athenæus*:

Ἀπεραὶ δὲ, πρεσβεῖναι τε, καὶ στρατηγίαι,  
Κόμποι κενοὶ φοφοῦσιν ἅντ' ὀνειδάων.

'Valour, embassies, the command of armies, are vain-glorious, make a noise, and take the place of useful things.'

Before M. Valckenaer, the reading in this verse was ὀνειδάων; but he has proved, in his note on verse 397 of the *Phœnissæ*, that we should read ὀνειδάων.

Μάστιγι] *By stripes of the whip.* See notes, supra, on § XXI. and LVI; and likewise Ctesias, § XXIII.

\* Scholiast. Thucyd. ad lib. ii. § xc.  
p. 158. col. 2. lin. 4.

\* Euripid. Hippolyt. 978.

\* Id. Hercul. Fur. 148.

\* Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. viii. cap. iii.  
p. 236. F.

Ἑλλήνων ἀνδράσι τρισί] *Against three Greeks at once.* This boasting of Xerxes was afterwards punished by Polydamas. Darins,\* the natural son of Artaxerxes, and who ascended the throne by the favour of the Persian people, had heard speak of his extraordinary strength. Having drawn him to Susa by his promises, Polydamas challenged three of the men whom the Persians termed immortals, fought against the three at once, and killed them all.

CIV. Ἀληθῆτιν χρεώμενος] *The truth.* The Ms. A in the Royal Library invariably preserves the Ionic form χρεώμενος.

Τὰ καθήκοντα] *Such as they were.* Τα καθήκοντα, are 'present, existing affairs.' We have before seen examples of this expression in this sense, as I have remarked, Book I. § xcvi. note 2. and elsewhere. I should prefer rendering it here, 'I have told you things characteristic of the Spartans.'

Βίον γέ μοι καὶ οἶκον δέδωκε] *Give me . . . . a considerable fortune.* This prince gave him<sup>b</sup> the cities of Pergama, of Teuthrania, and of Halisarnia. Eurysthenes and Procles, descendants of Demaratus, possessed them as late as the 95th Olympiad, and joined Thimbron, the Lacedæmonian general, who had passed into Asia Minor to make war on the Persians.

Xenophon speaks of these two Lacedæmonians in many passages of his works. See the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, Book II. chap. I. § III. p. 76; Book VII. chap. VIII. § X. p. 460.

Some of the posterity of this prince were still living at the time of Alexander's death.<sup>c</sup> Pythias, the daughter of Aristotle, had for her second husband Procles, one of his descendants, and had by him two children, Procles and Demaratus. These two young princes became disciples of Theophrastus, and it is probably this Demaratus that the philosopher<sup>d</sup> names in his will.

Νόμος] *The law.* With the Lacedæmonians, says Plato,<sup>e</sup> the law is the king and master, and men are not tyrants over the law. God, says he,<sup>f</sup> is the law of wise and moderate men; pleasure, that of madmen and such as are incapable of moderation.

CVII. Βάγην] *Boes.* Pausanias calls him Boes, but that is an error. The city of Eion<sup>g</sup> being built on the banks of the Strymon, Cimon, the son of Miltiades, who was besieging it, turned the course of the river so as to wash its walls. As they were built of unbaked

\* Pausan. Eliacæ. poster. sive lib. vi. cap. v. p. 164.

<sup>b</sup> Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. iii. cap. I. § iv. p. 128.

<sup>c</sup> Sextus Empiricus adversus Grammaticos, lib. I. cap. xii. p. 271.

<sup>d</sup> Diog. Laert. lib. v. segm. lxi. p. 297.

<sup>e</sup> Plat. Epist. viii. Vol. iii. p. 354. B, C.

<sup>f</sup> Id. ibid. p. 354. E.

<sup>g</sup> Pausan. Arcadic. sive lib. viii. cap. viii. p. 614.

bricks, they were soon overthrown. This account of Pausanias appears to me to be false. See note, p. 389. Thucydides speaks also of this expedition of Cimon,\* as does Æschines, whose words I shall quote, because he mentions the reward granted to that general. "Our generals,† after having run many and great risks, conquered the Medes‡ on the banks of the Strymon. On their return to Athens, they demanded of the people a recompense. A very honourable one, according to the prevailing ideas of those times, was granted them. They were permitted to place three Hermes of stone (statues of Mercury) in the portico of§ Hermes, on condition that they should not have their names engraved on them, in order that the inscription might appear to be placed by the people, and not by the generals themselves. That engraved on the first of these statues was as follows:

"These men have shown their valour against the Medes, at Eion on the banks of the Strymon; they were the first who found the means of reducing the enemy to despair, by famine and by the vigour of their attacks."

*Inscription on the second statue.*

"The Athenians have granted to their generals this honour, in recompense of their great actions and their valour, that posterity on beholding this¶ may fight with greater ardour for the welfare of their country."

*On the third statue was written,*

"Menestheus, whom Homer represents as the first of men for arming an army for battle, departed from this city at the head of the Athenians to go to Troy with the Atrides. It is therefore not without reason that the Athenians are renowned for their valour and martial virtues."

*Κίμωνος τοῦ Μελιάδεω*] *By Cimon, the son of Miltiades.* This Cimon was grandson of the Cimon mentioned in § xxxiv. and xxxix. of Book I. The ancients often named their children after their grandfathers; witness the following epitaph in dialogue, from the pen of Antipater of Sidon.

"A. Answer, woman, who are you? B. Praxo. A. Who was your father? B. Calliteus. A. Of what country are you? B. Of

\* Thucyd. lib. i. § xcvi. p. 64.

† Æschin. contra Ctesiphont. p. 60. lib. i. et seq.

‡ The Persians.

§ This portico took its name from the multitude of statues of Hermes which were seen there, and which had been placed there either by the magistrates, or by in-

dividuals. See Harpocration under the word Ἐρμαῖ, p. 76.

¶ I have followed the changes proposed by Taylor and Markland. They are found in *Analectis veterum Postarum Græcorum*, Vol. iii. pp. 180, 181. No. clv. clvi. clvii.

§ *Analect. Vet. Post. Græc.* Vol. ii. p. 30. No. lxxvi.

Samos. A. Who raised this monument to you? B. Theocritus, my husband. A. How did you die? B. In the pains of childbirth. A. How old were you? B. Twice eleven years. A. Did you leave any child living? B. Calliteus, three years old. A. May he live to an advanced age! B. Traveller, may your fortunes be ever prosperous!"

I have mentioned this epitaph as the composition of Antipater of Sidon, because it appears under his name in Brunck's *Analecta*. But M. de la Rochette observes, in a note, which he has been kind enough to communicate to me, that in the Ms. of the Vatican it is attributed either to Antipater of Sidon or to Archias. And M. Rochette inclines towards the latter, for the following reasons. In the Ms. of the Vatican this epitaph, and that which immediately precedes it, *Φάδε, γόναί, κ. τ. λ.*, which is from the pen of Antipater of Sidon, are only imitations of that of Leonidas, which precedes them both, *Τίς, τίςες οδού, κ. τ. λ.*, and which we find in Vol. 1. p. 239. of the *Analecta*. It is therefore more natural to suppose that Archias had competed also with Leonidas, than that Antipater of Sidon should have employed his pen twice on the same subject.

*Ὡς δ' οὐδὲν εἰς πορβήε ἐσθὲν ἐν τῇ τοίχῃ*] *When there were no more provisions in the place.* Authors <sup>a</sup> posterior to Herodotus have related that the walls of this city being built of unbaked bricks, Camon had turned the course of the river Strymon, so as to wash against the walls, and throw them down. This appears to me very unlikely, as Boges could not have had time to execute such an enterprise.

CIX. *Τὸ πέθρον*] *The bed.* *Πέθρον* is properly the bed of a river. *Πείθρον πέιματος διαπέει. πέθρον μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ ρότος δι' οὗ πέπειται τὸ πέμα· πέμα δὲ, αἰνὸ τὸ ὕδωρ.* Ammon. de Different. Voc. p. 122.

*(Πισυρία ἐστὶ Πισυριος)* *Was called Pistyrus.* I am of opinion that the name of this city has been altered by the copyists, and that we should read Topiria. All the letters of one of these words are found in the other, except two. See the Geographical Table, Art. PISTYRUS.

CXI. *Τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ παρθιον*] *The oracle of Bacchus.* Aristotle in his *Theologoumena* says, on the authority of Macrobius,<sup>b</sup> that there was in Thrace, amongst the Ligures, a place consecrated to Bacchus, where oracles were pronounced. Those who delivered them never did so till after they had drunk freely of wine. Euripides also

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Arcad. sive lib. viii. cap. viii. p. 614.

<sup>b</sup> Macrobi. Saturnal. lib. i. cap. xviii. p. 192.



speaks of this oracle of Bacchus. "I learn \* these things," says Polymestor, "from Bacchus, the prophet of Thrace."

[Προφητεύοντες] *Interpret.* Οἱ προφητεύοντες τοῦ θεοῦ. The interpreters of the will of the gods, those whose office it was to collect, to announce, and to publish the oracles delivered by the priestess.

CXIII. Σφάζοντες ἵππους λευκοῖς] *A sacrifice of white horses.* This kind of sacrifice was made in the following manner. "When the Persians<sup>a</sup> come to a lake, a river, or a fountain, they dig a ditch, and there slaughter the victim, taking great care that the pure water of the vicinity is not stained with the blood, as that would pollute it. They then place the flesh of the victim on branches of myrtle or laurel, and burn it with slender rods, singing their Theogony, and making libations with oil mixed with milk and honey, which they pour not into the fire, nor into the water, but on the earth. The singing of the Theogony lasts some time, and whilst they sing it, they hold in their hands small branches of heath." See Book 1. note 6. to § cxxxix.

It seems by the above passage of Strabo, that they took great care not to stain the water with blood, for fear of polluting it. If Dr. Hyde had been acquainted with this passage of the Greek geographer, he would not have contested the truth of the fact<sup>c</sup> related by the father of history, nor that Tiridates had sacrificed a horse<sup>d</sup> to the Euphrates to propitiate that river. We know that the Parthians had adopted the greater part of the customs of the Persians; as the former had also borrowed some customs observed in other parts of Asia. In the time of the siege of Troy, the Trojans sacrificed bulls and horses<sup>e</sup> in honour of the Scamander; with this difference, that they threw them alive into the water, whereas the Persians, for fear of polluting the water, sacrificed them in a ditch dug near the river.

CXIV. Γηράσασθαι εἰς ἐντὶ Περσέων κείδας] *Caused to be buried fourteen children.* Plutarch says,<sup>f</sup> twelve men. The examples of Cambyzes and others, cited by the President Brisson,<sup>g</sup> prove that this was a constant custom amongst the Persians.

CXVI. Τοιοῖς Ἀκαρδίοισι] *To the inhabitants, &c.* This fell only on the magistrates and the principal persons of the country, whom he honoured with his friendship. The Latin translation of Gronovius was good for nothing: M. Wesseling amended it. After ἀκούων I read ἤδη γενόμενον, and translate conformably. M. Valckenaer agrees in this.

<sup>a</sup> Euripid. Hecub. vers. 1253.

<sup>b</sup> Strab. lib. 15. p. 1665, B.

<sup>c</sup> Veterum Persarum Religionis Historia, cap. vi. p. 135, &c.

<sup>d</sup> Tacit. Annal. lib. vi. § xxviii.

<sup>e</sup> Homeri Iliad. lib. xxi. vers. 133, 134.

<sup>f</sup> Plutarch. de Superstit. p. 171, D.

<sup>g</sup> Bern. Brisson, de Regno Persar. lib. ii. § ccxviii, p. 581 et seq.

Ἔσθητι Μηδικῇ] *In the fashion of the Medes.* This garment\* was the invention of Semiramis, the wife of Ninus. It was so very graceful, that after their conquest of Asia the Medes adopted it, and the Persians followed their example.

CXVII. Πέντε πηχέων βασιλευίων] *Five royal cubits.* Supposing that he here means the measure in use at Babylon, it would make seven feet eight inches, according to the computation of M. D'Anville.†

Ἐξενηκαί τε αὐτὸν κάλλιστα καὶ θάψαι] *Caused funeral rites of the most honourable kind to be performed for him.* Ἐξενηκαί is a term proper to funerals, as was 'efferre' with the Latins, to carry to the place of sepulture. I notice this, because in my translation I render only κάλλιστα θάψαι.

CXVIII. Ἀραιρημένος] *Chosen to give it.* The words, τῶν δούτων ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὅμοια τῷ μάλιστα, must not be joined with ἀραιρημένος. This last word signifies 'electus ad hujus rei procuracionem.' See M. Valckenaer's note.

CXXII. Ὀλυνθον] *Olynthus.* This city was totally destroyed by Philip of Macedon. The silence of Strabo and other ancient geographers, leads us to suspect that it was never restored. We have an epigram of Antipater of Sidon, in which a certain Diodorus of Olynthus, who perished in the harbour, is mentioned. We know the age of Antipater from several epigrams, and amongst others † from that in which he mentions the destruction of Corinth as a very recent event. Now this city was destroyed in the third year of the 158th Olympiad, which answers to the year 146 B. C. Olynthus was overthrown in the first year of the 108th Olympiad, that is, the year 348 before our era. This latter city therefore was restored in less than two centuries after the death of Philip; but by whom and at what precise time this was accomplished, is not known.

CXXIII. Καναστραῖον ἄκρην] *To the promontory Canastrum.* The true name of this promontory is Canastrum, from which the adjective would be Καναστραῖν or Καναστραῖον, understanding ἄκρη or ἄκρωτήριον. In all the preceding editions we read Καναστραῖν ἄκρην, as well as in the Mss. of the Royal Library. I therefore am at a loss to conjecture what can have induced M. Wesseling to substitute for this reading Καναστραῖον, which rests only on the Ms. of Sancroft, unless it be said that τὸ δὲ, which immediately follows, absolutely requires this reading. That eminent critic was certainly aware that the change of gender was familiar to the Greeks, and especially to the Attic authors. From amongst a thousand examples which I could cite,

\* Diodor. Sic. lib. ii. § vi. p. 119.

† Traité des Mesures Itinéraires, p. 36.

• Analect. Vet. Poet. Græc. Vol. ii. p.

33. No. xcvi.

‡ Id. ibid. p. 20. No. 1.

I select the following from Euripides,<sup>a</sup> *Taûta γὰρ ξένοντι ὄντι*, which, though neuter, manifestly relates to *θέου*, which goes before.

CXXV. *Θαυμάζω δὲ τὸ αἰνιον* } *It appears to me wonderful.* "Herodotus," says the Abbé Bellanger in a note on this passage, "was not a very great naturalist. The Arabs, and all those who inhabit countries where there are both lions and camels, know how partial the lion is to the flesh of the camel. *Ælian. Hist. Animal. lib. xvii. cap. xxxvi. p. 1000. Edit. 16mo.*" Herodotus was certainly not much skilled in natural history; but had he been so, it would still have remained a matter of surprise to him that lions who had never seen camels, nor ever tasted their flesh, should have attacked them in preference to the other beasts of burden. That in Arabia the lion should prefer the flesh of the camel to that of the horse, is very natural; they know the taste of both by experience, and the former is more to their liking. But what could have imparted this knowledge to them in Macedonia? I confess that this appears to me as wonderful as it did to Herodotus, unless we decide that it is an instinct communicated to them by the Author of nature.

CXXVI. *Οὐρανὸς δὲ τοῖσι λέοντι ἵσται* } *Serves as a boundary to the lions.* There were still lions in Europe in the time of Aristotle. That author observes,<sup>b</sup> "This animal is scarce, and is not found every where. Taking Europe throughout, it is to be met with only between the Achelœis and the Nessus." Dion Chrysostom asserts,<sup>c</sup> that there were none in Europe in his time; that they had disappeared from Macedonia and other places where they had been previously seen.

CXXVII. *Ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ πτόθρον τὸ ὕδωρ συμμιγνύσθαι* } *Which mixing their waters in the same bed.* This passage is, with reference to geography, one of the most perplexing in Herodotus. The Ladias and the Haliacmon, according to Ptolemy and the abbreviator of Strabo,<sup>d</sup> have different mouths. MM. Sanson, De L'Isle, and D'Anville have preferred the authority of these geographical writers, to that of the father of history. Is Herodotus, then, in error? It is possible. But we will endeavour to justify him.

Let us draw from the Axios a canal, branching from that river below its confluence with the Erigon; let it flow from the north to the south, slightly inclining to the east, as far as Pella, and here fill the marshes which surround that city, and particularly the great marsh which was before Pella<sup>e</sup> on the north-west. Let us continue this canal in the same direction after leaving the marsh of Pella, until its junction with the Haliacmon, a little above the mouth of that

<sup>a</sup> Euripid. *Idrui.* 598.

<sup>b</sup> Aristot. *Hist. Animal. lib. vi. cap. xxxi. p. 894. D.*

<sup>c</sup> Dio Chrysost. *Orat. xxi. p. 260. C.*

<sup>d</sup> Strab. *lib. vii. p. 508. col. 2. B.*

<sup>e</sup> *Id. ibid. p. 509. col. 1. B.*

river. This canal from Pella to the Haliacmon we will call Ludias. This river and the canal which branches from the Axios will bound the district of Bottieis on the west, and separating that territory from Macedonia, they will enclose it between themselves and the sea.

Let us place the source of the Haliacmon sufficiently to the west. Let us make it flow from the north, first towards the south-east across the district Elimeia; let it then flow from west to east nearly in a right line, so as to bound Macedonia on the south, and then entering Pieria towards the eastern extremity of the southern boundary of Macedonia, let it advance a little more to the north, and, having received the Ludias, discharge itself into the Thermaic gulf.

It is proper to remark that the Platamona is the Haliacmon of the ancients; and, according to modern travellers, this river flows first from the north towards the south, after which it turns suddenly from the west to the east, traverses the Comenohitari (which is the ancient Macedonia together with Thessaly), and finally empties itself into the Thermaic gulf.

These two rivers, thus placed, correspond with all that Herodotus has said of them. 1. They bound the Bottieis and Macedonia. 2. The Ludias encloses between itself and the sea the narrow country of Bottieis, in which are situated the cities of Pella and Ichois. 3. The Ludias and the Haliacmon mingle their waters together in the same bed.

The above is partly extracted from M. Ballanger's Critical Essays, p. 376, &c.

But see my Geographical Table, under the article HALIACMON, where I offer another conjecture.

CXXVIII. Ὅπως τοι ἐθέλοι τοιοῦτο ποιῆσαι.] On similar occasions. MM. De Pauw and Reiske suggest that we should read ὅπως τι ἐθέλοι τοιοῦτο ποιῆσαι. This conjecture is confirmed by the Ms. A of the Royal Library.

CXXIX. Πέντε δὲ τῶν δοκίμων] Of which the five principal. The scholiast of Apollonius Rhodius has evidently borrowed this passage in his comment on verse 1085 of the 3d Book of the Argonautics, if we except a slight variation arising either from the error of the copyists, or from his having quoted from memory. In the Ms. in the Royal Library, it stands thus: Πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ἐσβαλλόντων εἰς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν ποταμῶν, τέσσαρες εἰσιν οἱ μάλιστα δόκιμοι· Πηνειὸς, Ἐπιπεύς, Παρίστος, Ἀπιδανεύς. Τούτων δὲ μισθομενῶν ὁμοῦ, κρατήσας τῶν αὐτῶν ὁ Πηνειὸς, μόνος τε εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐμβάλλει, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ποιεῖ. We must correct πέντε, Παμμοῖς, and add Ὀρέχωνος. The same Ms. scholiast on verse 131 of the 4th Book of the Argonautics has Παμμοῖς, though the printed copies have Παρμμοῖς. The

same scholiast also mentions the Onochonos in this passage. I will not dwell longer on the latter passage of the scholiast, as it is easy to correct it by the former.

*Ποσειδέωρα ποιῆσαι τὸν αὐλῶνα*] Neptune has made the valley narrow. The plain, says Strabo,<sup>a</sup> was formerly a marsh; but earthquakes having formed an opening in it, and Ossa having been separated from Olympus, the Peneus discharged itself into the sea by this mouth, and the country became dry.

The scholiast of Pindar agrees with these authors. "Neptune,"<sup>a</sup> says he, "is adored by the Thessalians under the name of Neptune Petreus, from his having separated the mountains of Thessaly, I mean those of Tempe, and caused the river Peneus, which formerly crossed the marsh, and injured the country, to pass between them." Pindar also calls this god, Neptune Petreus.<sup>c</sup>

*Ὅτι διαρεμῶν τὰ ὄρη τὰ Θεσσαλικά, λέγω δὴ τὰ Τέμπε, πεποίησε δι' αὐτῶν ἐκτερέχειν τὸν ποταμὸν Πηνειὸν, πρῶτερον διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως ῥέοντα, κ. τ. λ.* This text is corrupt. Thessaly, so far from having cities, was then but an extensive marsh. We must therefore read, *διὰ μέσον τοῦ ἔλεος ῥέοντα*, agreeably to my translation. M. Heyne has suffered this error to remain in his new edition of Pindar.

The knowledge of this event was derived from tradition; and the festival of the Peloria or Saturnalia, instituted on the occasion by the Thessalians, has kept up the remembrance of it. This festival would be unknown to us, as well as the reason of its institution, had not Athenæus<sup>d</sup> preserved to us a passage of the history of Thessaly written by the rhetor Baton of Sinope. This historian relates a particular circumstance which leads us to believe that the earthquake happened about the year 2829 of the Julian period, 1885 years before our era. He says that a certain Pelorus announced to Pelasgus that an earthquake had opened the mountains, and that the waters having run off by the opening, had exposed to view immense plains. Pelasgus, king of Arcadia, was descended from Inachus, first king of the first dynasty of the kings of Argos. He was brother of Argus,<sup>e</sup> king of Argos, the seventh ancestor of Gelanor, king of Argos, who was expelled by Danaus. I have proved in my Chronological Essay, that Danaus came into Greece about the year 3142 of the Julian period, 1672 years B. C. The seven generations from Argus or Pelasgus to Gelanor, make 233 years. The reign of Pelasgus, therefore, reaches back to the year 2810 of the Julian period, 1904 years B. C.

<sup>a</sup> Strab. lib. ix. p. 658. A.

<sup>b</sup> Scholiast. Pindari ad Pyth. iv. vers. 246. p. 320.

<sup>c</sup> Pindar. Pyth. iv. vers. 246.

<sup>d</sup> Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. xiv. cap. ix. p. 639. E, F; 640. A.

<sup>e</sup> Apollodorus. Bibl. lib. iii. cap. viii. § i.; lib. ii. cap. i. § 1.



The Peloria may have been instituted about the year 2835 of the Julian period, 1882 years before our era. See my *Essay on Chronology*, chap. x. § III. p. 317.

CXXX. 'Ἀλεῦα] *Of Aleuas*. I write 'Aleuas' and 'Aleuadæ' with a *u*, and not with a *v*, as Hardouin does in his Pliny.\* For the *eu* in this name is a diphthong, and the u-psilon must be joined to the e-psilon to make the syllable *leu* long, as it is in Theocritus,<sup>†</sup> ἀνακτος 'Ἀλεῦα. If we use a *v*, we make the last syllable *va*, and the e-psilon, short by its nature, makes with *va* an iambus instead of a spondee. Ovid likewise makes it long. 'Larissimus Aleuas.' 'Sanguis Aleuæ.'<sup>‡</sup>

CXXXII. 'Εραμον ὅρκιον] *Leagued together against them with an oath*. In the Greek, ἑταμον ὅρκιον, 'securunt iurandum.' This expression arises from their custom of never making any treaty or compact without sacrificing victims. They also said φίλιαν τέμνειν, as we find in a fragment of Callimachus,<sup>§</sup> and in several passages of Euripides. Homer has joined the two expressions, φιλότῃρα καὶ ὀρκία πιστὰ ραμόντες. The scholiast explains φίλιαν καὶ ὅρκους πιστοὺς δι' ἐντόμων ποιήσαντες. The Latins, in imitation of the Greeks, said 'ferire sœdus.'

Δεκατέσσαρ] *The tenth part of their property*. Diodorus Siculus says the same thing.<sup>¶</sup> The assembly of the Greeks convoked in the Isthmus condemned them to pay to the gods the tenth part of their effects. M. Terrasson conceived that it was their persons that were decimated. But what could the priests of Delphi have done with their persons? asks M. Bellanger, in a manuscript note. If M. Terrasson thought that every tenth man was to be put to death, he was greatly deceived. This barbarous custom, which was afterwards practised at Rome, was unknown in those times, and was very abhorrent to the mild manners of the Greeks. M. Terrasson might indeed have imagined that they were made slaves for the service of the temples, as has been done on other occasions. Stephens, in his *Thesaurus*, Vol. I. p. 937. has clearly explained this term: the learned Budæus was mistaken.

CXXXIII. 'Ες τὸ βάραθρον] *Into the Barathrum*. M. Bellanger<sup>‡</sup> thought that it was the Lacedæmonians who threw the heralds into the Barathrum, and the Athenians who threw them into a well. This question, not of any great interest in itself, derives some from its involving a point of language and of antiquity. M. Bellanger is

\* Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxiv. cap. viii. Vol. II. p. 657.

† Theoc. Idyll. xvi. vers. 34.

‡ Ovid. lib. 322.

§ Id. ibid. 611.

¶ Callimach. fragm. Bentl. 199.

¶ Diodor. Sic. lib. xi. Vol. I. § iii. p. 405.

‡ Essai de Critique, &c. p. 68.

in error. 1. Herodotus, after naming first Athens and then Sparta, says, *οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν τοὺς αἰρέοντας ἐς τὸ βάραθρον, οἱ δ' ἐς φρέαρ ἐβαλόντες*, &c. Now the genius of the language requires that *οἱ μὲν* should refer to Athens, which was first named, and *οἱ δὲ* to Sparta.

2. It has been taken in this sense by Polybius. Lyciscus, ambassador from the Acarnanians, addressing the Lacedæmonians, says to them : *τίνας χάριν ὑπολαμβάνετε τοῖς ὑμετέροισι προγόνους, ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καθ' οὓς καιροὺς ὁ Ξέρξης ἀπέστειλε πρεσβευτὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν αἰτούμενος, ἀπώσαντας εἰς τὸ φρέαρ τὸν παραγεγονότα καὶ προσεπιβάλλοντας τῆς γῆς, κελύειν ἀπαγγεῖλαι τῷ Ξέρξει, δόσι παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἔχει τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν* : 'For what reason, think you, did your ancestors throw into a well the ambassador sent by Xerxes to demand earth and water, and then, having thrown earth on him, order him to tell his master, that he had obtained from the Lacedæmonians both earth and water, according to the commands he had delivered to them?'

3. We find from numerous passages of ancient authors, that the Barathrum was at Athens. I shall content myself with the following. The Athenians ordered<sup>a</sup> that Miluades, who had gained the battle of Marathon, should be thrown into the Barathrum, and, but for the intervention of the first magistrate, this sentence would have been executed. I have given this anecdote at greater length in note 1. on § cxxxvi. of Book vi. Aristides<sup>c</sup> having opposed a just enterprise of Themistocles, and having succeeded against him, could not refrain from saying, as he left the assembly, that the Athenians would not be able to save their republic, unless they threw him, together with Themistocles, into the Barathrum. A Vocabulary of Rhetoric in the Library of St. Germain-des-Prés says : The Barathrum is a<sup>d</sup> pit at Athens, in the quarter<sup>e</sup> of the Ceraides of the tribe Æneis, into which it was the practice to throw criminals sentenced to death, as the Lacedæmonians threw them into the Ceadas.

We see by this passage that the Barathrum and the Ceadas were two distinct precipices ; M. Bellanger was therefore wrong in confounding them.

The Barathrum<sup>f</sup> was a pit, in the form of a well, into which cri-

<sup>a</sup> Polyb. *Histor. lib. ix. p. 793.*

<sup>b</sup> Plato, in *Gorgia*, Vol. i. p. 516. E.

<sup>c</sup> Plutarch, in *Aristide*, p. 320. A.

<sup>d</sup> Biblioth. Cassianus, p. 491.

<sup>e</sup> The quarter or hamlet of the Ceraides of the tribe Hippothontis is well known, but that of the Ceraides has been unknown till now. If the grammarian who speaks

of it had placed it in the tribe Hippothontis, I should think that we ought to read Ceraides; but as he has placed it in another tribe, I do not think that we are authorised to make any change in the text.

<sup>f</sup> Schol. Aristoph. ad *Pluti* vers. 431.

imals were thrown. In the sides of this pit were fixed spikes at various distances, which tore to pieces those who were thrown into it.

Τι δὲ τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι συνέηκε ἀνεθέλπον γενέσθαι] *What misfortunes befel the Athenians.* "The wrath of Talthybius" was felt at Lacedæmon by the republic in general, but at Athens it fell on a particular family, that of Miluades, the son of Cimon, because he had counselled the Athenians to put to death the heralds who came to Attica." Are we to suppose that Pausanias was better informed of these circumstances than our historian?

CXXXIV. Σπερθίης] *Sperthia.* Writers vary considerably as to the name of this Spartan. It has been written Spertis, Sperchis, and Sperches. But this is of little consequence. Suidas, with an unpardonable degree of negligence, changes these two Lacedæmonians, Sperthies and Boulis, into two Athenians.

A mournful song, entitled Sperchis, was sung in honour of these two generous men; for I am persuaded that Boulis also was celebrated in this song, as Aristogiton was in that of Harmodius:

Ἄλλει τὸν Ἀδωνιν ᾄδειν  
 Ἄ τὰς Ἀργείας θυγάτηρ, πολυίδρις αἰοῖδος,  
 Ἄτις καὶ Σπέρχιν τὸν ἰάλεμον ἠρίστευσε.

'The celebrated singer who obtained the prize by singing the mournful song of Sperchis, ought to sing the Adonia.' See Toup's letter on this Idyll in the Oxford Theocritus, Vol. II. p. 338. We must understand αἰδούσα with ἠρίστευσε. This song was mournful, because the poet, doubtless, in celebrating the generosity of these two men, deplored the fate which they expected to meet. But see M. Valckenaer's remarks on Theocritus.\*

CXXXVI. Ὡς δὲ ἀπεμαχέσαντο τοῦτο] *In this manner.* Ὡς δὲ ἀπεμαχέσαντο τοῦτο, which is rendered 'posteaquam autem in hoc repugnauerant,' which I should prefer changing to 'quæ cum se defendissent oratione.' I understand τῇ λόγῳ with τοῦτο.

CXXXVII. Τοῦτό μοι ἐν τοῖσι θεοῖσιν φαίνεται γενέσθαι] *I perceive in this event no divine interference.* In this translation, I have followed the conjectures of M. Valckenaer and De Pauw. Thucydides<sup>d</sup> relates that Aleristus put to death certain Athenian merchants, with some of their allies, whom he had taken in transport-vessels near the Peloponnesus. He adds that the Athenians, in retaliation, put to death Aristæus of Corinth, together with Aleristus and Nicolaus,

\* Pausan. Laconic. sive lib. iii. cap. xii. p. 236.

<sup>b</sup> Theocrit. Idyll. iv. vers. 98—99.

<sup>c</sup> Theocriti decem Idyllia, p. 388.

<sup>d</sup> Thucydid. lib. ii. § lxxii.

whom the Lacedæmonians had sent on an embassy to the great king. Why then should Herodotus consider their death the effect of divine vengeance, rather than of the vengeance of men? Herodotus was certainly superstitious. But Sperchis and Boulis having conducted themselves in an irreproachable manner, why should the death of their children have appeared to him the result of the wrath of the gods? Aristæas of Corinth, who was taken with them, was also put to death, though he had not offended Talthybius. M. Valckenaer then proceeds to ask, what is the meaning of *ἐν τοῖσι*. He considers the passage to have been altered, and consequently reads, *τοῦτο μὲν τοι θεῶν γε οὐ φαίνεται γενέσθαι*, and a little further on, *δῆλον ὦν μοι ὅτι θεῶν οὐκ ἐγένετο τὸ πρῆγμα ἐκ τῆς μῆνιος*.

M. Wesseling, who, in his Dissertation on Herodotus, had examined the passage which is between the two just quoted, thought that we should read *Ἀλίας* with a capital letter, so as to make that word signify the Halians, a people of the Peloponnesus near Hermione. And a note of M. Bellanger's seems to support this opinion. But M. Wesseling has since reflected that the Halians being friends of the Spartans, it was not likely that Aneristus should have put them to death; and moreover, that this Aneristus had put to death certain Athenian merchants, and allies of Athens, whom he had taken on the coast of the Peloponnesus: he therefore admits the conjecture of De Pauw, who reads: *ὡς εἶπε ἀλίας τοὺς ἐκ Τίρυνθος ὀλκάδι καταπλώσαντας πληρεῖ Ἀνδρίων*.

These conjectures appear to me well worthy the attention of the learned; but if we hold with the text of the editions, the whole passage should be translated thus:

"This conduct of the Spartans appeased, for a while, the wrath of Talthybius, notwithstanding the return of Sperthies and Boulis to Sparta. But a long time afterwards, as the Lacedæmonians say, it was rekindled during the war of the Peloponnesians and the Athenians. *In this event I discern a divine interference.* For, that the wrath of Talthybius should have been excited against the envoys, and should not cease till it had taken effect, is reasonable: but that it should have fallen on the children of those two Spartans, who had gone to the king to appease his wrath, I mean upon Nicolaos, son of Boulis, and on Aneristus, son of Sperthies, who, sailing with a vessel full of warriors, took certain fishermen of Tirynthus, is to me a certain proof that it was an effect of the vengeance of the gods, who countenanced the wrath of Talthybius."

It may be proper to point out a various reading which I find in the Ms. B of the Royal Library, and in the margin of the Ms. A: *οὐδὲ ἐπαύσατο πρὶν ἢ ἐξῆλθε, τὸ δίκαιον οὕτω ἐφέρει· τὸ δὲ συμπεσεῖν ἐς τοὺς*

κ. τ. λ. If we adopt this reading, we must translate, "This wrath did not cease till justice had obtained its full demand. For they say, that it fell on, &c." A line lower down, we find *ὅς εἰλε* instead of *ὡς εἰλε* in the Mss. A, B, and D.

*Ἀλλέας τοὺς ἐκ Τίρυνθος*] *Took certain fishermen of Tirynthus.* We see in Thucydides,\* that the Lacedæmonians put to death certain merchants of Athens, and of the allies of that people, whom they took in certain transport-ships, whilst sailing near the Peloponnesus.

*Σιράλκεω τοῦ Τήπεω*] *Nicolaos and Aneristus.* *Οἱ γὰρ πεμπούμενοι*: this evidently refers to Nicolaos and Aneristus. Thucydides relates the circumstance in the following manner:†

"Towards the end of the same summer, Aristæus of Corinth, and the ambassadors of Lacedæmon, Aneristus, Nicolaos, Pratodemus, Timagoras of Tægæa, and Polis of Argos, in his private capacity, having started to go into Asia to the great king, to see if they could persuade him to furnish them with money, and enter into alliance with them, they arrived first in Thrace, and went to Sitalces, son of Teres. They wished, if possible, to persuade him to abandon the alliance of the Athenians, to march to the assistance of Potidæa, which the Athenians were then besieging, and to aid them in crossing the Hellespont, to Pharnaces, son of Pharnabazus, where they intended to go. This latter was to conduct them to the court of the great king. Learchus, son of Callimachus, and Aminiades, son of Philemon, the ambassadors of Athens, being by chance at the court of Sitalces, persuaded Sadocus, his son, who had become a citizen of Athens, to deliver these people into their power, for fear, if they obtained access to the great king, they might do them much harm. Sadocus, yielding to their persuasions, sent some of his people with Learchus and Aminiades to arrest them whilst they were in Thrace, and before they should have embarked in the ship in which they were to cross the Hellespont, and gave orders that they should be delivered to those two Athenians. These latter took them to Athens. When they arrived there, the Athenians, fearing that if Aristæus escaped death, he would do them still greater injury, because it was proved that he was the author of all that had happened to them both at Potidæa and in Thrace, put them to death the same day, by throwing them into deep pits, without allowing them any trial or hearing. They thought themselves justified in treating them in the same manner as the Lacedæmonians had treated the Athenian merchants and the allies of Athens, whom they

\* Thucyd. lib. ii. § lxxvii. p. 141.

† Id. lib. ii. § lxxviii. pp. 140, 141.



had taken in transport-vessels off the Peloponnesus, and in like manner thrown into pits. The Lacedæmonians, indeed, in the beginning of this war, put to death all those whom they took at sea, as well the allies of the Athenians as neutrals."

Σιτάλκεω τοῦ Τήρεω] *Sitalces, son of Teres*. Teres was a valiant prince, and the founder of the kingdom\* of the Odryæ. He had two sons, Sitalces and<sup>d</sup> Sparadocus, and a daughter whose name is not known. This daughter was married<sup>e</sup> to Ariapithes, king of the Scythians, who had two children by her, Scyles and Octamasades. Ariapithes<sup>f</sup> having been killed by Spargapithes, king of the Agathyrsi, Scyles ascended the throne. This prince preferred the manners of the Greeks to those of the Scythians, and readily adopted them. His subjects, indignant at this preference, revolted, and gave the crown of Scythia to his brother Octamasades. Scyles, finding himself pursued, took refuge at the court of his uncle Sitalces, who then reigned in Thrace. This warlike prince was not less ambitious than Teres, his father. He greatly extended the boundaries of his states, and raised the kingdom of the Odryæ to the highest pitch of glory. He married<sup>g</sup> a sister of Nymphodorus, son of Pythes, a distinguished citizen of Abdera, by whom he had a son named Sadocus. This young prince was ambitious of the title of citizen of Athens, and having obtained it by the influence of his uncle Nymphodorus, his father Sitalces became an ally of the Athenians. Sparadocus, his brother, had retired into Scythia, either from choice, or that, having revolted, he feared the chastisement he merited. Scyles having in the mean time taken refuge in Thrace, Octamasades pursued him. Sitalces, who did not with composure behold a Scythian army ready to overrun his territory, went forth to meet him. The two armies<sup>h</sup> were in presence of each other, and on the point of giving battle, when they made peace, on the condition that Sitalces should give up Scyles, and that Octamasades in return should surrender Sparadocus. The king of the Scythians no sooner had his brother Scyles in his power, than he had his head cut off. How Sitalces treated his brother Sparadocus, is a matter of uncertainty. We are told that his son Seuthes<sup>i</sup> was in great favour with his uncle, and that Sadocus having died during the lifetime of his father, he succeeded his uncle in the throne of the Odryæ, that monarch having lost his life<sup>j</sup> in a battle with the Triballi, in the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war, which was the 4290th of the Julian period, 424 years B. C. History makes no

\* Thucyd. lib. ii. § xxix.

<sup>b</sup> Id. lib. iv. § ci.

<sup>c</sup> Herodot. lib. vii. § lxxx.

<sup>d</sup> Id. ibid. § lxxxviii.

\* Thucyd. lib. ii. § xxix.

<sup>f</sup> Herodot. lib. vii. § lxxx.

<sup>g</sup> Thucyd. lib. ii. § ci.

<sup>h</sup> Id. lib. iv. § ci.

mention of the warlike actions of Seuthes, nor is it known whether he inherited the valour of his ancestors; but it mentions his riches and his revenues, which, at a time when money was scarce, were considered immense. They amounted to 400 talents, without reckoning presents in gold and silver, which did not fall short of the same value.

This empire, which had arisen and maintained its eminence by the valour and wisdom of some of its princes, speedily went to decay, as we may see in Xenophon's Retreat of the Ten Thousand, Book VII. chap. II.

Νυμφόδωρον τοῦ Πυθέω] *Nymphodorus, son of Pytheas.* This Nymphodorus<sup>a</sup> was brother-in-law of Sitalces, and in great favour with him. He procured for the Athenians the alliance of Sitalces, and caused Sadocus, the son of that prince, to be declared a citizen of Athens.

Ἀριστέας ὁ Ἀδαιμάντιον] *Aristæas, the son of Adimantus of Corinth.* He commanded the Corinthians in the battle of Potidæa, and broke through<sup>a</sup> the wing of the Athenians which was opposed to him. This event occurred in the second year of the 86th Olympiad. He was taken about five years afterwards. Having been brought to Athens, he was put to death. The injurious conduct of his father Adimantus towards Themistocles, and his shameful flight at the battle of Salamis, contributed greatly to his misfortune. See Book VIII. § LIX. LXI. and XCIV.

Ταῦτα μὲν νῦν πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι ὑστερον ἐγένετο] *Were many years subsequent.* They happened in the third year of the 87th Olympiad, as we find in Thucydides.<sup>c</sup> Herodotus wrote part of his history therefore at that time, or at least added these circumstances after that event.

CXXXIX. Πολλοὶ τεῖχων κιθῶνες] *With many defences of walls.* In the Greek, with many 'tunics of walls.' Hence some one has pleasantly observed, that the wall of a city was its coat. 'Τὸ τεῖχος ἱμάτιον πόλεως.

Ἡ ταῦτα ἂν ἐπαθόν] *Or they would have experienced the same fate as the rest of the allies.* Herodotus mentions three situations in which the Lacedæmonians would have found themselves, if the Athenians had abandoned them. My translation, however, presents but two. I have amended it agreeably to the advice of M. Coray. This critic likewise writes ταῦτα instead of ταῦτα, which did not give a clear meaning: ἢ ταῦτα ἂν ἐπαθόν, 'Or they would have expe-

<sup>a</sup> Thucyd. lib. ii. § xxi. p. 118.

<sup>b</sup> Id. lib. i. § lxi.

<sup>c</sup> Id. lib. ii. § lxxvi.

<sup>d</sup> Eustath. ad Homer. p. 379. lin. 20.

rienced the same fate as the rest of the allies;' that is to say, that they would have been conquered by force of arms and reduced to slavery by Xerxes. The same author, adds M. Coray, says, Book viii. § cviii. οἷά τε ἔσται προσηυρήσαι κατὰ πόλιν τε καὶ κατὰ ἔθνος, ἢ τοὶ ἀλίσκομένων γε, ἢ πρὸ τούτου ἀμολαγέοντων. It is the same meaning, expressed in the same manner, 'idem sensus, idem orationis color,' with this exception, that he here makes mention only of the two last conditions, either of being subdued by force of arms, or of submitting before fighting. Plutarch, who has transcribed the passage of the 7th Book of Herodotus, has expressed but two conditions, the first and the third.\*

Αὐτοὶ οὗτοι ἔσαν] *And it was they, &c.* "I maintain,<sup>b</sup> therefore, that these men (the Athenians who fought at the battle of Marathon) were the authors of our liberty, and of that of the inhabitants of this continent. The Greeks, enlightened by the victory which we gained at Marathon, and having it always before their eyes, dared afterwards to fight for the salvation of their country. The first prize of valour is therefore due to them for the victory of Marathon, the second belongs to those who won the battles of Salamis and Artemisium."

CXL. Κακοῖς δ' ἐπικίβναι θυμόν] *Arm yourselves with courage against so many evils.* In the Greek, κακοῖς δ' ἐπικίβναι θυμόν, which Valla has rendered, 'atque malis effundite mentem.' If the sense which I have given is not approved, that suggested by Stephens, in his Thesaurus, Vol. iii. p. 814, may be preferred. The Pytho-ness, says he, warns the Athenians to look on all sides for the means of resisting the cloud of evils ready to burst on them.

CXLI. Χρὴ δεῦτερά τ' αὖτε] *Answered them thus for the second time.* This oracle was the work of Themistocles. "This great man," says Plutarch,<sup>c</sup> "despairing of persuading the people by human reasons, had recourse to machinery, as in a tragedy, and gave them prodigies and oracles."

These prodigies consisted in the disappearance of the serpent, which was supposed to guard the citadel. See Book viii. § xli. The oracles were those concerning the island of Salamis, which are related afterwards.

'Αδάμαντι πελάσσαι] *Firm, stable, irrevocable.* I read ἀδάμαντι πελάσσαι, making it relate to ἔπει. 'Which approaches the diamond,' 'which resembles the diamond.' He understands by this an oracle, the accomplishment of which cannot be averted. The hardness of the diamond is notorious. The sense is the same as that of

\* Plutarch. de Malignitate Herodoti, p. 864. A.

<sup>b</sup> Plat. in Menexeno, Vol. ii. p. 240. E.

<sup>c</sup> Plut. in Themist. p. 116, D, E.

the following expression in Homer, ἀλλ' ἔσται ἐπείω, τόδε καὶ revelέσθαι οἶω. See the *Acta Eruditor.* ann. 1760, p. 242.

M. Bellanger had translated, 'an answer hard as the diamond.'

Ἐτι τοι κοτὲ κήνριος ἔσση] *A day will come, when you shall make head against him.* "Ἐτι τοι κοτὲ κήνριος ἔσση. This passage has been rendered in Latin, 'vel si tibi fors erit obvius usquam.' Take to flight, 'if even the enemy should one day present himself to fight.' The meaning is, on the contrary, 'By, a day will come, when you will be able to oppose him,' ἄντιος ἔσση. It is surprising that no translator should have seen that ἔσση is a second person, which must be understood of the Greeks, to whom the Pythonessa speaks, and not of the enemy of whom she is speaking, and which is the third person."—BELLANGER.

M. Reiske<sup>a</sup> also translates, 'veniet aliquandò tempus, quo tu ipse eris ex adverso,' or 'adversus eris,' as we find it in the various readings of Herodotus. This expression often occurs in Homer.

CXLIII. Θεμιστοκλῆς] *Themistocles.* In his youth he had been a debauched character. "At a time when the Athenians were<sup>b</sup> addicted neither to wine nor to loose women, Themistocles one morning was crossing the Ceramicus, which was full of people, in a chariot with four courtezans. Idomeneus makes use of an ambiguous expression, which may mean either that the courtezans were harnessed to the chariot, or that they were sitting in it." The same Athenæus in another part names these courtezans, 'Lamia, Scione, Satura, Nannium. Le Febvre-Villebrune elegantly calls them 'filles de joie.'

I will not expatiate upon the various incidents of the life of this great man. The reader may consult Plutarch. I shall content myself with relating, that forced to seek an asylum with the king of Persia from the jealousy of his fellow-citizens, he preferred death to bearing arms against his ungrateful country. He died at Magnesia, at<sup>c</sup> the age of 65. This city was one of those which Xerxes had given to him. His posterity enjoyed the highest honours, and endured for many ages. Plutarch<sup>d</sup> makes mention of Themistocles, one of the descendants of this great man, with whom he had contracted an intimate friendship, and who lived more than 600 years after the first of the name.

Ἦαις δὲ Νεοκλῆος] *Son of Neocles.* The father of Epicurus was of the same name, which gave occasion to Menander to join them both in the following epigram :

<sup>a</sup> Miscellan. Lips. Nova, Vol. viii. p. 485.

<sup>b</sup> Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. xii. cap. viii. p. 523. D.

<sup>c</sup> Id. ibid. lib. xiii. cap. v. p. 576. C.

<sup>d</sup> Plut. in Themist. p. 128. A.

<sup>e</sup> Id. ibid. p. 128. F.

Ἄ Χαῖρε Νεοκλείδα διδυμον γένος· ὃν ὁ μὲν ὑμῶν  
Πατρίδα δουλοσύνας ῥύσαθ', ὁ δ' ἀφροσύνας.

'I salute you, double offspring of Neocles, one of whom has rescued his country from slavery, and the other from folly.'

Grotius has translated these verses with his usual elegance :

Salvete, o Neoclia nati duo : quippe per illam  
Libera gens Cecropas facta, per hunc aspiens.

It is known that the philosophy of Epicurus struck at the root of all religions. This philosopher, who dared not openly violate the laws of his country, did not deny the existence of the gods; but he rendered it of no avail by his reasonings. He placed the gods in a sort of separate world, where, attending only to their own happiness, they never intermeddled with the affairs of our world, lest their enjoyment should suffer some diminution. "If there are gods," justly argues Lactantius,<sup>6</sup> "then there is a providence. It is not possible to separate this idea from the existence of a God; it is a quality which is essential and peculiar to his nature. He occupies himself with nothing, says Epicurus; he therefore does not occupy himself with human affairs, and still less with those of heaven. How then can you affirm that he exists, or how do you know it? In excluding Divine Providence, you should, if you would reason consistently, deny that there is any God at all. You have left one in name, but deny his reality."

Εἰ τὸ ἔπος] *If the misfortune.* I read τὸ πάθος, with the Mss. of Sancroft, of Vienna, and of Valla. In the Ms. D of the Royal Library, we read τὸ ἔπος, and above, τὸ πάθος. If the ordinary reading τὸ ἔπος be preferred, we must then translate the passage, 'If the verses which the Pythoness has spoken,' &c.

CXLIV. Ὀρχηδὼν] *Who had attained the age of puberty.* "The ci-devant curate of Meudon, Rabelais, would have rendered this by a single word."—BELLANGER.

Ὀρχηδὼν comes from ὄρχις, 'testiculus.' Hesychius explains the word ἡβηδὼν, 'in singulos puberes.'

Ἀνέγνωσε Ἀθηναίους, τῇς διαπράττειν αὐτῇς πυνσαμένους] *Persuaded the Athenians not to make this distribution.* Plutarch<sup>7</sup> says that the Athenians being in the habit of dividing amongst them the produce of the silver mines of Laurium, Themistocles was the first who dared to propose to the people to abstain from this distribution, and to em-

<sup>6</sup> Analect. Vet. Poet. Græc. Vol. i. p. 203.

<sup>7</sup> Lactantii Epit. Div. Institut. cap. xxvi. Vol. ii. p. 25. This author treats the

subject still more at large in his Divine Institutions, Book iii. cap. xvii, Vol. i. p. 231. et seq.

<sup>8</sup> Plutarch. in Themistocle, p. 113. C.



ploy the money in the construction of vessels to make war against the Æginetæ. The remark of Plutarch is just. It required courage to make this proposal to a people who were very poor, and who found a great resource in these revenues.

Ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας λέγων] *Understanding by these words, the war against the Æginetæ.* If this expression was really used by Themistocles, I imagine that he purposely employed it, to designate in a general manner the war against the Persians, whom the Athenians then scarcely expected to return, if we go by Plutarch.\* It is very probable that Themistocles did not speak in a general manner, but that he offered to the Athenians two cogent reasons for discontinuing the distribution of the public revenues: the first, the war which they had to maintain against the Æginetæ, who then held the empire of the<sup>†</sup> sea: the second, the expectation they might reasonably entertain of the return of the Persians. 'Thucydides' says so positively; and this is confirmed by Plato,<sup>‡</sup> who remarks that the Athenians had heard of the preparations of the king, and that after his death Xerxes continued them.

The reading λέγων, adopted by M. Wesseling, occurs also in the Mss. A and D in the Royal Library.

CXLV. Ἐς τὸντὸ] *At the same place.* At the Isthmus. See § CLXXII. infra. At Corinth, according to Diodorus Siculus, lib. xi. § 1. Vol. i. p. 403; but he had spoken more particularly of it in Book x. which is lost. Corinth was in the Isthmus.

Ἐγχερημένοι] *Was lighted.* Ἐγχερημένοι does not appear to me altered, as the latter editors have supposed. We may, with Portus, make it come from ἐγχεράμαι, the passive of the verb ἐγχεράω, which Herodotus has used, Book vi. § LXXV. Ἐνέχραεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τὸ σαήπτρον, 'struck him in the face with his stick.' For so Eustathius reads this passage, p. 579, lin. 13. 1063, lin. 32. 1434, lin. 9. Thus, πόλεμοι ἐγχερημένοι πρὸς ἄλλους may be rendered in Latin 'bella conserta cum aliis populis.' For ἐπιχράω, in Homer, signifies 'cum impetu hostili invado, ingruo.' For example, verse 352. Book xvi. of the Iliad:

Ἦι δὲ λύκοι ἄρυσσιν ἐπέχραον.

\* Ut vero lupi agnis vehementi impetu irruunt.'

Κελεύουσας] *To exhort.* We find also in the Mss. A and D of the Royal Library, κελεύουσας.

Τὸ Ἑλληνικόν] *The Hellenic body.* The Greeks were called, in their

\* Plutarch, in Themistocle, p. 113. D.

† Id. ibid.

‡ Thucyd. lib. i. § xiv.

§ Plato de Legibus, lib. iii. Vol. ii. p. 698. E.

own language, 'Hellenes,' whence the word 'Hellenic.' I have preserved this word Hellenic as in the Greek text, though there appears to be no similarity between the words 'Greek' and 'Hellenic.' In like manner we say, 'the Swiss,' or 'the Helvetic body.'

This passage proves that the council of the Amphictyons was not the general council or states-general of Greece. Had it been so, the Greeks would have been assembled by its order; whereas they assembled of themselves, pressed by the danger of their country. This council, moreover, would have assembled at Thermopylæ or at Delphi; but this general assembly was held at Corinth. See the excellent work of M. De St. Croix on the ancient Federative Governments.

Οὐδαμῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τῶν οὐ πολλὸν μέζω] *Whose forces could equal.* As the text appeared to me corrupt, I considered myself at liberty to adopt that meaning which pleased me best. I therefore read οὐδαμᾶ, with the marginal reading of the edition of Stephens. I leave out τῶν, and I understand οὐδαμᾶ and οὐ as two negations which destroy each other, though in Greek two negations generally constitute a stronger denial. M. Wesseling seems to prefer τῶν οὐ πολλῶν μέζω: in which case we must translate, "the forces of Gelon were inferior to those of none of the Greek people, provided they were not very powerful." Παλλῶν then signifies 'powerful,' and there are examples of its being taken in that sense. M. Wesseling cites them in his note. The Ms. D in the Royal Library has οὐδαμῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τῶν οὐ πολλῶ μέζων.

CXLVII. Πλοῖα σιταγωγὰ ἐς τε Αἴγινα κομιζόμενα] *To carry corn to Ægina.* All the Greeks, and especially the Athenians, carried on a great commerce with the coast of the Euxine sea, and especially with the Tauric Chersonesus (the Crimea). They carried thither the wines of Cos, of Thasos, &c., vases and Athenian merchandise, which were then in as great request for their elegance as those of London or Paris are at the present day. They brought from these countries, in exchange, corn, wax, honey, wool, hides, goat-skins, timber, &c.; and this commerce was a great source of wealth to the Athenians.

Ὅς τε παραγγέλει] *His order.* In the Ms. B of the Royal Library, ὁκότε παραγγέλει; and in the Ms. D, ὁκότε παραγγέλει.

Ἐξηρτυμένοι] *Loaded.* The Ms. A in the Royal Library has the true reading, ἐξηρτυμένοι.

CXLVIII. Μετὰ τὴν ἀπόπεμψιν τῶν κατασκόπων, δευτέρᾳ ἐπεμπον ἐς Ἀργεῖ ἀγγέλους] *Had made them depart for Asia.* 1. Ἀπόπεμψις signifies properly the act of sending from one place to another. Consequently, it may be understood either of the sending out of the spies by the Greeks, or the sending them back by the Persians. I have preferred the former sense; because it is not likely that the Greeks would

have waited for their spies to be sent back, before they despatched deputies to Argos.

2. Δεύτερα ἐπεμπον εἰς Ἄργος ἀγγέλους does not signify that they sent a second deputation to Argos. It evidently relates to the words πρῶτα μὲν κατασκοποῦσι πέμπονσι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίην, in paragraph CXLVI. 'They first sent spies into Asia.' Herodotus then relates what befel those spies on their arrival at Sardis; and after this digression, he resumes the thread of his narrative, at the commencement of § CXLVIII., 'after sending off the spies, they sent secondly,' or in the second place, 'deputies to Argos.' The digression has occasioned the error into which the interpreters have fallen.

Προβόλαιον] Ready either to strike or to parry the blows of his enemies. I thought that by τὸν προβόλαιον Herodotus meant a wall or rampart. But as τὸ προβόλαιον is usually employed in this sense, I so read it, or rather τῶν προβολέων, εἰσω governing the genitive; προβολή is found in many places in this sense. \* Ἀθηναίους δ' οὐκ ἂν οἶε . . . μεγάλην προβολὴν τοῖς πολίταις τῆς χώρας κατασκευάσθαι: 'Would not you think that the Athenians were a firm rampart for their fellow-citizens and for their country?' I was the less disposed, however, to adopt this conjecture definitively, as M. Valckenaer, to whom Greek literature owes so much, candidly confesses that he does not understand this passage of the Pythia.

The following note of M. Coray's has induced me to change my opinion. "I think," says this critic, "that προβόλαιον is the same thing with προβολον, a word which we find in § LXXVI., πρόβολος, and in the Ionic dialect προβόλεος, as ἀδελφεός, ἀδελφεός, or sometimes, when the measure requires it, προβόλαιος. Xenophon calls it προβόλιον. It signifies a hunting-spear, when applied to the chase of wild beasts, as in the last-named author; or a dart, when speaking of arms used in war. See the Ionic Lexicon of Portus, at the word πρίβηλος. Εἰσω τὸν προβόλαιον ἔχειν, signifies simply 'to put one's self in an attitude to strike, or to parry the blows of an adversary,' or, to speak in terms of fencing, 'to be on one's guard,' that is to say, 'to hold the body and the dart in such a position, as to be covered from the blows of the adversary, and to be ready to strike him when opportunity offers.' This position consisted in having the dart or the spear rested against the inner part (εἰσω) of the shoulder, the right foot advanced so as to present the body in profile. The description of this is given at length by Xenophon, (Cyngetic. cap. x. § xii. and xvi. edition of Leipsic, 1778,) where he speaks of the chase of the wild boar. I will quote that part only which seems to justify

\* Xenoph. Socratis Memorab. lib. iii. cap. v. § xiv. p. 156.

the interpretation I give to this passage of Herodotus: Προσφέρειν δὲ τὸ προβόλιον φυλαττόμενον μὴ ἐκκρούσθαι . . . Καὶ προτεῖναι ἐντὸς τῆς ὀμοπλάτης, ἢ ἡ σφαγὴ, 'against the inside of the shoulder, by the side of the clavicle,' or 'by the side of the throat.' The Greeks gave the name of σφαγὴ, 'jugulum,' to that cavity or interstice of the throat situate between the two clavicles, which join the scapula to the sternum. They afterwards gave the same name in the plural, αἱ σφαγαί, to the two veins which ascend from the clavicles up the side of the throat, and which anatomists now call 'the jugular veins.' See *Œconomia Foësi*, voc. σφαγὴ. The Latin authors, and especially Celsus, have given the name of 'jugula' to the clavicles themselves."—CONAR.

Μετὰ δὲ, ὡς ἐλθεῖν τοὺς ἀγγέλους] *After their arrival.* Diodorus Siculus affirms that it was the Argians who sent deputies to the assembly of the Greeks. "The Argians," says he, "having sent ambassadors to the assembly of the Greeks, promised to enter into the league, if they would give them a share in the command of the armed force. The assembly decidedly answered them, that if they found it more revolting to their feelings to acknowledge a Greek for their general, than to have a barbarian for their master, they would do well to remain quiet; but that if it was their ambition to command the Greek forces, they should raise themselves to that honour by great actions."

CXLIX. Μὴ δὲ σπονδῶν ἐνοσίων, ἐπιλέγεσθαι] *They by this means composed their minds, &c.* "Σπονδὴν δὲ ἔχειν σπονδίας γενέσθαι τριηκοντατίδας, καίπερ τὸ χρηστήριον φοβερόμενοις: ἵνα δὴ σφί οἱ παῖδες ἀνδρεωθένσι ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ἔτεσι, μὴδὲ σπονδῶν ἐνοσίων ἐπιλέγεσθαι, ἣν ἄρα σφέας καταλάβη πρὸς τῷ γεγονότι κακῷ ἄλλο πταῖσμα πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην, μὴ τοιοῦτον ἔωσι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπήκοοι. Portus, in his *Ionian Lexicon*, under the word ἐπιλέγεσθαι, explains this passage in such a manner as leads me to doubt whether he himself understood what he was saying. All the difficulty, in my opinion, hangs on this last word, which Portus is right in considering synonymous with διαλογίζεσθαι, but of which he should in this place have determined the precise meaning. Besides the difficulty as to the idea which we should attach to it, the word presents another, as to its grammatical regimen. Let us begin by settling the meaning:

"It signifies διαλογίζεσθαι, 'to think, to consider, to reflect,' as we find by examples in Herodotus. But the same author also frequently employs it for φροντίζειν, μεριμνᾶν, 'solicitem esse, anxium esse,' 'to think with pain, to torment the mind, to be in trouble,' and even for φοβεῖσθαι, 'to fear.' The following are some examples: Book vii. § XLVII. δέματός εἰμι ὑπόπλεος . . . πολλὰ ἐπιλεγόμενος, κ. τ. λ., Book

\* Diodor. Sic. lib. xi. § iii. Vol. i. p. 405.

VII. § XLIX. εἰ βουλευόμενος μὲν ἀρβυδέοι, πᾶν ἐπιλεγόμενος πελίσσεται. Book VII. § LII. οὐδ' ἐπιλέγεσθαι χρὴ νεώτερον τι ποιήσεις· οὕτω δὲ μὴδὲ τοῦτο φέλλο. Book VII. § CCXXXVI. τὰ τῶν ἀντιπολέμων, (I prefer reading ἀντιπολεμίων,\* as in Book IV. § CXL.) μὴ ἐπιλέγεσθαι πρήγματα . . . ἵκανοὶ γὰρ ἑκείνοι γε αὐτοὶ ἐμῶν περὶ φροντίζειν εἰσί.

"The meaning once settled, I think that the obscurity, which lies in the construction, consists in this, that Herodotus, who ought to have put it in the subjunctive, and made it depend on the conjunction ἵνα, as ἀνδρεωθέωσι, has expressed it in the infinitive, understanding ἕνεκα, that is to say, ἕνεκα τοῦ μὴ ἐπιλέγεσθαι, which is exactly equivalent to ἵνα μὴ ἐπιλέγωνται. That being the case, I paraphrase the whole passage as follows: λέγουσι τοὺς Ἀργεῖους σπονδὴν ἔχειν σπονδὰς γενέσθαι (σφι) τριηκονταίδας (καὶ περ φοβούμενοι τὸ χρηστήριον), ἵνα δὴ σφι οἱ παῖδες ἀνδρεωθέωσι ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ἔτεσι (τοῖς τριήκοντα), καὶ ἵνα, σπονδῶν ἰουστῶν (πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους), μὴ ἐπιλέγωνται, μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔωσι ὑπήκοοι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἣν ἄρα σφέας καταλύβη ἄλλο πταῖσμα πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην πρὸς τῷ γεγονότι (ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων) κατῷ. This construction now resembles that found in Book III. § LXXV.: Ἀδῶς διαιτώμην, οὐδαμᾶ ἐπιλεξάμενος μὴ κοτέ τίς μοι, Σμέρδιος ὑπαραιρημένου, ἄλλος ἐπανασταλὴ ἀνθρώπων."—CONAR.

"Eva] Only one. I do not think any other passage of history can be pointed out, in which it is said that the Argians, at that time, had a king. Nobody, however, could be more correctly informed on that point than Herodotus: but as no other author mentions him, the power of this prince must have been very trifling. Pausanias remarks,<sup>a</sup> as is observed by M. Valckenaer in a note on this passage, that the Argians, jealous of their liberty, had left to Cissus, the son of Temenus, and his descendants, merely the name of king. But the same author adds immediately afterwards, that the people deprived of the crown Meltas, the son of Lacides, who was descended from Medon. One might suppose that this Meltas was the last king of Argos. It is, however, to be presumed that royalty was not entirely abrogated, but that the title descended to his son.

Τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης οὐδέτερον] From one of the two kings of Sparta. The answer of the deputies of Sparta appears to me the more surprising, as by a law passed some years before, and which Herodotus himself mentions, (Book V. § LXXV.) there was at Sparta only one king who could command the army.

Τῶν Σπαρτιητῶν τὴν πλεονεξίαν] The ambition of the Spartans.

\* No change is necessary. Hesychius says, ἀντιπολέμους, πολεμίους. Besides, if we find, in Book IV. § CXL., τοὺς ἀντιπολέμους, we must not forget that in Dan-

croft's Bn., and in another cited by M. Wesching, there is ἀντιπολέμους.

<sup>b</sup> Pausan. Corinthiac. sive lib. ii. cap. xii. p. 152.



This was no doubt the true motive of the Argians for preserving a neutrality in the war against the Persians, and which even inclined them rather to the side of the latter than to the Greeks; because they considered it a lighter evil to submit to the Barbarians than to yield to the Lacedæmonians. These latter, and especially their king Cleomenes, had indeed on many occasions treated them very hardly. They were also the only people, except the Achæans, who refused to join the Lacedæmonians in the Peloponnesian war.—VALCKENAEUS.

CL. 'Αν' οὐ ἡμεῖς γεγόναμεν, παῖδα Περσέος] *Perseus having been his father.* If we are to believe the Greek fables, the royal houses of Persia and of Argos sprang from the same root. Of Danaë, daughter of Acrisius and Jupiter, was born Perseus, king of Argos; Perseus had by Andromeda, daughter of Cepheus, Perses, who gave his name to the Persians, who had before been called Cephenees. See § LXi.

Οὔτε ὦν οἰκός] *It is not therefore natural.* The Mss. A and B of the Royal Library, read οὔτε ὦν . . . οἰκός; an Ionism which must be attributed to Herodotus.

Ἐπαγγελιομένους] *Of themselves.* Ἐπαγγελλομένους, 'sponte suâ, ultro.' Such is the sense which this word bears in the following passage of Demosthenes: \* τὰς μὲν εὐεργεσίας, ἀνθ' ὧν εὐρετο τὴν ἀρέλειαν ὁ Ἐπικέρδης, ἀπεκάρ' ἐκ τῶν ψηφισμάτων, ἃ ἄνδρες δικασταί. σκοπεῖτε δὲ μὴ τοῦτο, εἰ μὴ αἰς ἑκάστον, καὶ πάλιν τάλαντον ἔδωκεν (οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς λαβόντας ἔγωγ' ἡγοῦμαι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν χρημάτων θαυμάσαι) ἀλλὰ τὴν προθυμίαν, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸν ἐπαγγειλάμενον ποιεῖν, καὶ τοὺς καιροῦς, ἐν οἷς. 'The decrees have informed you what benefits entitled Epicerdes to his immunities. Consider, not whether<sup>d</sup> he gave first 100 minæ, and afterwards a talent, (for I believe that those who received this money do not think the sum very great,) but look at his zeal, the circumstances under which he gave this money, and that he did it of his own free-will.' He had said likewise, a few lines before, ὁρῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, τῷ πρὸ τῶν Τριάκοντα μικρὸν, σπανίζοντα τὸν Δῆμον χρημάτων, τάλαντον ἔδωκεν αὐτὸς ἐπαγγειλάμενος. 'Seeing that, in the war which occurred shortly before the administration of the thirty tyrants, the people wanted money, he gave of his own accord a talent.' The scholiast explains ἐπαγγειλάμενος by these words, αὐτεπάγγελτος, καὶ αὐθαίρετος. See also the note of F. A. Wolf, p. 265. of his edition of the Oration of Demosthenes against Leptines, Halle, 1789.

CLi. Πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι ὑστερον] *Many years afterwards.* Artaxerxes, having heard of the losses he had sustained in Cyprus, resolved to make peace with the Greeks. Artabazes and Megabyzes sent ambas-

\* Demosth. πρὸς Λεπτίνην, pp. 286, 78.

<sup>c</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. xii. § iv. pp. 401.

<sup>d</sup> 100 minæ, 975*l.*; a talent, 225*l.*

484.

sadors for this purpose to Athens. The conditions appearing to the Athenians to be reasonable, they sent ambassadors to Artaxerxes with full powers on their side. Callias, son of Hipponicus, was at the head of this embassy. It occurred in the fourth year of the 82nd Olympiad, that is, in the year 449 before our era, or 4265 of the Julian period.

Ἐρέπου πρὶ γήματος εἶνεκα] *For some affair.* In the Greek, 'for another affair,' that is to say, for some affair different from that for which the Argians sent thither: and this affair was making peace with the Persians. See the preceding note.

Ταῖς Μεννονίαις] *A city of Memnon.* This city<sup>a</sup> was built by Tithonus, father of Memnon. Herodotus always calls it the Memnonian city.<sup>b</sup> Its citadel was called Memnonium.<sup>c</sup>

Καλλίην] *Callias.* The embassy of Callias was in the fourth year of the 82nd Olympiad.<sup>d</sup>

CLII. Ἀποφροσάτω δέ τιώω] *Would be glad to take back.* "I do not very clearly perceive," says M. Bellanger, "the drift of this reflection, nor to what Herodotus would apply it." I think that Herodotus intended to convey somewhat obscurely, that no man is without some cause of self-reproach, and that all the other nations of Greece had, at some time or other, been guilty of actions more infamous than those of the Argians. I have therefore translated κατὰ, 'bad actions.' Herodotus perhaps has borrowed this reflection from Solon; or perhaps Valerius Maximus has seen it only in Herodotus, and attributes it to Solon upon conjecture. At all events, Solon, according to Valerius Maximus, says, "aiebat, si in unum locum cuncti mala sua contulissent, futurum, ut propria deportare domum, quam ex communi miseriarum acervo portionem suam ferre mallent. Quo colligebat, non oportere nos, quæ fortuito patiamur, præcipuè et intolerabilis amaritudinis judicare."

CLIII. Γέλας] *The city of Gela.* Gela was built forty-five years<sup>e</sup> after the foundation of Syracuse. Now Syracuse was built in the 21st year<sup>f</sup> of the perpetual archontate of Æschylus at Athens, that is to say, the third year of the 5th Olympiad, which answers to the year 758 before our era; if, with Eusebius, we make the Olympiad begin in the third year of the archontate of Æschylus. It follows from this, that Gela was founded in the fourth year of the 16th Olympiad, i. e. the year 713 B. C. The year of this archontate is fixed also by the Oxford Marbles, which assign the foundation of Sy-

<sup>a</sup> Strab. lib. x. p. 1058. C.

<sup>b</sup> Herod. lib. v. § liv.

<sup>c</sup> Strab. lib. xv. p. 1058. C.

<sup>d</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. xu. § iv.

<sup>e</sup> Valer. Maxim. lib. vii. cap. ii. Extern. ii. p. 632.

<sup>f</sup> Thucyd. lib. vi. § iv. p. 260. lin. 88.

<sup>g</sup> Marmora Oxon. Epoch. xxii. p. 26.

recuse to the year 494, which, according to the calculation of that chronologist, is the year 758 before our era.

Phintias,\* tyrant of Agrigentum, destroyed the city of Gela, about the 125th Olympiad, or 433 years after its foundation, and transferred the inhabitants to the city of Phintias, of which he was the founder.

Τῶν χθονίων θεῶν] *Of Ceres and Proserpine.* In the Greek, 'of the infernal goddesses.' The scholiast of Pindar explains this 'ταῖς θεαῖς ἱεροφάντην: but for this authority, it might have been interpreted 'of the infernal gods.'

Διετέλεον] *They continued.* A comma misplaced in the original, rather deranges the meaning. We must read αἰροῦ οἱ ἀπόγονοι γινόμενοι ἱεροφάνται τῶν χθονίων θεῶν, διετέλεον ἔσσης, &c. as we find it pointed in the Ms. B of the Royal Library. The two others have no stop either after γινόμενοι, or after θεῶν.

CLIV. Τελευτήσαντος τὸν βίον] *Having been killed.* Cleander was killed by Sabyllus, in the third year of the 70th Olympiad. Hippocrates, his brother, afterwards reigned seven years, and Gelon obtained the crown after his death, in the second year of the 72d Olympiad.

Δορυφόρος] *From a simple private of the body-guard.* He was not the brother of Hippocrates, as Dionysius<sup>d</sup> of Halicarnassus says. From one of the body-guards of Hippocrates, he raised himself to the tyranny of Gela, and afterwards to that of Syracuse. He rendered this last city flourishing, and so firmly fixed the attachment of its citizens to him by various benefits, that when 'the statues of the tyrants were broken up to be made into money, after Timoleon had restored Syracuse to liberty, those of Gelon alone were excepted; or, if that of Dionysius Priscus was spared, as Dion Chrysostom<sup>f</sup> says, who relates the same anecdote that Plutarch does, it was because they bore the ornaments of Bacchus, which divinity the Greeks in their language call Dionysus.

Ἐπ' ᾧτε Καμαρίναν παραδοῦναι] *That they would give him Camarina.* Camarina<sup>g</sup> was then destroyed, but the Syracusans gave the territory of that city to Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela. This prince sent thither a colony, and rebuilt the city.

Ἦν Καμαρίνα τὸ ἀρχαῖον] *Which had belonged to them from remote antiquity.* The Syracusans<sup>h</sup> were in fact the founders of it, about

\* Diodor. Sic. Eclog. ex lib. xxv. Vol. ii. p. 495. R. Bentleii Dissertatio de Phalaridis Epistola, p. 10, 1.

<sup>b</sup> Scholiast. Pindari ad Pyth. ii. vers. 27. p. 183. col. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Dionys. Halicarn. lib. vii. § i. pp. 402, 403.

<sup>d</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>e</sup> Plutarch. in Timolconte, p. 247. E.

<sup>f</sup> Dio. Chrysostom. Corinthiac. p. 400.

C.

<sup>g</sup> Thucyd. lib. vi. § v.

<sup>h</sup> Id. ibid.

135 years after the foundation of Syracuse, that is to say, in the year 623 before our era.

CLV. Ἦρχε αὐτός] *He himself actually took possession.* This happened in the second year of the 72d Olympiad; but he was not as yet tyrant of Syracuse, as Dionysius\* of Halicarnassus says.

The edition of Aldus, and that of Glasgow, put no comma after ἐνείκειαι, which rather embarrasses the sentence. In the Ms. A of the Royal Library, there is a point after these words, and a comma after τῷ ἔργῳ, which indicates that in the construction this last word should be joined to ἤρχε.

Γαμόροι] *The Gamori.* The Gamori or Geomori were properly those who, being sent out as a colony, divided the land amongst them. The grandees of Syracuse had this name, because they were descended from those Greeks who had accompanied Archias from Corinth, and were the founders of Syracuse. See the note of M. de Valois on Diodorus Siculus, Vol. II. p. 549. col. 1.

Καλλιύριοι] *Cillicyrians.* This name is written in various manners. I have determined in favour of the above, on the authority of Hesychius, and of the Ms. Lexicon of Photius, where, it is true, we read Καλλιέριοι; but the order of the letters shows that we should read Καλλιύριοι. The author of the Lexicon of Rhetoric, cited by Eustathius,<sup>4</sup> also says Καλλιέριοι; but he places them in Crete, and in that he is mistaken. However, I attach but little importance to notes of this kind.

It was the name which the Syracusans gave to their slaves, because, says Zenobius,<sup>5</sup> they ran in great numbers to the same place, when it was proposed to attack their masters. See the note of M. Valckenaer, in which the passage of Zenobius is corrected.

CLVI. Ἀνά τ' ἔδραμον] *Increased considerably.* Ἀνέδραμον is properly said of the growth of trees. Hence ἀναδρομαί in Hesychius is interpreted αὐξήσεαι, βλαστήσεαι. Herodotus employs it metaphorically. The expression is borrowed from Homer, whom our historian takes a peculiar pleasure in imitating.

Thetis, when speaking of her son Achilles, says:

Ὅ δ' ἀνέδραμεν ἐπὶ ἱόνι.

Iliad. xviii. vers. 56.

'He grew like a young plant.'

Ὅς ἐύρτα μεταίτιον τοῦ πολέμου] *Though he was the author.* To the examples adduced by Portus, in his Ionic Lexicon, we may add

\* Dionys. Halicarn. lib. vii. § 1. p. 402.

<sup>5</sup> Zenobii Adag. Centur. ix. 84.

<sup>4</sup> Eustath. ad Iliad. B. Vol. I. p. 295.

the following, from the Supplices of Euripides :<sup>a</sup> τάφον μενείριον.  
'The author of funeral rites.'

CLVII. Μέλλει . . . στρατηλαθήσειν] *He is on the point of attacking it.* The Greek is as given above. The Attic writers join the present and the future with the verb μέλλω, but never the aorist. Thomas Magister<sup>b</sup> says, μέλλω ποιῶν, καὶ μέλλω ποιήσκειν, οὐ μέλλω ποιῆσαι. Varinus Phavorinus<sup>c</sup> says the same in his Lexicon: Μέλλει συντάσσεται μετὰ ἀπαρεμφύτον, ἥτοι ἐνεστώτος· οἷον μέλλει μοι ποιεῖν τὸ δέ τι· ἢ μετὰ μέλλοντος πρώτου· οἷον μέλλω ποιήσκειν· οὐδέποτε δὲ μετὰ ἀορίστου· οἷον μέλλω ποιήσαι. 'Μέλλει is joined to the infinitive, or to the present, but never to the aorist.' We likewise find in Phrynichus :<sup>d</sup> Ἐμελλον ποιῆσαι, ἔμελλον θεῖναι, ἀμαρτήματα τῶν ἐσχάτων, εἰ τις οὕτω συντάττει. τετήρηται γὰρ ἢ τῷ ἐνεστώτι συνταπτόμενον, ἢ τῷ μέλλοντι, οἷον ἔμελλον ποιεῖν, ἔμελλον ποιήσκειν. τὰ δὲ συντελικά οὐδενὶ γρόπῃ ἀρμόσει τῷ ἔμελλον. 'Ἐμελλον with the aorist is a shocking blunder of the moderns. This verb is joined with the present and the future ; but the perfect can by no means agree with it.'

However, examples of this verb with the aorist are found, as in Homer :<sup>e</sup>

Μέλλει γάρ που τις καὶ φίλτερον ἄλλον ὀλέσσαι.

But, as is remarked by Thomas Magister, we then understand the potential particle ἂν, which gives to the aorist and to the perfect the force of the future.

The Mss. A, B, and D of the Royal Library have μέλλει στρατηλατῆσαι, and the Mss. A and D, a little lower down, have a comma after μέτα, which makes it much more clear.

CLVIII. Λόγον πλεονέκτην] *The insolence.* The Greek phrase implies an arrogant discourse held by one who thinks that much is due to himself, and that he owes nothing to others, as the sequel of the answer of Gelon sufficiently testifies.

Ἐγεσταιών] *The inhabitants of Ægesta.* In the editions we find Αἰγεσταιών; but we must read, with the Mss. A, B, and D in the Royal Library, Αἰγεστέων; which is an Ionism.

Ἐπαυρτίαις] *Great profits.* We must read ἐπαυρτίαις, instead of ἐπαυρταίαις; for the Ionians, as is remarked by Gregory of Corinth, p. 225, change the ι and the ε into ε long : for example, from ἱερεὺς they make ἱρεῦς, and from ὄφιος ὄφης, from ἱέραξ ἱραξ, and, by changing the α into η, ἱρηξ.

Διηκοσίας τε τριήρεις] *Two hundred triremes, &c.* These offers may

<sup>a</sup> Euripid. Supplic. vers. 26.

<sup>b</sup> Thom. Magister, p. 607.

<sup>c</sup> Varini Phavorini Camertis Dictionar.

p. 353. lin. 3 à fine.

<sup>d</sup> Phrynichi Dict. Attic. Eclog. p. 60.

<sup>e</sup> Homeri Iliad. lib. xiv. vers. 26.



perhaps appear excessive. We may remark, however, that Dionysius,\* some time afterwards, levied in the single city of Syracuse, 120,000 infantry, 12,000 cavalry, and 400 ships of war.

CLIX. Ἡ καὶ μέγ' οἰμώζειεν ὁ Πελοπίδης Ἀγαμέμνων] *It would be a subject of great grief, &c.* This passage is imitated from verse 125. of Book vii. of the Iliad.

Ἡ καὶ μέγ' οἰμώζειε γέρον ἱππλάρα Πηλεΐς.

ὑπὸ Γέλωνος τε καὶ Συρηκουσίων] *By a Gelon and by Syracusans.* In my first edition I passed over a nicety of the Greek language, which is wanting in the Latin, but of which our modern languages are capable, by substituting the indefinite article for the absence of the article in the Greek. The text has, ἡ καὶ μέγ' οἰμώζειεν ὁ Πελοπίδης Ἀγαμέμνων, πηδόμενος Σπαρτιάτας τὴν ἡγεμονίην ἀπαραιεῖσθαι ὑπὸ Γέλωνος τε καὶ Συρηκουσίων. The grace and the true meaning of this passage are lost in the Latin translation, and it would perhaps be impossible to express them in that language: "O quam ejularet Pelopides Agamemnon, si audiret Spartiatas imperio spoliatus esse ab Gelone atque Syracusanis." We know the pride of Republicans, and especially that of the Lacedæmonians, towards kings, and more particularly against tyrants: I mean usurpers; for such was the name which the Greeks gave to those who had destroyed the republican government, and had raised themselves to the supreme power on its ruins. We know with what contempt the Athenians† treated Alexander, the son of Amyntas, king of Macedon, and the insulting, disdainful, and truly laconic answer which the Lacedæmonians gave to the menaces of Philip,\* father of Alexander. "The Lacedæmonians to Philip, Dionysius at Corinth." The answer of Gelon proves incontestably that that prince considered himself insulted by the ambassadors of the Greeks. "Spartans," says he to them, "insults offered to a man of spirit, usually excite his anger."

CLX. Ἐπανάγειν τὸν θυμόν] *Usually excite his anger.* Φιλεῖ ἐπανάγειν τὸν θυμόν. Ἐπανάγω signifies 'revoco, retrorsum ago, provocho navem in altum,' neither of which will suit the context. Portus, in his Ionic Lexicon, explains it 'excito, commoveo;' but he adduces no example, and I doubt if there be one in the whole language. For my part, I think the text vicious, and I read φιλεῖ ἐπενάγειν τὸν θυμόν. We know that ἐνάγω means 'impello, incito, instigo,' and that Herodotus frequently uses this verb: ὅστις μάλισθαι ἐνάγει ἀνθρώπων, lib. iv. § LXXIX. ἐνάγε σφας ὥστε ποιεῖν ταῦτα, lib. iv.

\* Diodor. Sic. lib. ii. § v. Vol. i. p. Passathen. p. 12. lin. 34.

† 118.

\* Hermogen. de Hecot. p. 546. lin. 6.

† Herodot. lib. viii. § cxliii.; Aristod. in

§ CXLV. καὶ τινὰ ἐνάγει προθυμῇ μαχόμενον ἀποθήσκειν, lib. V. § XLIX. &c.

The Mss. in the Royal Library give no variation of the reading, except that marked D, in which we read ἐπαράγων instead of ἐπαράγειν.

Υβρίσματα ἐν τῷ λόγῳ] *Insulting discourse.* The discourse could not justly be termed so. It was natural that the mother country should preserve some sort of authority over the colony. Now we know that Syracuse had been founded by the Corinthians,\* who themselves obeyed the Lacedæmonian generals. But despots, by perpetual communication with slaves, become unable to bear the independent language of a free man. Perhaps the remarks might be considered insulting from the manner in which they were delivered. See note 2. to § CLIX. in p. 416.

Χρεὼν ἐστὶ ἀπέχεσθαι] *Either content yourselves.* I read χρεὼν ἐστὶ ἀπέχεσθαι, with Valla and the Ms. of Sanroft. If ἀπέχεσθαι, which is found in the editions and in the greater part of the Mss., be preferred, we must translate, 'these conditions must please you, or else, &c.'

CLXI. Εἰ τότες Ἀθηναῖοι] *What then! and shall we, &c.* M. Valckenaer places a comma after ἐκνημέτοι, and I find this punctuation in the Mss. A, B, and D, in the Royal Library. He then suppresses *ei*, a particle which detracts from the energy of the speech of the Athenian ambassador. I have followed him in this. One would be almost led to think that Thucydides, who hated the Athenians after they had banished him, had, with the express view to mortify them, and lower the haughty tone of the Athenian orator, put into the mouth of Hermocrates of Syracuse the following words, addressed to the inhabitants of Camarina. "We do not wish<sup>a</sup> to remind them (the Athenians) with warmth, that they (the Leontines) are neither Ionians, nor Hellespontians, nor Islanders, who have been slaves, and have only changed masters, but Dorians, free people, who having come from the Peloponnesus, have chosen to live in Sicily, governed by their own laws."

Μοῦνοι δὲ τότες οὐ μετανάσται] *We have never changed our soil.* No man ever pronounced a finer eulogium on his country than Euripides,<sup>c</sup> when he says: Its inhabitants do not come from another land, they are aboriginals; whilst other states, thrown at random like dice, have been seized on by one another. See my Chronological Essay, chap. VIII. § XI. p. 263.

CLXII. Εἰκαζε δὲ] *By this expression, he compared.* I have suppressed the following words, which appeared to me the addition of

\* Thucyd. lib. vi. § iii. p. 379; Strab. lib. vi. p. 413. B.

<sup>a</sup> Thucyd. lib. vi. § lxxvii. p. 428.

<sup>c</sup> Plutarch, de Exilio, p. 604. D.

some scholiast. Οἷτος δὲ ὁ νόος τοῦδε τοῦ ῥήματος, τὸ ἐθέλει λέγειν δάλα γὰρ ὡς ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐστὶ τὸ εἶρ δοκιμώτατον, τῆσδε τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατῆς, τὴν ἐωϊκοῦ στρατῆν. 'This is the meaning of what he said: for it is manifest that as the spring is the finest season of the year, so his troops would be the finest in the army of the Greeks.' In this suppression, I have followed M. Valckenaer, whose note may be consulted.

CLXIII. Τὸν Σκύθην] *Son of Scythes*. We have read (in § xxiv. Book vi.) of one Scythes, king of the Zancleans. Perizonius\* thinks that he was the father of Cadmus. I am inclined to the opinion of M. Valckenaer, that he was the uncle of the father of Cadmus. Had not Cadmus been of the same family, he would hardly have gone to dwell at Zancle in Sicily, of which Scythes had formerly been sovereign. It is said<sup>b</sup> that Epicharmus went into Sicily with Cadmus.

Φιλους λόγους] *Words of peace*. This Cadmus had orders to conciliate the good-will of Xerxes, in case that prince should conquer the Greeks.

CLXIV. Τὴν ἐκ Μεσσήνῃν μεταβαλοῦσαν τὸ ὄνομα] *The name of which has been changed to Messina*. There is a difference of opinion as to the time when Zancle\* took the name of Messina. Herodotus and Thucydides date this circumstance between the fourth year of the 71st Olympiad, and the first year of the 76th; but Pausanias places it in the 29th Olympiad. The balance inclines in favour of the two first historians, who were better informed, have a high character for accuracy, and were nearly contemporary. But as Pausanias may have had means of information of which we have no knowledge, and as his authority has obtained the acquiescence of Scaliger, Petavius, Riccioli, Corsini, and many others of the most celebrated chronologists, I have thought it best to discuss the point, and to decide only after mature reflection.

"Zancle," says Thucydides,<sup>c</sup> "was first founded by a set of freebooters who came from Cyme, which latter had been founded by cer-

\* Ad Aflani Var. Hist. lib. viii. cap. xlvii. p. 563.

<sup>b</sup> Suidas, voc. Ζεῖχαρμος.

<sup>c</sup> I was greatly surprised on reading a translation of Bentley's Dissertation on the Letters of Phalaris, published by M. Van Lennep in 1777, to find that the proofs adduced by that writer are exactly the same as mine. I became acquainted with this work only in 1780, and my note had then been written many years, as will appear from a part of this note which I communicated to M. de Vauvilliers in 1771, and which he inserted in his Essay on

Pindar, printed in 1772. As the note contains nothing that is matter of invention, and as Dr. Bentley and I have both had access to the same authorities, it is not at all astonishing that we should have made the same use of them. If after this declaration, however, it should be suspected that I have borrowed from the Dissertation, I am very willing that any degree of credit to be derived from the remarks should be imputed to the learned Englishman.

<sup>d</sup> Thucyd. lib. vi. § iv. p. 280.

tain Chalcidians of the Opic plain. There afterwards came many people from Chalcis and from other parts of Eubœa, who divided the territory with them. Perieres and Cratœmenes, the one of Cyme, and the other of Chalcis, were the original founders. The Sicilians, in the first instance, gave it the name of Zancle, because the country is in the form of a scythe, which that people call 'zancleon.' They were afterwards driven out by Samians and other Ionians, who flying from the Medes landed in Sicily."

Herodotus<sup>a</sup> relates that the inhabitants of Zancle having invited the Ionians to come and people the country of Calacte in Sicily, the Samians accepted the invitation, but that with the most odious ingratitude, they had, at the instigation of Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, seized on the city of Zancle, whilst its inhabitants were gone with their king to besiege some other city. "But the same<sup>b</sup> tyrant of Rhegium having shortly afterwards dispossessed the Samians of it, he peopled it with a vast number of persons of different countries, whom he joined with the Samians, and called it Messana, from the name of the country of his ancestors."

Strabo<sup>c</sup> relates that Zancle was founded by certain Messenians of the Peloponnesus, who changed the name of Zancle, which had been given to it from the obliquity of its form,<sup>d</sup> the Sicilians calling any thing that is curved 'zancleon.' It had previously been built by certain Naxians,<sup>e</sup> who lived near Catanea.

We have next to determine the time when the Messenians established themselves at Zancle, and gave their name to the city. If I cannot ascertain the precise year in which this happened, I hope at least to come pretty near to it.

1. Herodotus says,<sup>f</sup> that Miletus having been taken by the Persians, the Samians, on the invitation of the Zancleans, passed into Sicily, together with some Milesians, and most perfidiously seized on the city of Zancle. Now Miletus was taken in the third year of the 70th Olympiad, and Zancle therefore could only have been occupied by the Samians about the fourth year of the same Olympiad. Thucydides<sup>g</sup> confirms this account, by saying that the Zancleans were driven out

<sup>a</sup> Herodot. lib. vi. § xxii. et xxiii.

<sup>b</sup> Thucyd. lib. vi. § v. p. 380.

<sup>c</sup> Strab. Geograph. lib. vi. p. 410. C.

<sup>d</sup> Diodorus Siculus says, lib. iv. § lxxxv. Vol. i. p. 327. that it took its name from Zancleus its king. The account of Thucydides and Strabo seems more probable.

<sup>e</sup> This does not contradict Thucydides, who had advanced that the Chalcidians were the founders of Zancle. He also remarks, lib. vi. § iii., that the Chalcidians having come from Eubœa, with Theocles

at their head, founded the city of Naxos; that having left it five years after the foundation of Syracuse, they drove the Sicilians from Leontium, of which they took possession, and afterwards founded Catanes. We see from this, that the Naxians, who lived near Catanea, were Chalcidians by origin.

<sup>f</sup> Herodot. lib. vi. § xxii.

<sup>g</sup> See the commencement of the note to § clxv. in p. 417.



by the Samians and other Ionians, who, flying from the Medes, had landed in Sicily. But as they themselves were shortly afterwards driven out by<sup>a</sup> Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, who established there the inhabitants of different nations, and gave it the name of Messana, we must next inquire at what time this Anaxilas lived.

If we had those books of Diodorus Siculus which are lost, we might be able to fix the date of the taking of Zancle by Anaxilas; but as fate has deprived us of them, we must draw what information we can from those that are left. We find from this author,<sup>b</sup> that Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium and of Zancle, died in the first year of the 76th Olympiad, after a reign of eighteen years. He therefore began to reign over Zancle in the third year of the 71st Olympiad. As to the commencement of his reign at Rhegium, we are not informed. We can scarcely doubt, however, that he was tyrant of that city at the time when the Samians took possession of Zancle.

2. Many circumstances concur in proving the epoch of these events. 1. When the Samians invaded Zancle, Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela, acted a very conspicuous part: he betrayed the Zancleans, though they were his allies, and shared their spoils with the Samians. Now we know the time when this Hippocrates lived. Gelon, who was afterwards tyrant of Syracuse, was then<sup>c</sup> one of his guards, and general<sup>d</sup> of his cavalry, ἀπάρτων τῶν ἱππέων τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχειν (ἐλέγει) παρέδωκε. It was this same Gelon who beat the Carthaginians commanded by Hamilcar, at the same time that the Greeks defeated Xerxes. 2. Anaxilas married Cydippe, the daughter of Terillus, tyrant of Himera, who, being driven from that city by Theron, tyrant of Agrigentum, demanded assistance of the Carthaginians; and it was this auxiliary army that Gelon defeated at Himera.

3. This same Anaxilas<sup>e</sup> wished entirely to destroy the Locrians; but he was prevented by Hiero, as Epicharmus relates in one of his pieces called The Islands, ὅτι δὲ Ἀναξίλαος Λοκροὺς ἐθέλησεν ἄρδην ἀπολέσαι, καὶ ἐκωλύθη πρὸς Ἱέρωνος, ἱστορεῖ καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Νάσοις. Epicharmus<sup>f</sup> was contemporary with Hiero, and lived at his court, and Hiero<sup>g</sup> was contemporary with Xerxes; as he succeeded his brother Gelon, when Timosthenes was archon of Athens, that is to say, in the third year of the 75th Olympiad.

4. When Anaxilas instigated the Samians to seize on Zancle, the

<sup>a</sup> Thucyd. lib. vi. § v. p. 380.

<sup>b</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. xi. § xlviii. Vol. i. p. 440.

<sup>c</sup> Herodot. lib. vi. § xiii.

<sup>d</sup> Id. lib. vii. § clv.

<sup>e</sup> Timæus apud Schol. Pindari, Nem. p. 434.

Od. ix. vers. 95. p. 404. col. 2.

<sup>f</sup> Pindari Schol. ad Pyth. Od. i. vers. 99. p. 172. col. 2. lin. 6.

<sup>g</sup> Marmoræ Oxon. Epoch. 56. p. 29.

<sup>h</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. xi. § xlviii. Vol. i.



Zancleans were governed by their tyrant \* Scythes. Now we know the time when this Scythes lived, and consequently the time of Anaxilas his contemporary. Herodotus relates,<sup>a</sup> that having escaped from the city of Iuycum, whither Hippocrates had sent him a prisoner, he retired into Asia, and took shelter at the court of Darius.

I have expatiated on these facts, and have adduced several synchronisms, because Pausanias dates the taking of Zancle by Anaxilas nearly two centuries earlier; a gross error, which neither Sylburgius nor Kuhnus, who have published editions of that author, nor the Abbé Gedoyn, who has translated his works, have corrected. The substance of the passage of Pausanias is this.

"Messena<sup>c</sup> being taken by the Lacedæmonians, Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, sent to invite the Messenians into Sicily. When they arrived there, he proposed to them the conquest of Zancle. Having accepted the proposal, Anaxilas defeated the Zancleans at sea, whilst the Messenians beat them by land. Zancle was afterwards besieged and taken, and the spoil shared between the conquerors, as was the city, which took the name of Messena. This occurred in the 30th Olympiad, in the year that Chionis the Lacedæmonian gained the prize for the third time,<sup>d</sup> Miltiades being then archon of Athens."

I have proved by several synchronisms, the period at which Anaxilas lived, so as to remove every doubt from the mind of the reader; but as it may be suggested that there were perhaps two tyrants of Rhegium of the name of Anaxilas,<sup>e</sup> I will now show that the Anaxilas of Pausanias is the same spoken of by Herodotus, Thucydides, Diodorus Siculus, &c.

1. The Anaxilas of Pausanias was tyrant of Rhegium; he besieged Zancle,<sup>f</sup> and having taken it, he changed its name to Messena. The one mentioned by Thucydides<sup>g</sup> was tyrant of Rhegium; he took Zancle, and named it Messena, from the name of the country of his

These circumstances prove that Pausanias and Thucydides speak of the same person. For if it be difficult for us to believe that there were two tyrants of Rhegium of the name of Anaxilas who took Zancle, we may pronounce it impossible that they should both have changed its name to that of Messena.

<sup>a</sup> Herodot. lib. vi. § xxii.

<sup>b</sup> Id. ib. § xiv.

<sup>c</sup> Pausan. Messenic, sive lib. iv. cap. xlii. pp. 336, 337.

<sup>d</sup> I have admitted both here and a little before the correction of Meursius adopted by the Abbé Gedoyn.

<sup>e</sup> This has been done by M. Fréret. See the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles-Lettres, Vol. vii. p. 300 and following.

<sup>f</sup> Pausan. lib. iv. cap. xlii. p. 337.

<sup>g</sup> Thucydides, lib. vi. § v. p. 380.

2. The Anaxilas of Herodotus is the same with that of Pausanias and Thucydides. That of Thucydides took Zancle<sup>a</sup> shortly after the Samians who fled from the Medes had established themselves there. Now that of Herodotus was tyrant of Rhegium, when the Samians, after escaping from the Medes, came into Sicily, and it was he who counselled them to settle at Zancle. Moreover, the Anaxilas of Herodotus<sup>b</sup> had a minister named Micythus, son of Choirus; Pausanias, in another place,<sup>c</sup> speaks of Micythus, the servant and steward of Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, and he even cites Herodotus in proof of it; which shows clearly that in both the passages where he names Anaxilas, he means the person spoken of by Herodotus.

3. The Anaxilas of Diodorus Siculus is the same with that of Pausanias and of Herodotus, as he was tyrant both of Rhegium and of Zancle,<sup>d</sup> and as his steward Micythus was the tutor of his children, and governed the state during their minority.

4. Macrobius also says, that Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, founded the city of Messina in Sicily, and that, at his death, he committed his children<sup>e</sup> to the care of his servant Micythus, who discharged this trust with the utmost fidelity.

Having first proved that Anaxilas was contemporary with Darius and with Xerxes, and consequently that he could not have lived in the 38th Olympiad, as Pausanias asserts, and that the Anaxilas of this author is the same with that of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Diodorus Siculus, I will prove from his own works that Anaxilas lived at the time which I and the other historians have assigned to him.

Micythus<sup>f</sup> says Pausanias, the servant and steward of Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, made a present to Olympia of several statues, which were the work of Dionysius and of Glaucus of Argos. We may reckon the time in which they lived, says he, by that of Micythus who employed them.

If this inference is just, the converse of it is equally so, and we may discover the time of Micythus from that of the two statuaries. Now Pausanias himself informs us,<sup>g</sup> that Dionysius, one of them, cast a statue of a horse in bronze for Phormis, the general of Gelon and of Hiero; and he also says, that Gelon and Hiero lived at the<sup>h</sup> time of the expedition of Xerxes, which I have proved to be the same with that of the tyranny of Anaxilas.

I have expatiated at great length on the time when the city of

<sup>a</sup> Thucyd. lib. vi. § v. p. 380.

<sup>b</sup> Herodot. lib. vii. § clxx.

<sup>c</sup> Pausan. Ellac. prior. sive lib. v. cap. xvi. p. 447.

<sup>d</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. xi. § xlviii. and lxi. Vol. i. pp. 440. 454.

<sup>e</sup> Macrobi. Saturn. lib. i. cap. xl. p. 213.

<sup>f</sup> Pausan. pp. 446, 447. I gave rather the substance than a literal translation.

<sup>g</sup> Id. lib. iv. cap. xvii. pp. 417, 418.

<sup>h</sup> Id. Arcad. sive lib. viii. cap. xlii. p. 687.

Zancle took the name of Messena, because Pausanias having dated this event more than 150 years earlier than the other historians, has led into the same error the most celebrated writers, such as Scaliger,<sup>a</sup> Simson,<sup>b</sup> Petavius,<sup>c</sup> Riccioli,<sup>d</sup> Corsini,<sup>e</sup> &c. The opinion of men like these was to be refuted only with the utmost care.

*Karaxchéthai*] *To appropriate them to his own use.* *Karéxeiv* signifies to keep for another; *karaxchéthai*, to keep for one's self. See Kuster on the middle verb.

CLXV. *Θήρωνος τοῦ Αἰνησιδήμου*] *Theron, the son of Ænesidemus.* The second and third of the Olympics of Pindar are written in celebration of this Theron, and are addressed to him. The lyric poet traces his descent<sup>f</sup> from Laius, and the Scholiast, in his remarks on that verse,<sup>g</sup> thus gives his genealogy: Laius, Œdipus, Polynices, Thersander, Tisamenes, Autesion, Theras, Samus. This last had two sons, Telemachus and Clytus. Clytus remained in the isle of Thera; but Telemachus passed into Sicily with some forces which he had assembled, and took possession of the country. Telemachus had Chalciopous, and the latter Ænesidemus, father of Theron. There is certainly a chasm in this genealogical chart of the scholiast; for Theron appears six generations after Theras, that is to say, 200 years, whereas there are about seven centuries between Theras and Theron. The same scholiast, or perhaps a different one from him I have just cited, places Emmenides<sup>h</sup> in the place of Chalciopous; and two lines above he had said that Emmenides was the name of the Phratría of Theron in Sicily.

*Καρχνόδοτος ἑνὶν βασιλῆα*] *King of the Carthaginians.*; This title was frequently given to the generals of the Carthaginians and to their chief magistrates. Examples are to be found in Polysonus,<sup>i</sup> and in Cornelius Nepos.<sup>j</sup>

It may appear surprising to many, that Herodotus, who has mentioned the Carthaginians in more places than one, and who in Book iv. § CLXViii. and following, has enumerated the different nations of Libya, has been silent as to this people, and gives us no account of their empire, their power, or their commerce. But this surprise will cease, when we reflect that he could not speak of the Carthaginians in a suitable manner without departing from his plan, and causing his readers to lose sight of the subject of which he had proposed

<sup>a</sup> *Olearum ad. dyacparyh*, p. 316.

<sup>b</sup> *Chronicon Hist. Cathol. completum. ad Olymp. xxi. p. 649.*

<sup>c</sup> *De Doctr. Temp. Vol. ii. lib. xiii. p. 301.*

<sup>d</sup> *Chronolog. Reform. Vol. ii. p. 13. ad ann. 671.*

<sup>e</sup> *Fast. Att. Vol. iii. p. 46.*

<sup>f</sup> *Pindar. Olymp. ii. vers. 82.*

<sup>g</sup> *Schol. Pindari, p. 27. col. 1. lin. ult.*

<sup>h</sup> *Id. ad Olymp. iii. vers. 68. p. 42. col. 1. lin. 8.*

<sup>i</sup> *Polyeni Stratagem. lib. i. cap. xxvii.*

<sup>j</sup> *Id. p. 63.*

<sup>k</sup> *Cornel. Nepos in Hannibale, cap. vii. § iv. p. 586.*

to treat. The Greeks, moreover, had too little connexion with the Carthaginians to take much interest in such a digression, as no people then had much intercourse with that nation but the Sicilians.

Ἐπὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν Σικελίαν] *To come into Sicily.* Diodorus Siculus<sup>a</sup> relates, that Xerxes had made a treaty with the Carthaginians, and that it was in virtue of that treaty that they carried the war into Sicily.

CLXVI. Τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας καὶ νικῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὸν Πέρσην] *The same day that the Greeks beat the king at Salamis.* Diodorus Siculus relates,<sup>b</sup> that Gelon obtained the victory on the same day that Leonidas fought with the 300 Lacedæmonians at the pass of Thermopylæ against the army of Xerxes. These two authors therefore agree as to the year in which this battle was fought, and differ only by some months; Herodotus placing it in the beginning of the first year of the 76th Olympiad, and Diodorus Siculus some months later.

This victory was very creditable to Gelon; but what in my opinion did him still greater honour was, that on concluding peace with the Carthaginians, he made it a condition<sup>c</sup> that for the future they should sacrifice no more children to Saturn. Diodorus Siculus,<sup>d</sup> however, who quotes this treaty, does not mention this condition; and it appears from the same author, that this barbarous practice continued down to the time of Agathocles,<sup>e</sup> that is to say, till the 117th Olympiad.

Τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἐπελθεῖν διζήμενον Γέλωνα] *Though Gelon caused him to be sought after, &c.* If we may believe Polyænus, Gelon was perfectly aware of the manner in which Hamilcar perished. He thus relates it: "Gelon, the tyrant of Sicily," says he,<sup>f</sup> "being encamped opposite to Himilco, king of Carthage, who had come into Sicily, dared not to give him battle. But having clothed in his royal garments Pediarchus, commander of his archers, and who strongly resembled him, he ordered him to advance beyond the camp and to sacrifice upon the altars. He also ordered a body of archers to accompany him clothed in white, with branches of myrtle in their hands, and their bows concealed behind these branches, and that, when they should see Himilco advance in like manner from his camp to sacrifice, they should draw their arrows on him. Pediarchus, having executed this order, Himilco, who had not the slightest suspicion, came out of his camp to offer up victims. Whilst he was occupied in sacrificing and pouring libations, a shower of arrows poured suddenly upon him, and thus he perished."

<sup>a</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. xi. § i. Vol. i. pp. 403, 404.

<sup>b</sup> Id. ibid. § xlv. Vol. i. p. 423.

<sup>c</sup> Plutarch. Apophthegm. p. 175. A. de Serâ Numina Vinctâ, p. 552. B.

<sup>d</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. xi. § xvi. Vol. i. p. 424.

<sup>e</sup> Id. ibid. lib. xx. § xiv. Vol. ii. p. 415.

<sup>f</sup> Polyæn. Strat. lib. i. cap. xxvii. § ii. pp. 53, 54.

CLXVII. *Οἰκῶτι χρεωμένων*] *Which appears to me very probable.* I here read *οἰκῶτι χρεωμένων* with Thomas Gale, MM. Wesseling, Valckenaer, and Reiske. M. Koen corrects *οἰκῶτι*, which comes to the same thing, and is more Ionic. *Εἰκῶτι*, which we find in all the printed and all the Ms. copies, gives no meaning whatever.

*Συρηκούσιοι*] *The Syracusans.* I have followed some Mss., and amongst others that marked B in the Royal Library, where however we read *ὡς Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ Συρηκούσιοι*; in which it is evident that *Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ* is superfluous. All the printed versions have here 'the Carthaginians;' but he had already mentioned them, as they are comprised under the name of Phœnicians. But as the Syracusans did not know what was become of the enemy's general, I lean to the opinion of M. Wesseling, who reads *ἀφανισθέντι δὲ . . . εἶρε τοιοῦτον, εἶρε ἑτέρον, οἷ Καρχηδόνιοι τοῦτο μὲν . . .* In which case, we should translate, "in short, whether he disappeared in this manner, or in some other, the Carthaginians offer sacrifices to him, &c."

CLXVIII. *Τάπερ ἂν καὶ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ*] *Might very well have happened.* The Greek has been ill rendered in Latin, 'quod etiam, ut mihi videtur, contigit.' The potential particle makes a considerable change in the meaning of the sentence, and ought to be expressed.

*Οἱοῖτο μὲν οὕτω διακρούσαντο τοὺς Ἕλληνας*] *They endeavoured to deceive.* *Διακρούω* in the middle voice often signifies 'to deceive;' this is its meaning in the present instance.

The insidious conduct of the Coreyreans had well nigh cost them dear. The Greeks,\* at the end of the war, wished totally to destroy them. Themistocles dissuaded them, by representing to them that if they destroyed all the cities that had not made common cause with them, Greece would suffer greater injury than if the Persians were to conquer it.

CLXIX. *Μητίων*] *In his anger.* In all the editions there is *μητίων*, except that of M. Wesseling, in which we find *μητιον*. M. Wesseling in his note supports this reading only by the Ms. of Saucroft; but it occurs likewise in the Mss. A and D of the Royal Library.

*Ἐκ τῶν Μενέλεω τιμωρημάτων*] *Because of the assistance you gave Menelaus.* The Cretans sent troops to the siege of Troy, under the command of Idomeneus and Merion;† *Μενέλεω τιμωρήματα* are the succours given to Menelaus. See the note of M. Valckenaer. But I should perhaps have done better to translate, 'because of the assistance you gave to avenge Menelaus.' Mention is made of vengeance lower down.

\* Schol. Thucyd. ad lib. i. § cxxvi.

† Homer. *Iliad*. lib. ii, vers. 645 et seq.



CLXX. Δαίδαλον] *Dædalus*. *Dædalus*\* was an Athenian, and great-grandson of Erichtheus. He was an excellent sculptor, and invented many things which contributed to the perfection of his art. He was the first who expressed the looks, and gave to his statues the appearance of animation. Before him they had always been represented with the eyes closed, the hands hanging down and close to the sides. Talos, a nephew on his sister's side, was his pupil. This latter distinguished himself by several inventions, the potter's wheel, the saw, the turning-lathe, &c. But *Dædalus*, jealous of his talents, and fearful of being outdone by him, put him to death. He was for this crime condemned to death by the senate of the Areopagus. He escaped to Crete, where his talents procured him fame and the friendship of Minos the king. But not having been able to maintain his influence, he fled with his son Icarus in a vessel with which the queen furnished him. Icarus having fallen into the sea, in an attempt to leap on shore on an island, was drowned, and gave his name both to the island and the sea.

*Dædalus* then went to Sicily, where he was received by Cocalus, who reigned over that part of the island where he landed. Minos, having heard of the flight of *Dædalus* into Sicily, repaired thither with a considerable fleet, and landed on the territory of Agrigentum, at a town which from him was called Minos. He disembarked his troops, and demanded *Dædalus* of Cocalus. The latter having invited Minos to a conference, promised to give up *Dædalus*, and at the same time offered hospitality to the prince, but, instead of keeping his promise, had him drowned in a bath of excessive heat.

Aristotle, or the author, whoever he may be, of the work entitled *de Mirabilibus Auscultationibus*, p. 100. edit. Sylburg., asserts that *Dædalus* having fled to the islands of the Electrides, which, he says, are situated near the bottom of the Adriatic gulf, placed in one of them a statue of bronze, and in the other a statue of tin. This account appears unworthy of credit: but if there be any ground for believing that there ever was a statue of pewter or tin in one of those islands, I imagine it must be because they were supposed to be near the Eridanus, and that this river was considered to be in the neighbourhood of the Cassiterides, now the Scilly islands. But ignorance is at once the mother and the offspring of fables. See Herodotus, Book III. § CXV.

Ἀροθαρὲν βίατῃ θανάτῳ] *By a violent death*. Zenobius† asserts that whilst he was in the bath, the daughters of Cocalus killed him by pouring boiling pitch on him. Diodorus Siculus says,‡ that Cocalus

\* Diodor. Sic. lib. iv. § lxxvi. Vol. i. p. 319, &c.

† Zenob. Cent. iv. 92. p. 110.

Her. No.

‡ Diodor. Sic. lib. iv. § lxxix. Vol. i. p. 322.

having promised him all he wished, and having offered him hospitality, put him to death by immersing him in a bath of boiling-hot water. Pausanias does not speak of the manner of the prince's death. He contents himself with saying,\* that the daughters of Cocalus esteemed Daedalus so highly on account of his talents, that, to oblige him, they resolved to put Minos to death.

The violent death of this prince suggested to Sophocles his tragedy of 'Minos,' as we see in St. Clement of Alexandria,<sup>b</sup> or the 'Camicoi,' as Athenæus has it,<sup>c</sup> though I suspect that the word must have been altered. For Camicos is the name of the city in Sicily over which Cocalus reigned, and the chorus of the piece must have consisted of the inhabitants of that city, who were called 'Camicioi,' the Camicians. But this name is still more disfigured in Suidas, where we read,<sup>d</sup> Σοφοκλῆς δὲ ἐν Κωμικοῖς. Sophocles wrote both tragedies and satiric pieces; but I am not aware that he ever wrote comedies. The sequel of the article in Suidas proves that he meant to speak of the tragedy of Minos, which was also called 'the Camicians,' and that we must alter the text to ἐν Καμικοῖς, or perhaps ἐν Καμικίοις. See M. Brunck in Catalogo deperditorum dramatum Sophoclis, p. 17.

Πολιχνιτῶν τε καὶ Πρασιῶν] *The Polichnitæ and the Prasii.* The Polichnitæ were the inhabitants of Polichna, and the Prasii those of Præsus. See the Geographical Table.

Κάμικον] *Camicus.* This city took its name from the river<sup>e</sup> Camicus, the current of which was so rapid, that its waters did not mix with the sea, if we may believe Lycus of Rheges.<sup>f</sup> See also the Geographical Table.

Ἰάπυγας Μεσσηνίους] *Iapygo-Messapii.* These Cretans established themselves in Italy under the name of Iapygo-Messapii, in the third generation before the siege of Troy, as we learn from Herodotus in the following paragraph, that is to say, a little less than a hundred years before that war, according to the calculation of our historian.<sup>g</sup> M. Mazochi,<sup>h</sup> however, says that it was three hundred years before. "Cretenses qui postea Iapyges vocati, tribus generationibus, hoc est, annis trecentis Trojæ excidium præcessisse."

The chronologists reckon only about forty-five years between the death of Minos the Second and the taking of Troy; but our author is more to be depended on. See my Chronological Essay on Herodotus, chap. xii. p. 340.

\* Pausan. Achaic. sive lib. vii. cap. iv. p. 531.

<sup>b</sup> Clem. Alexand. Strom. lib. vi. p. 741.

<sup>c</sup> Athen. lib. ix. cap. x. p. 388. F.

<sup>d</sup> Suidas, voc. Πέδικος ἑρπύων. Vol. iii. p. 60.

<sup>e</sup> Stephan. Byzant. voc. Ἀρπύγαιες.

<sup>f</sup> Antigon. Caryat. Hist. Mirab. cap. cxiiv.

<sup>g</sup> Herodot. lib. ii. § cxlii.

<sup>h</sup> Comment. ad Aeneas Tabulas Hercleenses, p. 537.

*Προσέτρισαν μεγάλως*] *Received a powerful check.* "Under\* the archonate of Menon† at Athens, the Romans elected for their consuls, Lucius Æmilius Mamercus and Caius Cornelius Lentulus. A war broke out at that time in Italy, between the Tarentines and the Iapyges, on the subject of their boundaries. For some time none but slight battles were fought, and the belligerents occupied themselves only in pillaging each other; but their enmity, fomented by the frequent murders which occurred, continued to increase, till at length the whole of their forces were engaged in carrying on the war. The Iapyges having armed all their citizens, and called in their neighbours to their assistance, collected an army of more than 20,000 men. The Tarentines learning the strength of this army, assembled all their citizens who were capable of bearing arms, and obtained considerable succours from Rhegium, with which city they were allied. A violent combat ensued, and there was great slaughter on both sides; but the Iapyges at length obtained the victory. The vanquished in their flight separated into two bodies, one of which took the road to Tarentum, and the other that of Rhegium. The Iapyges likewise divided themselves into two bodies, one of which went in pursuit of the Tarentines, and the other after the Rhegians. Those who were in pursuit of the Tarentines, being separated from them only by a short distance, killed a great number of them. The corps which pursued the Rhegians did it with so much ardour, that they entered the city with the flying enemy, and made themselves masters of it."

*Οὗτος δὲκερ ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ 'Ρηγίου*] *Having been obliged to abandon this city.* Pausanias relates that he went and settled at Tégæa after the death of Anaxilas; and upon this, M. Bellanger would have us translate in this passage: 'having lost' by the death of his master, the situation 'he occupied at Rhegium.' I greatly doubt the accuracy of this interpretation. The capture of Rhegium by the Iapyges, as we have just seen in the preceding note, was sufficient to induce Micythus to repair to Tégæa. Moreover, Herodotus would not have failed to mention Anaxilas, if such had been his idea; but by placing the departure of Micythus immediately after the taking of Rhegium, he shows that he considers it as the consequence of that event.

This does not agree with the account of Diodorus Siculus, which is as follows:

"Hiero,\* king of Syracuse, having drawn to his court,† by means of rich presents, the children of Anaxilas, who had been tyrant of

\* Diodor. Sic. lib. xi. § lli. Vol. i. p. 413.

† The fourth year of the 76th Olympiad, *lil. ind.*

\* Diodor. Sic. lib. xi. § lvi. Vol. i. p. 434.

† Diodorus dates this in the second

year of the 78th Olympiad; but Anaxilas having died in the first year of the 76th, it is very probable that it was in that or the succeeding year that Hieron drew to his court the children of Anaxilas.

Zancle, he reminded them of the benefits conferred by Gelon on their father, and advised them, as they were then of mature age, to call to account Micythus, who had administered their property, and to take the reins of government into their own hands. On their return to Rhegium, they demanded of Micythus his accounts. He, being a man of probity, assembled the friends of their father, and in their presence explained his accounts with so much clearness, that all present admired his justice and his fidelity. The young men repenting what they had done, entreated him to resume the government, and to continue in possession of the same authority which their father had enjoyed. But Micythus, instead of yielding to their persuasions, after handing over to them the whole of their property, embarked his own on board a vessel, and left Rhegium amidst the acclamations of the people, who wished him all kinds of prosperity. Having landed in Greece, he went to reside at Tegæa in Arcadia, where he lived greatly respected."

*Ἀνέθηκε τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνδριάντας*] *Consecrated a great number of statues.* "I have met with" a great number of the offerings of Micythus, but they were not in succession. Near the statues of Iphitus, of Elea<sup>b</sup> and Ecechiria crowning Iphitus, we observe the following gifts of Micythus: Amphitrite, Neptune, and Vesta, which are the work of Glaucus of Argos. On the left of the great chapel, we find the statues of Proserpine, daughter of Ceres, of Venus, of Ganymede, and of Diana: those of the poets Homer and Hesiod; and moreover, of the gods Æsculapius and Hygeia. Amongst the gifts of this Micythus, there is an Agon or combatant who holds 'halteres' or counter-weights. These 'halteres' are oblong semi-circles, made in such a manner that they may be held in the hands as a buckler is held. Near the statue of Agon are seen one of Bacchus, one of Orpheus of Thrace, and one of Jupiter, which I have mentioned a little before. These are the work of Dionysius of Argos. They say that this Micythus made other offerings likewise, but that Nero took them away. The masters of Dionysius and of Glaucus, who made these works, are not named. The period at which they lived, however, may be collected from the time of Micythus, who dedicated their works at Olympia: for Herodotus relates in his history, that this Micythus was slave and steward to Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, and that after his death he went to live at Tegæa. The inscriptions which we read on these statues, show that his father's name was Choiros, that Rhegium was the place of his birth, and Messena that of his abode. The inscriptions suppose him at the time at Tegæa. The offerings

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. *Eliae*, prior. *ave lib. v. cap. xxi.* p. 446.

<sup>b</sup> A goddess who presides over trustees and armistices.



which he made at Olympia were votive gifts for the recovery of his son, who was suffering under an attack of phthisis."

CLXXI. Ἀντὶ τοῦτου δέ φη] *For this very reason.* M. Valckenaer reads ἀντὶ τοῦτου δέ, 'et ob id.' This conjecture is supported by the answer of the Pythoness, § CLXIX., and confirmed by the Ms. of Sancerre.

CLXXII. Θεσσαλοὶ] *The Thessalians, &c.* Cornelius de Pauw and M. Wesseling make alterations in this passage, which may be seen in the note of the latter. For my part, I suppress τοῦτων; all then is clear, and the text in accordance with paragraphs CLXXIII. and CLXXIV., in which we see that the Thessalians took part with the Persians only when they found themselves abandoned by the Greeks. If, however, we leave τοῦτων, it must be placed after ὅτι, and we must then translate, 'since they showed that in the beginning they did not approve the intrigues of the Alcæadæ.'

Ἐκ τῶν πολέμαρχων] *One of the Polemarchi.* The Polemarchus\* was a general officer, who in time of war received the orders of the king. He then passed them to the Lochagi, the Lochagi to the Pentecontateres, the Pentecontateres to the Enomotarchi, and the latter to their Enomotii. Each Polemarchus† commanded a Mora.

In time of peace the Polemarchi presided over the Syssitia, and sent to the absentees their portion of the repast, if their absence was properly accounted for. Thus much we learn from Plutarch. The king Agis,‡ on his return from a war in which he had conquered the Athenians, wished to sup with his wife; the Polemarchi refused him his portion, which he had sent to demand. The Polemarchi had other functions also in time of war; but as they are not detailed in any of the authors, I will say no more of them.

It appears from the passage of Herodotus, that the Polemarchi were for the most part of the blood royal.

CLXXV. Ἐν Ἀρtemisiῳ] *Into the Artemisium.* The Artemisium is a branch of the sea. The Athenians,§ alarmed at the arrival of the Barbarians at the Artemisium, sent Agesilaus, the brother of Themistocles, to collect information, though his father, in a dream, had seen him without his hands. Having reached the camp of the Barbarians in a Persian habit, he killed Mardonius, one of the guards of Xerxes, whom he took for that prince. He was immediately seized, bound, and led before the king. That prince was then on the point of sacrificing an ox on the altar of the sun. Agesilaus thrust forth his hand into the flames, and suffered it to be burned, without uttering a sigh or groan. His fetters were then removed; on which he said:

\* Thucyd. lib. v. § lxi. p. 337. vers. 12.

† Xenoph. Lacæd. Respubl. cap. xi. § 12. p. 87.

‡ Plutarch. Vit. Parallel. in Lycurgo, p. 46. C.

§ Id. Parallel. Hist. Græcor. cum Romanis, p. 305. D.



"Whilst we are Athenians, we are all such as you have beheld. If you doubt it, I will put my left hand in the fire." Xerxes, struck with terror, ordered him to be well guarded, as is related by Agatharcides, in the second book of his History of Persia.

This anecdote calls to mind one of Mutius Scævola, with regard to Porsenna, king of the Etruscans, which Plutarch relates immediately afterwards. Though the firmness of this Greek and this Roman may merit praise, we must yet abhor the base assassination which they purposed. Such an action, instead of applause, should call down execration; though the principles of true morality are too well understood in the present day, to render a renewal of such actions at all likely.

The events which have occurred in France in these latter years, however, prove that the principles of morality are wholly insufficient, unless founded on the basis of religion. Religion has been destroyed in all classes of society, and morality has perished with her. Whilst under the influence of religion men were honest, were benevolent; religion annihilated, they have become ferocious savages.

CLXXXVI. Τὰ Χύτροι καλέονσι] *Call chytri*. They were called χύτροι γυναικείοι, or bathing-tubs of the women. The bluest water that I have seen, says Pausanias,\* is that of Thermopylæ. The whole of it, however, is not so, but only that which runs into the reservoir, called by the people of the country 'the women's bathing-tub.'

CLXXXVIII. Τῆς Κηφισσοῦ θυγατρὸς Θυίης] *Thyia, daughter of Cephissus*. "Others<sup>b</sup> say that Castalus, originally of this country, had a daughter called Thyia. She was the priestess of Bacchus, and was the first who celebrated the orgies in honour of that god. The name of Thyiadæ has since been given to all those priestesses who become furious in honour of the god. They think also that Delphus was the offspring of this Thyia by Apollo; but others contend, that the mother of this Delphus was Melæne, daughter of Cephissus."

CLXXXI. Πύθης] *Pythes*. The Abbé Bellanger has written a long note to prove that we should read 'Pytheas,' and not 'Pythes.' But to all his reasoning on the subject, I would oppose the authority of Longinus, who calls him, in the nominative case, Πύθης, Pythes.<sup>c</sup>

Ἐπιβαρέυντρος] *One of those who defended it*. Ἐπιβαρέυν is said of the soldiers who are placed in a vessel to defend it. Ἐπιβάται was the name given to these soldiers at Athens, as is remarked by Porphyrius,<sup>d</sup> as Homer<sup>e</sup> terms παραβάται those who fought in chariots. Lysias<sup>f</sup> also says, οὐδεὶς ποτ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἰσπρατεύσατο, οὔτε

\* Pausan. Messen. sive lib. iv. cap. xxiv. p. 269.

<sup>b</sup> Id. Phocic. sive lib. x. cap. vi. p. 812.

<sup>c</sup> The environs of Parnassus.

<sup>d</sup> Longin. περὶ Ὕψους, sect. xxii. p. 98; ex Edit. J'eaice.

<sup>e</sup> Homeric. Quæst. i. p. lxxxiil.

<sup>f</sup> Homer. Ilind. lib. xiii. vers. 132.

<sup>g</sup> Lysias ἐπὶ Καλλίου ἱεροσυλίας, p. 107. lin. 17. It is not the oration for Callias, but that against Andocides.

ἰσπεύς, οὐρε ἀπλίτης, οὐρε τριήραρχος, οὐτ' ἐπιβάτης. 'He never quitted the city to go to the wars, either as a horseman, or as a heavy-armed soldier; he never commanded a trireme, nor fought in one to defend it.'

Σινδόνος [βυσσίνης] Cotton. I have proved elsewhere that<sup>a</sup> the byssus was cotton. A critic of the first order has objected that the shrub which bears the cotton not being known in Egypt in the time of Prosper Alpinus, except in gardens, it must necessarily have been still more scarce in the time of Herodotus, and he is led to believe, with Hardouin, that it is a species of very fine linen. But this reasoning does not appear to me at all conclusive. It may have happened that this plant was in a great measure destroyed by inundations, especially after Egypt became barbarous. This may have been one of the reasons of its scarcity in the time of Prosper Alpinus, but, I think, is far from proving that it was scarce either in the time of our historian, or anterior to it.

According to my interpretation, the Persians bound up the wounds of Pythes with cotton. We, in like cases, make use of linen. But the Egyptians, to this day, use cotton lint for wounds and ulcers. "Utuntur<sup>b</sup> gossipii lanugine Egyptii, linearum petiarum loco, quibus nostri tantum utuntur, ad ulcera vulneraque omnia sananda."

We find the word byssus more than fifty times in the Septuagint, and in the French translations it is always rendered either 'linen' or 'fine linen.' However, as the translators might have observed that the word 'linum' is also mentioned in the Bible, they should have inferred that there was a distinction between them. See note 11. on § LXXXVI. Book II. p. 396. and also the excellent Dissertation of the learned and ingenious Dr. Forster 'de Byssu antiquarum.'

CLXXXII. Τοῦ μὲν σκάφους] *Of this vessel, which had lost her masts and rigging.* Naūs is properly a vessel with her rigging; σκάφος a vessel without it. Let us see what the learned Coray says in his notes on M. Levesque's translation of Thucydides, Vol. I. p. 382. "When the Greeks join the words σκάφη νεών, there is no periphrasis; but the first word signifies only the hull of the vessel, without masts, sails, cordage, &c. just as we see them on the stocks, or as they sometimes appear, when disabled, after a battle. It is in this sense that the words are used by Æschylus:

Ὑπτιοῦτο δὲ  
Σκάφη νεών, θάλασσα δ' οὐκ' ἦν ἰδεῖν  
Ναυγίων πλήθουσα καὶ φόνου βροτῶν.

Pers. vi. 416.

Neither need we seek for any periphrasis in verse 392. of the Rhe-

<sup>a</sup> Note 11. on § LXXXVI. of Book II. p. 396; and note 1. on § CVI. of Book III. p. 597.

<sup>b</sup> Prosper. Alpin. de Plantis Egypti, p. 60.

sus of Euripides, καὶ νεῦν πρήσων σκάφη. It is actually the hulls of the vessels that Rhesus wishes to burn, because he has no sailors, and they are useless to him. But there is a passage of Herodotus which decides this question positively. In speaking of a naval action between the Athenians and the Persians, he says, αἱ μὲν δὴ δύο τῶν νεῶν, &c. γ. λ. Is it not clear that he applies νεῖς to the two vessels taken with their equipage and all their rigging; that he gives the same name to the third, ἡ δὲ τρίτη, as long as it was pursued; and that he afterwards, when it had struck near the mouth of the Peneus, and lost all its rigging, calls it σκάφος?"

Παρά πυρσῶν] *The signals.* Torches of wood \* were elevated upon the walls, to announce the arrival of an enemy, or even of friends. When they were held steady, it indicated friends; but when waved about, an enemy.

Ἡμεροσκόπους] *Hemeroscopi.* Those who kept watch during the day. These Hemeroscopi \* leave the city before day-break, and repair to the place where they are to keep watch, and return to the city at night-fall. They sometimes remained out all night, and then made their signals to the citizens by fires, which in the day-time was done by smoke.

The Hemeroscopi \* were required to be swift runners, in order that, if any thing occurred which they could not communicate by signals, they might carry the intelligence themselves. Their various functions are given in detail by Æneas, an ancient author who wrote on Tactics, in his 6th and 7th paragraphs.

CLXXXIII. Στήλην λίθον] *A column.* This rock was probably level with the surface of the water, and a column was erected on it, to warn ships to avoid it. Herodotus no doubt alludes to this, when he says, a little lower down, that the fleet set sail as soon as all impediments were removed.

CLXXXIV. Τὸν μὲν ἀρχαίων] *Ancient troops.* He understands the contingent furnished by the different Asiatic nations, exclusive of the Persians, the Medes, and the Saci, in contradistinction to those raised in Europe, in the countries through which the army passed.

Ἐλεν] *Which would make.* We may remark that *elen* was the Attic form, which the Ionians had preserved from the language of their ancestors.

CLXXXV. Βορριάδαι] *The Bottiæi.* The Bottiæi were Athenians by origin, and were descended, according to Aristotle,<sup>4</sup> in his Republic of the Bottiæi, from those children whom the Athenians sent to Minos in Crete by way of tribute. These children grew up in

\* Suidas, voc. φρουροί, Vol. iii. p. 636.

\* Turneb. Advors. lib. xxvii. cap. vii.

\* Æneas Poliorcet. § vi. p. 1651.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch in Theseo, p. 6. F; 7. A.

that island, earning their bread by the sweat of their brow. The Cretans, in fulfilment of a vow, sent to Delphi the flower of their citizens, to whom the descendants of these Athenians were added. As they could not subsist in that place, they went first into Italy, and settled in the neighbourhood of Iapygia; they thence passed into Thrace, where they took the name of Botticæ. Hence the burden of the song of the young girls, in their solemn sacrifices, 'Let us go to Athens,' &c.

CLXXXVII. *Χοίνα*] *A chœnix*. The chœnix, says Philemon in a work that has never been printed,\* signifies both the measure and the thing measured.

"Ἐνδεκα μυριάδας μεδίμνων τελομένης . . . καὶ πρὸς, τριηκοσίου τε ἄλλου μεδίμνου καὶ τεσσαράκοντα} *One hundred and ten thousand three hundred and forty medimni*. There are forty-eight chœnices in one modinus. The 110,340 medimni give us to understand that there were 5,294,320 men in the Persian army. This army, however, did not amount to so many by 1,300,000. There is, therefore, an error either in the number of medimni, or in that of the army: but whosoever it may be, is not of much consequence.

CLXXXVIII. *Προκρύσσαι ἐς πόντον*] *The prow turned towards the sea*. These vessels were arranged one behind the other, like the steps of an amphitheatre, their prows all turned towards the sea. This is what is signified by *πρόκρυσσαι*. See the Ionic Lexicon of Æmiliius Portus. The expression is similar in Homer, τῷ ῥα προκρύσσαι ἐρυσαν. They drew their vessels on shore, one a little behind the other, with their heads turned towards the sea. Homer delights in imitating Homer.

*Πολλοὶ ἄνεμος ἀπὸ λῶρης*] *A strong east wind*. This wind coming from the Hellespont, should be north-north-east; and yet Herodotus calls it Apeliotes, which is certainly the east wind. The more I reflect on this expression, the more I am impressed with its impropriety. When our ancestors were describing the boundaries of their possessions, they were more precise. They would say, for instance, this faces the sun-rise in summer, and that his rising in winter. Had they simply said the sun's rising, without specifying whether it was in winter or summer, such want of precision would have led to incessant disputes. I am therefore obliged to conclude, that though the eight principal points of the wind might be known in the time of our historian, their various names were not become familiar.

The ancients at first knew but four winds. Eight others were afterwards added; but that appearing too minute a distinction, they contented themselves with adding only four. Pliny thus speaks of them:†

\* See the Lexicon of Apollonius, p. 839. note 7. col. 1. lin. 9.

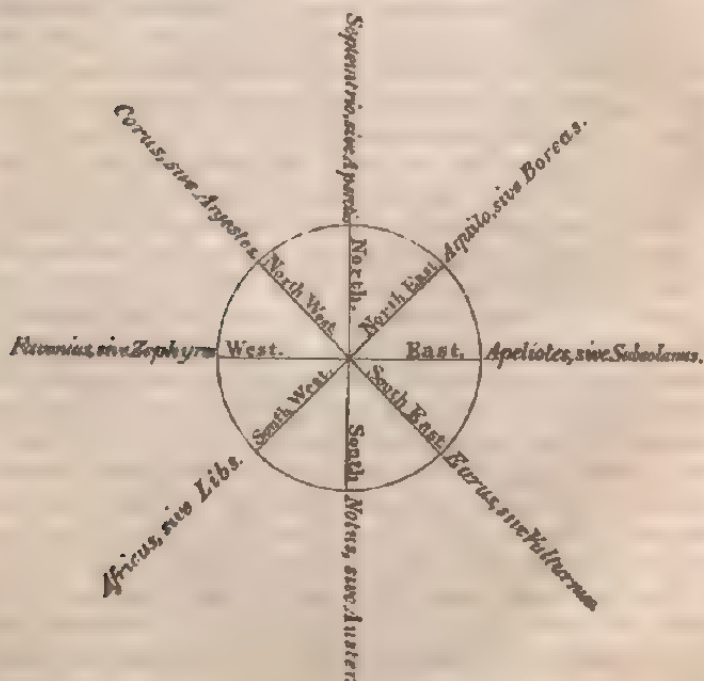
*Her. No.*

† Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xviii. cap. xxiiv. Vol. ii. pp. 143, 146.

*Vol. II.*

3 I

"Diximus ut in mediâ lineâ designaretur umbilicus. Per hunc medium transversa currat alia. Hæc erit ab exortu æquinoctiali ad occasum æquinoctialem: et limes, qui ita secabit agrum, decumanus vocabitur. Ducantur deinde aliæ duæ lineæ in decusseis obliquæ, ita ut a Septemtrionis dextrâ lævâque ad Austri dextram lævamque descendant. Omnes per eundem currant umbilicum, omnes inter se pares sint, omnium intervalla paria.... Ita cœli exactâ parte, quod fuerit lineæ caput Septemtrioni proximum a parte exortivâ, solstitialem habebit exortum, hoc est, longissimi diei, ventumque Aquilonem, Boream Græcis dictum.... Ex adverso Aquilonis ab occasu brumali Africus flabit, quem Græci Liba vocant.... Tertia a Septemtrione lineæ, quam per latitudinem umbre duximus, et decumanam vocavimus, exortum habebit æquinoctialem, ventumque Subsolanum, Græcis Apeliotem dictum.... Favonius, ex adverso ejus, ab æquinoctiali occasu, Zephyrus Græcis nominatus.... Quarta a Septemtrione lineæ, eodem Austro ab exortivâ parte proximâ, brumalem habebit exortum, ventumque Vulturum, Eurum Græcis dictum.... Ex adverso Vulturii flabit Corus ab occasu solstitiali et occidentali latere Septemtrionis, Græcis dictus Argestes.





"Veteres" quatuor omnino servavere, per totidem mundi partes, (ideo nec Homerus plures nominat): hebeti, ut modo judicatum est, ratione. Secuta ætas octo addidit, nimis subtili et concisâ: proximis inter utramque media placuit, ad brevem ex numerosâ additis quatuor. Sunt ergo bini in quatuor cœli partibus: ab Oriente æquinoctiali Subsolanus, ab Oriente brumali Vulturius: illum Apelioten, hunc Corum Græci appellant. A meridie Auster, et ab occasu brumali Africus: Noton et Liba nominant. Ab occasu æquinoctiali Favonius, ab occasu solstitiali Corus; Zephyrum et Argesten vocant. A Septemtrionibus, Septemtrio: *interque cum et exortum solstitialem, Aquilo; Aparctias et Boreas dicti.*"

The words in Italic characters appear to me corrupt. Pliny says that the 'Aquila' is between the north and the summer rising. The summer rising being the north-east, it should follow that the 'Aquila' is the north-north-east. But Pliny here speaks only of eight winds; and if he here intended the north-north-east, he would be anticipating what he has to say afterwards. We know, moreover, from Aulus Gellius, that the 'Aquila' is the north-east, which "ab æstivâ et solstitiali Orientis metâ venit; Latine Aquilo, Boreas Græce dicitur." I therefore read in the passage of Pliny, "*juxtaque cum ad exortum solstitialem*" . . . The Hellespontias is the same with the Cæcias, that is to say, the north-east, as Hardouin, in his notes on Pliny, calls it; but I am rather for calling it the north-north-east. "Numerosior ratio" interjecerat . . . Cæciam, media inter Aquilonem et exortum æquinoctialem, ab ortu solstitiali . . . Cæciam aliqui vocant Hellespontiam."

See also the comparative table of the winds of the ancients with those of the moderns, at the end of the first volume of Hippocrates, de Aëribus, Aquis, et Locis, translated by M. Coray.

'Αρακράσσαιτες] *By drawing them on shore.* No translation either in Latin, or in any modern tongue, explains ἀρακράσσαιτες τὰς νῆας, to my satisfaction. It was the custom of those times to drag the vessels on shore, when either a tempest or an enemy was apprehended. 'Αρακράω signifies, 'I draw up.' The proof that they had drawn them on shore is, that they surrounded them<sup>d</sup> with a high palisade, to secure them from the attacks of the Thessalians; and to express their re-launching them, Herodotus uses the verb κατακράσσαιτες τὰς νῆας, which shows that they drew them down, that they drew them from off the shore into the sea. 'Αρακράσσαιτες τὰς νῆας is the same as ἐκ τῶν ἀνελκῶν ἐρῶναι, which Homer uses on a similar occasion. He-

<sup>a</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. ii. cap. xlvii. Vol. i. p. 96.

<sup>b</sup> Aulus Gellius Noct. Attic. lib. ii. cap. xlii. p. 161.

<sup>c</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. ii. cap. xlvii. Vol. i. p. 96. lin. 23.

<sup>d</sup> § cxci.

Herodotus uses also ἀνελκύσαι and καθελκύσαι. See note 2. to § 118. and note 1. to § c. of this Book.

CLXXXIX. Βορρὴ ἔχει γυναῖκα Ἀττικὴν] *Boreas married an Athenian.* Astræus had \* by Aurora four sons, Argestes, Zephyrus, Boreas, and Notus. Some have taken Boreas for a wind, others for a prince of Thrace. This Boreas, who carried off Orithyia, says Hesagoras, in his *Megarica*,<sup>4</sup> was not the wind, but the son of Strymon. Most people, however, confound one with the other, and make of Boreas, sometimes a prince, sometimes a wind.

This Boreas went from Thrace to Attica, whence he carried off Orithyia, daughter of Erechtheus, sixth king of Athens; he took her to Thrace and married her. By this marriage, he became the son-in-law of Erechtheus, and the Athenians considered him as an ally, because he was the son-in-law of one of their kings.

We can scarcely comprehend how men so enlightened should have believed that the daughter of one of their kings should have inspired a wind with a passion, and should have had children by it, viz. Zetes and Calais, who joined Jason in his expedition in search of the Golden Fleece. This fable had obtained credit in an age of ignorance, and had become traditional amongst the people. The learned knew perfectly well how to regard these things; but they made superstition instrumental to the happiness of a people, whom it would have been dangerous to enlighten.

In not believing this fable, says Socrates,\* I should imitate wise men, and withhold my sanction from an absurdity. I should then explain it, by saying that Orithyia, playing with Pharmacia, was driven violently against the rocks by Boreas (the north-east wind), and that dying in consequence, she was said to have been carried off by this wind.

However absurd this fable may be, it was not confined to the city of Athens. The inhabitants of Thurium testified their devotion to this wind, and reckoned no less than those of Athens on its assistance. Delivered from † a great danger by a wind which destroyed the fleet of Dionysius the tyrant, with whom they were at war, they offered sacrifices to this wind, conferred on it the right of citizenship, assigned it a chapel with a fixed revenue, and annually celebrated a festival in honour of it. The Megalopolitans did nearly ‡ the same thing.

Ἱερὸν παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἰλισσοῦ] *A chapel on the banks of the Ilissus.* Festivals § were celebrated in honour of Boreas, and the people re-

\* Hesiod. Theogon. vers. 278.

† Schol. Apollonii ad Argonaut. lib. i. vers. 211. p. 23.

‡ Plato in Phædro, Vol. iii. p. 229. C.

§ Allan. Var. Hist. lib. xii. cap. lxi.

Vol. ii. p. 827, &c.

\* Pausan. Arcad. sive lib. viii. cap. xxvi. p. 673.

§ Hesych. voc. Βορραῖος.

galed on those days. These festivals were called *Ropæσμολ*. On the banks of the Ilissus, and near\* the temple of Diana Agræa (the huntress) was an altar of Boreas.

CXC. *Παιδοφόρος*] *His children had been killed.* The expression of Herodotus is somewhat ambiguous. Plutarch understands it to mean, that Aminocles<sup>d</sup> had killed his children, and hence takes occasion to reproach Herodotus with his malignity, in having dragged Aminocles on the scene, merely for the purpose of imputing to him the murder of his children. But we cannot absolutely say that Herodotus meant this. His words, it is true, are very equivocal; but Plutarch, who is usually so discreet, should have shown more candour, and not have suffered himself to be carried away by his hatred of our historian. Paulmier de Grentemesnil seems to me to have completely justified Herodotus.<sup>e</sup> See also my remarks, note 85. on § xxxix. of the Treatise on the Malignity of Herodotus by Plutarch, appended to the original of this work.

CXCI. *Ἔστομα ποιέοντες*] *By sacrificing victims.* *Ἐντέμνω* signifies 'I sacrifice,' and is most frequently followed by the thing sacrificed, in the accusative. *Ἐν Λακεδαιμονίῃ τῷ φονικωτάτῳ θεῷ Ἐνναλίῳ σκύλας ἐντέμνουσι.* 'At Lacedæmon little dogs are sacrificed to Mars, the most sanguinary of all the gods.' Hence *ἐστομή* generally signifies a sacrifice in which the victim is slain, and *ἐστομος* the victim sacrificed.

\* Καί μιν καδαίνοντες, ὑπὸ ἐνέφας ἔστομα μῆλων  
Κεῖται, ὀρινομένης ἀλὸς οἰδματι.

'Towards night, they burned in honour of Dolops the sheep which they had sacrificed on the shores of the stormy sea.' See note 1. on § cxix. Book 11.

*Ἔστομος* cannot therefore be said of human victims, unless some peculiar circumstances affix that meaning to it. I do not, then, see why Gronovius should have translated 'humanis sacrificiis,' or why M. Wesseling has suffered this interpretation to remain in his edition. Thomas Gale has also rendered this passage incorrectly, 'incisiones faciendo.'

*Ἔστομα* is properly<sup>f</sup> applied to sacrifices made in honour of the infernal gods, or of the dead, because the victim was slain in a pit: whereas, when an animal was sacrificed to the celestial gods, the head of the animal was drawn back, αἶ ἐρυσσεν, as Homer expresses it, so

<sup>d</sup> Plato in Phædro. Vol. iii. p. 229. C

<sup>e</sup> Plutarch. de Herodoti Malignitate, p. 871. B.

<sup>f</sup> Exercitationes in optimos fere Auctores Græcos, p. 37.

<sup>g</sup> Plutarch. Quest. Roman. 290. D.

The Latin translation, 'Catulos insecabant,' is faulty.

<sup>h</sup> Apollon. Rhod. lib. i. p. 14. in aversâ parte, vers. 21.

<sup>i</sup> Scholiast Apollonii, p. 121. in aversâ parte, lin. ult.

that it might look up to heaven, and in that position it was slaughtered. See the Scholiast of Apollonius Rhodius on the verse above quoted.

*Ἀπασα ἡ ἀκτὴ ἢ Σηπιάς ἐκείνης*] *The coast of Sepias was consecrated to her.* This coast<sup>a</sup> was consecrated to Thetis, because that goddess, when endeavouring to escape from the pursuit of Peleus, changed herself, on the spot, into a 'sepia,' or cuttle-fish, in Greek Σηπία. This fable conferred the name of Sepias on this coast and its promontory.

CXCIII. *Κάμψαντες δὲ τὴν ἀκρὴν*] *Doubled the promontory.* Κάμψαι τὴν ἀκρὴν, to double the promontory, or pass round it without damaging the vessel. Κάμψαι τὴν νύσσαν means, to turn round the winning-post without damaging the chariot. Horace has expressed this in his first Ode, 'Metaque servidis evitata rotis.'

Hence the term is used metaphorically, *Πόλεις τ' ἔχουσαι διὰ λόγου κάμψαι κακά.* 'Cities being able by conferences to avoid evils.'

*Καὶ τῶν συνεταίρων*] *And his companions.* The association of the Argonauts occasioned the Magnesians to celebrate a festival which is spoken of by Hegesander. "I know<sup>a</sup> the festival celebrated in Magnesia, and which is called Heteridia: this name is not derived from *ἑταῖραι*, courtezans, but from another source, as mentioned by Hegesander in his memoirs, in the following terms. The Magnesians celebrate the festival of the Heteridia. They relate that Jason, the son of Æson, having assembled the Argonauts, was the first who sacrificed to Jupiter Heterian, (that is to say, associated,) and who gave to this festival the name of Heteridia. The kings of Macedon celebrate a festival under this name."

*Τῆς Ἀργεῖς*] *The ship Argo.* This, according to the Scholiast of Apollonius Rhodius,<sup>d</sup> was the first long-shaped vessel that was ever constructed. Navigation must have been known to the Greeks before this time; but as the expedition to Colchis was the first voyage of any importance which they undertook, and as the vessel constructed for the purpose was the largest that had been then seen in Greece, the origin of navigation was by some referred to this epoch. The Tyrians, however, had before performed voyages of considerable length, and the invention of navigation is commonly attributed to them.

*Prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyros.*

TIBULL. lib. i. Eleg. viii. vers. 7.

Two centuries before the expedition of Jason, Cadmus of Tyre had arrived in Greece; and Danaus had gone thither twenty years before

<sup>a</sup> Scholiast. Apollon. Rhodii ad lib. i. p. 572. D, E.

vers. 582. p. 121. in aversâ parte, lín. 13.

<sup>b</sup> Euripid. Suppl. 748.

<sup>c</sup> Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. xiii. cap. iv.

<sup>d</sup> Scholiast. Apollonii Rhodii ad lib. i.

vers. 4. p. 106. lín. 15.

in a vessel called, from his name, *Danaë*.<sup>a</sup> The vessel of the Argonauts took its name from Argus, the son of Phrixus, as Pherocydes<sup>b</sup> has it, but the son of Areator, according to Apollonius Rhodius.<sup>c</sup> This vessel appeared to the Greeks so wonderful, that they were persuaded that Argus had been instructed by Minerva herself, and that he had worked under her direction.

<sup>d</sup> Ἄργος τε θεᾶς ὑποεργῶς Ἀθήνης.

Catullus also attributes the construction of it to that goddess.

<sup>e</sup> Diva quibus retinens in summis urbibus arces  
Ipsa levi fecit volitantem flamine currum,  
Pinea conjungens inflexæ texta carinæ.

See Book I. § 11. note 2; Book IV. § CLXXIX. note 2.

Ἡρακλῆς καταλειφθῆναι] *Abandoned Hercules*. Different opinions prevail as to the place where Hercules was left. That of Herodotus appears the most ancient, and was also that of Hesiod,<sup>f</sup> as we find in his poem called 'the Wedding of Ceyx.' Apollonius Rhodius<sup>g</sup> says, he was put on shore at Cios in Mysia; Dionysius of Mitylene, that he went on to Colchis, and distinguished himself there; Antimachus, that he was landed in Lydia, because he was too heavy for the vessel; Ephorus, that he remained voluntarily in Lydia with the queen Omphale, &c.

Ἀφῆται] *The name of Aphetae*. Aphetae signifies the place from which you depart. See the Geographical Table.

CXCV. Ἀλαβάνδων] *Of Alabanda*. The Latin translator has rendered Ἀλαβάνδων by 'Alabandensium.' It is certain, however, that the word is the name of the town, and not of its inhabitants. A citizen of Alabanda was called Ἀλαβανδῆς, which in the genitive plural makes Ἀλαβανδίων.

CXCVI. Καὶ τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἵππου] *That of the Thessalians*. Τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἵππων is the Thessalian cavalry. Ἴππος, in the feminine, generally signifies cavalry. Portus gives several examples of it in his Ionic Lexicon. I make the remark, only because M. Bellanger was mistaken in this point. He makes Herodotus to say: "In his march through Thessaly he wished to exercise his mares in racing, and to prove how good the Thessalian mares were; for he had been told that they were the best in Greece."

<sup>a</sup> Scholias. Apollonii Rhodii ad lib. I. vers. 4. p. 106. lin. 15.

<sup>b</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>c</sup> Apollon. Rhod. lib. i. p. 10. in aver-  
sâ parte, vers. 2.

<sup>d</sup> Id. ibid. p. 8. vers. 23.

<sup>e</sup> Catull. de Nuptiis Pelei et Thetides, vers. 8.

<sup>f</sup> Schol. Apollon. Rhod. ad lib. i. vers.  
1290. p. 145. in aversâ parte, lin. 15.

<sup>g</sup> Id. ibid. lin. 9.



CXCVII. Τὸ ἱερὸν] *The consecrated place.* The term here used by Herodotus, usually signifies a place consecrated to some divinity. In the same paragraph, he calls it ἄλσος, a sacred wood, and *ρίμενος*, a portion of consecrated ground. Pausanias\* also calls it *ρίμενος*.

Λαφυστίου Διός] *Jupiter Laphystius.* It was to this god<sup>b</sup> that Phrixus sacrificed the ram with which he had escaped; and even to this day, says the Scholiast<sup>c</sup> of Apollonius Rhodius, one of the descendants of Phrixus enters the Prytaneum, agreeably to the law, and offers sacrifices to this god. This place, consecrated to Jupiter Laphystius, was either in Achaia or Phthiotis.

At the distance of twenty stadia<sup>d</sup> from Coronea was the mount Laphystius, where there was a spot consecrated to Jupiter Laphystius. A statue of the god in stone is seen there. Phrixus and Helle being on the point of being sacrificed on this spot by Athamas, it is said that Jupiter sent them a ram, whose fleece was of gold, and upon which they escaped.

Jupiter, surnamed Laphystius, was, according to Kuhnus,<sup>e</sup> the protector of fugitives. Λαφύστιος signifies, one who is in a hurry. Λαφύσει Σπεύδει, says Hesychius. But I rather think that the god obtained this name from mount Laphystius, in Boeotia, where he was adored. The Etymologicum Magnum remarks,<sup>f</sup> that this mountain gave to Bacchus likewise the name of Laphystius. See the Geographical Table, Art. LAPHYSTIUS.

Λήϊρον δὲ καλεῖσσι] *Which they call Leitus.* This word comes from λαός, 'populus,' which in the different dialects was written λεώς, or λῆός: hence λάϊρον, λείρον, λείρον, λῆϊρον, λῆτον. We have elsewhere<sup>g</sup> spoken of the Prytanea, which were a sort of common-hall or town-house.

Κυτίσσου] *Cytissorus.* Phrixus had two sons, Cytissorus and Phrontis, mentioned by Apollonius Rhodius.<sup>h</sup> But in all the editions of that author, the name is written Cytisorus, though contrary to the measure of the verse. M. Brunck is the first who restored the true reading from a Ms.

CXCVIII. Τῷ ὀνόματι Δύρας] *Which is called Dyrras.* Κεῖμαι signifies here, and very often elsewhere, 'sum,' I am.<sup>i</sup> Ἐνὶ μὲν οὖν γῆς ὅρθ' ἔκειθ' ὀρίσματα . . . 'Whilst the walls of the city were whole, whilst they were standing.' Ἐνὶ δὲ ἀξιώμασιν ἥρωσι κειμένους. 'Heroes raised to honours.'

\* Pausan. Boeotic. sive lib. ix. cap. xxiv. p. 778.

<sup>b</sup> Id. Azic. sive lib. i. cap. xxiv. p. 56.

<sup>c</sup> Ad Argonaut. lib. ii. p. 168. in avo-  
ca parte, lin. 21.

<sup>d</sup> Pausan. Boeotic. sive lib. ix. cap. xxiv. p. 778.

<sup>e</sup> In notis ad Pausan. Attic. p. 56.

<sup>f</sup> Etymologic. Magn. 557. lin. 61.

<sup>g</sup> Book i. § cxlvi. note 5.

<sup>h</sup> Apollon. Rhod. lib. ii. vers. 1159. or edit. Brunck. 1155.

<sup>i</sup> Euripod. Hecub. vers. 16.

<sup>j</sup> Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. i. cap. xi. init. p. 13. C.

CC. Δήμητρος Ἀμφικτυονίδος] *Ceres Amphictyonis*. The assemblies of the Amphictyons were held twice a year, in the spring and in the autumn. That in the spring was held at Delphi,<sup>a</sup> as is mentioned in two decrees preserved by Demosthenes, and by Strabo.<sup>b</sup> That of the autumn was held near 'Anthela, in the temple of Ceres Amphictyonis. This religious assembly was the most solemn in all Greece. The Pylagon<sup>c</sup> at its opening offered sacrifices to Ceres; and hence probably the name given to this temple. See Book v. note 4. on § LXXI.

Ἀμφικτυόνος] *Of Amphictyon*. Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion, as we learn from Apollodorus,<sup>d</sup> from Pausanias,<sup>e</sup> and from the Oxford Marbles,<sup>f</sup> and not of Hellen, as we find in Dionysius of Halicarnassus,<sup>g</sup> reigned first<sup>h</sup> at Thermopylæ. Having shortly afterwards passed into Attica, he married a daughter of Cranaus.<sup>i</sup> This ambitious prince drove out his father-in-law, and reigned in his place twelve years. It was during his reign in Attica and Thermopylæ that he conceived and executed<sup>j</sup> the project of assembling the people bordering upon Thermopylæ, and giving them the name of Amphictyons. "This prince," says Dionysius of Halicarnassus,<sup>k</sup> "finding the Hellenic nation weak and incapable of resisting the Barbarians by whom it was surrounded, obliged it to have a peculiar council, and to hold a solemn assembly, called, from his name, Amphictyonic. Besides the laws of each city, he established some which were common to them all, and which were also called Amphictyonic: thus cementing the bonds of friendship amongst the Greeks. By making the ties of consanguinity from thenceforth to consist rather in deeds than in words, they became formidable to the Barbarians."

The assertion of this historian, which is contradicted by facts, would induce us to consider the Amphictyonic assembly as the states-general of Greece: an opinion that has been fully refuted by M. de St. Croix, in his work entitled, '*des Anciens Gouvernemens Fédératifs*.'

The temple dedicated to this prince shows that, at the time of Herodotus, he was considered as the institutor of the assembly of the Amphictyons. Strabo,<sup>l</sup> however, attributes the merit of it to Acrisius. But the Scholiast of Euripides, who no doubt had some sources of

<sup>a</sup> Demosth. pro Coront., p. 166. segm. 275, 276.

<sup>b</sup> Strab. lib. ix. p. 643. C.

<sup>c</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>d</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>e</sup> Apollod. Bibl. lib. i. cap. vii. § ii.; lib. iii. cap. xiii. § vi.

<sup>f</sup> Pausan. Phocic. seu lib. x. cap. viii. p. 813.

<sup>g</sup> Marmora Oxon. Epoch. v. et viii.

<sup>h</sup> Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. lib. iv. § xiv. p. 220. lin. 28.

<sup>i</sup> Apollod. Bibl. lib. iii. cap. xiii. § vi. p. 223, Marmora Oxon. Epoch. v.

<sup>j</sup> Pausan. Attic. seu lib. i. cap. ii. p. 7.

<sup>k</sup> Marmora Oxon. Epoch. v.

<sup>l</sup> Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. lib. iv. § xiv. p. 220.

<sup>m</sup> Strab. lib. ix. p. 643. B.

information which have not reached us, proposes a middle course, which appears to me to obviate the difficulty. "The inhabitants of Delphi,"<sup>a</sup> says he, "being at war with their neighbours, caused Acrisius to come from Argos . . . who, in imitation of the Amphictyonic council established by Amphictyon, son of Deucalion, at Thermopylæ, instituted another at Delphi."

This historical fact, which we find no where else, reconciles Strabo with Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and with the author of the Oxford Marbles. These two assemblies were in the sequel merged into one, which was held alternately at Thermopylæ and at Delphi.

Or it may be, that there was originally but one assembly of the Amphictyons, established by Amphictyon, and that having degenerated, Acrisius restored it to its former consequence: hence he may have been considered the institutor.

CCII. *Θεσπίων τε ἑτρακόντι, καὶ Θηβαίων τετρακόντι*] *Seven hundred Thespians, and four hundred Thebans.* Pausanias<sup>d</sup> says that the Boeotians furnished 700 men, Thebes and Thespiæ 400. This passage is corrupt; M. Valckenaer has properly corrected it. Had the Abbé Gedoy<sup>n</sup> compared the text of Pausanias with this passage of Herodotus, it would have been easy for him to restore it.

The author of the Oration against Neæra, which is placed among those of Demosthenes, attributes<sup>e</sup> to the Plateans what all the other authors unanimously say of the Thespians. What he says of them is the less probable, as the Plateans, being under the protection of Athens, would naturally follow the standards of Themistocles, rather than those of Leonidas.

CCIII. *Λοκροὶ τε οἱ Ὀπουντιοὶ*] *The Locrian-Opuntians.* Pausanias thinks that we may arrive at the number of troops furnished by this people by conjecture. "The Athenians," says he,<sup>f</sup> "at the battle of Marathon, did not amount to more than 9000 men, including the slaves, and even such as were scarcely of a fit age to bear arms. The troops of the Locrians who came to Thermopylæ, could not therefore exceed 6000 men." This reasoning appears to me far from conclusive. Diodorus Siculus reckons only 1000 Locrians,<sup>g</sup> which is the more likely.

CCIV. *Ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδης, τοῦ Λέοντος, κ. τ. λ.*] *He counted amongst his ancestors Anaxandrides, &c.* In the Greek, 'he was son of Anaxandrides, son of Leon,' &c. Leonidas was of the family of the Agidæ. Herodotus traces back his genealogy to Hercules.

<sup>a</sup> Schol. Euripid. ad Orest. vers. 1093. p. 90.

<sup>b</sup> Pausan. Phocic. sive lib. x. cap. xx. p. 846.

<sup>c</sup> Demomth. p. 740. scgm. 149.

<sup>d</sup> Pausan. Phocic. sive lib. x. cap. xx. p. 846.

<sup>e</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. xi. § iv. Vol. i. p. 407. lin. 89, 90.

<sup>f</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. xi. § iv. Vol. i. p. 407. lin. 89, 90.

CCV. Ἀνδρας τε τοὺς κατεστεῶτας] *The fixed and permanent corps.* M. Bellanger had translated this, 'all of full age, and of immoveable courage.' Here are two different significations of one and the same word. The first approaches pretty nearly to the explanation given by M. Wesseling. That critic thought that κατεστεῶτας was equivalent to the οἱ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ of Demosthenes,<sup>a</sup> 'those who had attained to manhood, or the age of bearing arms.' I know that καθεστηκῆν ἡλικία bears this meaning; but I doubt greatly whether it can be given to οἱ κατεστεῶτες, which appears to me to indicate a fixed and permanent body; and if I mistake not, this body was that of the 300 knights. If we admit the explanation of M. Wesseling, τοὺς κατεστεῶτας ρηηκοσίους would signify, on account of the article prefixed, the 300 men of age to carry arms. But did Sparta produce no greater number of men capable of bearing arms? On the subject of these knights, see Book VIII. § CXXIV. note 2.

Μεγάλης κατηγορήτο] *They were strongly accused.* This verb is here taken impersonally. See the Ionic Lexicon of Æmilius Portus, at the word κατηγορήτο.

Ἀλλοφρονέοντες] *Though they had bad intentions.* The Greek literally is, 'though they thought differently.' In fact, they thought one thing and did another. They leaned to the Persians, yet gave assistance to the Greeks. Diodorus Siculus says,<sup>b</sup> that there were two parties at Thebes, one of which sent 400 men to Thermopylæ.

CCVI. Κάρνεα] *The festival of the Carnia.* The Carnia were celebrated at Sparta<sup>c</sup> for the space of nine days, in honour of Apollo. This festival, according to the Chronicle of Sosimus, cited by<sup>d</sup> Athenæus, was instituted in the 26th Olympiad. "All the Dorians had a peculiar veneration for Apollo Carnius. It was occasioned by the circumstance of Carnus of Acarnania having received from that god the gift of divination. The diviner being killed<sup>e</sup> by Hippotes, the son of Phylas,<sup>f</sup> Apollo<sup>g</sup> inflicted vengeance on the whole camp of the Dorians. Hippotes was banished for this murder. And from that time the Dorians resolved to appease the manes of the prophet of Acarnania. This Apollo is not the same who is surnamed 'Carnius Domesticus.' The latter was adored in the house of the soothsayer Crius,<sup>h</sup> at the time when Sparta was in the hands of the Achæans.

<sup>a</sup> Demost. pro Corin. p. 170. argum. 315.

<sup>b</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. xi. § iv. Vol. i. p. 407.

<sup>c</sup> Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. iv. cap. is. p. 141. F.

<sup>d</sup> Id. lib. xiv. cap. ix. p. 635. F.

<sup>e</sup> Pausan. Lacon. sive lib. iii. cap. xiii. pp. 238, 239.

<sup>f</sup> He was taken for a spy.

<sup>g</sup> One of the Heracids. See the Scholiast of Theocritus ad Idyll. v. vers. 83. He

was the father of Aletas, to whom the Heracids gave up Corinth, thirty years after their return to the Peloponnesus.

<sup>h</sup> The plague appeared in the Peloponnesus. The oracle of Apollo having been consulted, answered that they should adore Apollo Carnius. See the Scholiast of Theocritus, *ibid.*

<sup>i</sup> Before the return of the Heracids, as Pausanias says, p. 238.



We find, from the poetry of Praxilla, that Carnus was the son of Europa,\* and that he was brought up by Apollo and Latona. Another reason is assigned for this surname of the god.<sup>d</sup> The Greeks cut, upon Mount Ida in the Troad, some of the cornel-tree (*κρᾶνελος*) from a wood sacred to Apollo, for the purpose of constructing the wooden horse. Hearing that the god was incensed against them, they endeavoured to appease him by sacrifices, and by a slight alteration, or metathesis, surnamed him Carnius.<sup>e</sup>

The worship of Apollo Carnius\* passed from the Spartans to the Thereans, and from them to the Cyrenseans and Asbyti.

The Scholiast of Theocritus affirms that the colonies of the Peloponnesus celebrated this festival on account of the plague. The Argians had given to Carnus the surname of Hogetor, that is to say, the conductor, because that diviner marched at the head of the army of the Heraclidæ. This honour was conferred on soothsayers in the earliest ages of Greece. We know that Calchas was at the head of the expeditions of the Greeks against Troy. There are still other reasons assigned for the institution of this festival, which I have not thought it worth while to detail here.

CCIX. *Τὰς κεφαλὰς κομίζοντας*] *They dress their hair.* Long hair distinguished a free man from a slave. When the Lacedæmonians were about to encounter the greatest dangers in defence of their liberty, they paid attention to their hair; but it was very different from that effeminate care which occupies the time of so many persons, and constitutes so large a portion of their merit. Plutarch agrees with Herodotus on this point. He adds, that Lycurgus<sup>d</sup> used to say that long hair added grace to a fine man, and rendered such as were ugly still more frightful.

The Lacedæmonians suffered their hair to grow only from the time of their victory over the Argians.<sup>e</sup>

CCX. *Ἐν ἡμέρᾳ δὲ ἡ σύμβολή δι' ἡμέρας*] *Lasted the whole day.* *Δι' ἡμέρας* is the whole day, *δι' ἔτεος* the whole year. In like manner as *δι' ἐνιαυτοῦ*, which is explained by Harpocration *διὰ θλαντοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ*. The Abbé Bellanger had translated, 'the battle was fought in broad day.'

CCXIII. *Ἐπιτάτης*] *Ephialtes.* Calhades<sup>d</sup> and Timaphernes, the most powerful men amongst the Trachinians, had joined their forces to the troops of Xerxes. We therefore cannot be surprised that a Trachinian should point out to that prince a path known only to the people of the country. The action of Ephialtes, properly speaking,

\* The Scholiast of Theocritus adds, that he was the son of Jupiter and Europa, and beloved by Apollo.

<sup>d</sup> The Scholiast of Theocritus says nearly the same.

\* Callim. Hymn. in Apoll. vs. 72 et seq.

<sup>d</sup> Plutarch. in Lycurgo, p. 53. D, E.

\* Herodot. lib. i. § lxxxii. See Book i.

note 6. on § lxxix.

/ Ctesias, Persic. § xiv.



was not treason. In the original, it is written 'Ἐπιάλης, and in the Latin translation, Ephialtes. It should be translated 'Ephialtea.' Ephialtes is an Ionism. "The Ionians," says Gregory,<sup>a</sup> archbishop of Corinth, "prefer the soft to the hard breathing. They say ἀπιγμέτοι, ἀπιcorre, ἀπηλιώρης, &c." This is perfectly correct, and accordingly all those who used the common dialect, have always written Ephialtes. "A Trachinian,<sup>b</sup> named Ephialtea, pointed out to the Persians a narrow path of the mountain."

Τὴν ἄρσων τὴν διὰ τοῦ ὄρεος φέρουσαν] *The path which leads.* The Greeks term a narrow path ἄρσων, and it is thus that Herodotus always designates the path which the traitor Ephialtes pointed out to Xerxes. This name, common to all footpaths, became afterwards proper to this particular one. Appian, speaking of the victory obtained by the Romans over Antiochus at Thermopylæ, thus expresses himself: "Antiochus caused the summit of the mountains to be occupied by the Ætolians, lest the Romans, taking the path named Atrapos, should turn his flank before he was aware of it."<sup>c</sup>

The Gauls,<sup>d</sup> a perfidious nation, who respected neither the rights of men nor those of religion, wishing to penetrate into Greece in order to plunder the temple of Delphi, found themselves stopped at the pass of Thermopylæ. This defile was defended by the Athenians, who had hastened thither to save Greece, notwithstanding the state of weakness to which they were reduced by their reverses in the wars with the Macedonians. They were commanded by Callippus, son of that Olbiades whose portrait had been placed, on account of his personal merit,<sup>e</sup> in the senate of Five Hundred, amongst those of the Thesmothetæ or legislators, which were the work of Protogenea. The Athenians repelled the Barbarians; but the latter being acquainted with the narrow path which Ephialtes of Trachis had pointed out to the Persians 201 years before, broke through the Phocidians, who were charged with the defence of it, and having passed Mount Œta before the Greeks perceived them, surrounded the Athenians. The latter showed themselves, on this occasion, worthy of their ancestors; they sustained with firmness the shock of the Barbarians; but, after many heroic actions, they were compelled to take to their ships. The Barbarians marched immediately to Delphi, where the greater part of them perished. Brennus, their commander, died of his wounds a few days afterwards.

It is remarkable that the Phocidians on this occasion proved them-

<sup>a</sup> Gregorius de Dialectis, p. 185.

<sup>b</sup> Polyæn. Strateg. lib. vii. cap. xv. § v. p. 637. Conf. Strab. lib. i. p. 20. A; Pausan. Attic. sire lib. i. cap. iv. p. 11. lin. 3.

<sup>c</sup> Appiani Histor. Syriac. p. 168.

<sup>d</sup> Pausan. lib. i. cap. iv. p. 10.

<sup>e</sup> Id. lib. i. cap. iii. p. 10.

<sup>f</sup> Id. lib. i. cap. iv. p. 11.

selves as deficient in courage as their ancestors had done two centuries before. See the Chronological Canon, year 4435.

Τῶν Πυλαγῶρων] *The Pylagori*. The Pylagori were not the principals of the Amphictyonic council, as Hesychius asserts. The Hieromnemons, as charged with the concerns of religion, took precedence of them; but I have discussed this point more fully in note 4. on § LXII. Book v., where I have spoken at length of the Pylagori. The term Amphictyons is more general. It includes the Pylagori, the Hieromnemons, in a word all those who composed this council. Those who would be more particularly informed on these points, will do well to consult Potter's *Archæologia Græca*, lib. i. cap. xvi. It must be remarked, however, that he considers the words Pylagori and Amphictyones as meaning the same thing, which is not exactly the case. All the Pylagori were Amphictyons, but all the Amphictyons were not Pylagori. See also the excellent work of M. de St. Croix, on the Ancient Federative Governments.

Τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐν τῇ Πυλαίῃ] *The general assembly of the Amphictyons*. Πυλαία is the name of the assembly of the Amphictyons at Pylæ or Thermopylæ. Σύνοδος is understood. See Book v. note 4. to § LXII. and Book vii. note 2. to § CC.

Τῶν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι σημανέω] *Of which I shall speak afterwards*. He does not however mention them in any other place, that I am aware of. This therefore is a promise which either Herodotus has not kept, or the whole of his writings have not reached us.

CCXIV. Ἐπιόλη τῷ Τρηχινίῳ] *Of Ephialtes the Trachinian*. Herodotus here calls him a Trachinian, as do most of the authors; in the preceding paragraph, he had called him a Melian. But this is the same thing: Trachinia was a part of the district Melis.

CCXVI. Μελάμπυγόν τε καλούμενον λίθον] *The rock called Melampygyus*. This,\* the daughter of the Ocean, had two sons, who insulted passengers. Their mother advised them to wrong no one, for fear of falling into the hands of some man with black buttocks (some Melampygyus), and being punished for their insolence. Hercules having one day met them, tied them together by the feet, and took them up on his shoulders with their heads downwards, under his lion's skin. These two brothers remarking that Hercules had hairy buttocks, burst into a fit of laughter. Hercules, on learning the cause of their mirth, untied them and let them go.

Suidas relates the same story, with some variations, which make it less probable.

Κερκύπων] *The Cercopes*. The Cercopes were banditti. There were some of them at Ephesus, in the time of Hercules, according to

\* Zenob. Adag. Centur. i. § x. p. 116, Suidas, voc. Μελαμπύγου τέχνης.

Suidas, under the word ἀγόρα Κερκώπων. This hero also defeated some of their body<sup>a</sup> in Lydia. This appellation was probably extended to robbers of all sorts; and there were doubtless such at this part of Mount Œta. There is a poem on the Cercopes, of which Homer is the reputed author. Herodotus<sup>b</sup> speaks of it in the life of that poet, ascribed to him; as also do Proclus and Suidas,<sup>c</sup> at the word Ὀμηρος. Harpocration, under the word Κέρκωψ, says, that it is seen by the poem of that name, attributed to Homer, that the Cercopes were false and deceitful men. It appears from Plutarch, that they were a ridiculous kind of persons who sought to flatter Hercules. "I am indignant, said Agis of Argos to Alexander,<sup>d</sup> to see you, who esteem yourselves the sons of Jupiter, take pleasure in flatterers and buffoons. Hercules was delighted with the Cercopes, Bacchus with the Sileni, and similar persons are honoured by you."

CCXVIII. Ἀρχῇ] *Express*. This word, taken adverbially, is very common with Herodotus. It signifies 'absolutely,' 'precisely,' 'entirely.' It is not found in this sense either in Homer or in Hesiod; but we often meet with it in writers subsequent to Herodotus.

CCXIX. Ἐπὶ δέ] *Afterwards*. I read with Valla ἐπὶ δέ, instead of ἐπει δέ. M. Valckenaer is of the same opinion. Ἐπὶ δέ<sup>e</sup> is said for ἐπὶ τοῦτοις, 'post hæc autem,' 'deinde vero.'

Ἀσπράδοι] *Deserters*. Diodorus Siculus mentions only one. "There was in the army," says he, "a certain Tyrastidas of the city of Cyme. As he was a person of honour and probity, he fled from the camp during the night, came to Leonidas and his band, and imparted to them the machinations of Ephialtes."

CCXXII. Θεσπίαις δὲ καὶ Θηβαίοις] *The Thebans and the Thespians*. Diodorus Siculus<sup>f</sup> speaks only of the<sup>g</sup> Thespians; Pausanias<sup>h</sup> says that the Mycenians sent to Thermopylæ eighty men who shared in that glorious action; and in another place,<sup>i</sup> that all the allies retired before the battle, except the Thespians and the Mycenians.

CCXXIII. Ἐν ἀγορῇ κοῦ μάλιστα πληθύειν] *When the market-place is usually full of people*. That is to say, about the third hour of the day. The division of the day commenced with sun-rise, and ended with sun-set. The space before noon was divided into six hours, and that after mid-day into as many. The summer hours were therefore

<sup>a</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. iv. § xxxi. Vol. i. p. 276.

<sup>b</sup> Vita Homeri Herodoto tributa, § xiv.

<sup>c</sup> Proclus in vita Homeri, sub finem.

<sup>d</sup> Plutarch. de Adulatoris et Amici discrimine, p. 60. B. C.

<sup>e</sup> Eustath. in Iliad. lib. i. p. 162. lin. 5. a fine.

<sup>f</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. xi. § viii. Vol. i. p. 410. lin. 24.

<sup>g</sup> Id. ibid. § ix. p. 410. lin. 46.

<sup>h</sup> The Abbé Terrasson, in a note on this passage of Diodorus, says, that one would suppose that the Thespians were a tribe of Lacedæmon. Nothing can be more unfounded than this observation. Herodotus has said, § cxi. that the Thespians were Boeotians.

<sup>i</sup> Pausan. Corinth. sive lib. ii. cap. xvi. p. 146.

<sup>j</sup> Id. Phocic. sive lib. x. cap. xx. p. 845.

longer than those of winter; and although both in summer and winter the market-place began to fill only about the third hour of the day, yet, considering the difference in the length of the summer and the winter hours, the people assembled much earlier in summer than in winter. In the long days, for example, when the sun rises at four o'clock, according to our mode of reckoning, the market-place would be full about eight o'clock; but when the sun did not rise till eight o'clock, as in the short days of winter, the third hour of the day and that of the market would be about ten o'clock. See the note of M. Duker on § XCII. of the 8th Book of Thucydides, and my 1st note on § CLXXIII. of the 2d Book of Herodotus. It should be remembered, however, that in Greece the sun rises neither so early in summer, nor so late in winter, as in our latitude.

CCXXIV. Καὶ ἕτεροι ὀνομαστοί] *Of distinguished merit.* In the Greek edition of Stephens, there is only καὶ ἕτεροι μετ' αὐτοῦ ὀνομαστοὶ Σπαρτιῶται, as also in several Mss. cited by M. Wesseling, and in the three Mss. of the Royal Library, which I have frequently cited. Gronovius has added in his edition, on the authority of the Medici Ms., πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ οὐκ ὀνομαστοί, which in my opinion gives no meaning. I have therefore preferred the reading of the editions of the Mss. to that of the solitary Medici Ms.

CCXXV. Ὠθισμὸς ἐγένετο πολλός] *The fight was very violent.* I follow the punctuation and reading of M. Valckenaer. See his note. This punctuation is supported also by the Ms. D in the Royal Library, in which we find a comma after μαχεύμενοι, and a point after πολλός, without any after Λεωνίδῳ.

Λεωνίδῳ] *Leonidas.* "Whilst the Lacedæmonians were taking their repast," says \* the author of the lesser Parallels attributed to Plutarch, "the Barbarians attacked them in mass. Leonidas seeing them approach, said to his companions: Dine on; for we shall sup in the halls of Pluto. He rushed upon the Barbarians, and, though pierced by several pikes, he reached Xerxes, from whom he snatched his diadem. After he was dead, the king had his heart taken out, which was found hairy, as Aristides asserts in the first Book of his History of Persia."

Ἐτεροιοῦτο τὸ νεῖκος] *The victory changed sides.* This is termed by Homer ἐτεροαίης.

Ὁ λίθινος λέων] *The lion of stone.* In the following epigram of Simonides, this lion is supposed to speak, as follows:†

"I am the most courageous of animals; he whom I guard, and upon whose tomb I recline, was the most valiant of men. Had he

\* Pseudo-Plutarch. *Parall. min.* p. 306.  
D.

† *Analecta Vet. Poet. Græcor.* Vol. i.  
p. 132. No. xxv.

not possessed my courage, as well as my name, I should not be seen on this tomb."

We find another, from the pen of Lollius Bassus, who lived under Tiberius:—

"Behold, near the rock of Phocis, this tomb. It is the monument of the 300 conquerors of the Medes, who, far from Sparta, have eclipsed the glory of the Medes and of the Lacedæmonians. If you perceive the figure of an animal<sup>b</sup> with a fine mane, say this is the monument of king Leonidas."

[*Ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ*] *In honour of Leonidas.* Such is the true meaning of the words, *ἔστηκε ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ*, as in the following passage of St. Clement of Alexandria:—*Φανocλῆς ἐν Ἐρωσιν ἢ Καλοῖς Ἀγαμέμνονα τὸν Ἑλλήνων βασιλέα Ἀργονίδος νεῶν Ἀφροδίτης ἱερᾶσθαι ἐπὶ Ἀργύνῃ τῇ ἐρωμένη.* 'Phanocles, in his work on the Loves, says, that Agamemnon erected a temple to Venus Argynnis in honour of Argynnus, whom he had loved.' It might, however, be translated, 'erected on the tomb of Leonidas;' and the epigram of Simonides, quoted in the last note, leads us to this meaning.

The bones<sup>c</sup> of Leonidas were brought to Sparta by Pausanias forty years after his death. They were deposited in a tomb opposite the theatre, and every year a funeral oration was pronounced at this place, and games were celebrated, in which none but Spartans were allowed to contend.

If this Pausanias is the same who gained the battle of Platæa, there is an error in the figures, and we should read 'four years after his death:' for it is certain that Pausanias died in the year 477 before the vulgar era, and that the battle of Thermopylæ was fought 480 years before the same era. If this Pausanias were a different person from him who gained the battle of Platæa, our author should have mentioned it. The commentators have said nothing on this point, and the translator Godeyn has never fancied that there was the slightest difficulty in the text.

[*Καὶ στόματι*] *And their teeth.* "What shall we say to this hyperbole?" asks Longinus. "How could men defend themselves with their hands and their teeth against armed soldiers? . . . And yet the circumstance is not improbable, because the hyperbole does not seem to have been studied, but to arise naturally out of the subject itself."

This anecdote, which appears hyperbolical to Longinus, does not strike me in that light.

<sup>a</sup> *Analecta Vet. Poët. Græcor.* Vol. ii. p. 162. No. ciii.

<sup>b</sup> Of a lion.

<sup>c</sup> *Clem. Alex. Cohortat. ad Græcos.* Vol. i. p. 32. lin. 20.

<sup>d</sup> *Pausan. Laconic. sive lib. iiii. cap. xiv.* p. 240.

<sup>e</sup> *Longin. περὶ ὕψους, sect. xxxviii. p. 204. ex edit. Tallii.*



This mode of fighting was not uncommon with the Lacedæmonians. For want of arms, they used their nails and their teeth. Cicero himself had been a witness of this. "Adolescentium" grege Lacedæmone vidimus ipsi, incredibili contentione certantes pugnis, calcibus, unguibus, morsu denique."

Boileau has very happily rendered this passage of Herodotus. But Dacier in his notes on Boileau is not equally fortunate. He makes alterations in the text, which are not authorised by any Ms., and are in themselves ridiculous. He thinks it very strange that the Persians, who were lightly armed, could have approached the Spartans, who were well armed, near enough to have been collared and bitten. He omits to notice that Herodotus says, that such of the Lacedæmonians as had arms used them, and that the rest fought with their naked hands and their teeth. This was not a combat carried on from a distance, but a close engagement of man to man. But, says Dacier, what proves that they did fight from a distance, is that Herodotus observes that the Persians buried them under a multitude of arrows, and he appeals to the testimony of Diodorus Siculus. Dacier, however, forgets that the Persians were pushing forward. Those who directly encountered the Lacedæmonians, fought man to man; those who were further off, shot their arrows. This futile criticism arises from his not having consulted the Mss., in almost all of which we find *τοῖσι αὐτέωσι*, which perfectly answers to the *ἑαυτοῖς αὐτέωσι* of Longinus, as we read in the edition of Zach. Pearce, after excellent Mss. See also the note of M. Toup, p. 367. of his edition of Longinus, 8vo. As to the authority of Diodorus Siculus, it can have very little weight, as his account of the action is altogether different. I shall give it in the succeeding note.

*Οἱ βαρβάροι*] *The Barbarians.* Diodorus Siculus relates these circumstances differently. "The Persians," says he,<sup>b</sup> "having made a circuit and overcome the difficulties of the mountain road, immediately enclosed Leonidas and his troops. Though the Greeks had no hope of escape, they all panted for glory, and unanimously implored their general to lead them against the enemy, before the Persians could be aware that part of their troops had effected the passage. Leonidas, delighted with their ardour, counselled them to take their repast in haste, as men who were resolved to sup in the halls of Pluto. He himself set them the example. And in this he was right, as it was the only way to keep his forces together, and to inspire firmness to meet the danger. When they had taken a hasty meal and were all ready, Leonidas ordered them to rush on the camp of the enemy, to kill all

<sup>a</sup> Tuscul. Quæst. lib. 7. § xxvii.

<sup>b</sup> Diod. Sic. lib. xi. § ix. et x. Vol. i. pp. 410, 411.

who should oppose their passage, and to penetrate even to the tent of the king.

"Having locked themselves together, they attacked the Persian camp in the night, according to the orders they had received. Leonidas marched at their head. The Barbarians, astonished at this unforeseen attack, ran out of their tents in tumult and disorder. They imagined that the troops conducted by the Trachinian,<sup>a</sup> had been destroyed, and that they were engaged with the whole force of the Greeks. Leonidas and his soldiers slew a great number of them, and many more perished by the hands of their own troops, being taken in the confusion for enemies. The darkness of the night, which concealed the real state of things, together with the terror that pervaded the whole camp, occasioned a dreadful carnage. Not having any opportunity of distinguishing friend from foe, the Persians killed one another. Their minds were in too great disorder to wait for orders from the general, or even to ask the pass-word. Had Xerxes remained in his tent, the Greeks might easily have killed him, and thus promptly have ended the war. But Xerxes had hastily left it, on the first alarm. The Greeks having entered it, killed nearly all they found there; and so long as night continued, they ranged from one end of the camp to the other, seeking the king. But when day appeared, and discovered the actual state of things, the Persians, perceiving that the Greeks were few in number, despised them; still they dared not attack them in front, for they dreaded their courage; but having completely surrounded them, they killed them all, with their arrows and javelins. Such was the end of Leonidas and of the troops who guarded with him the pass of Thermopylæ."

CCXXVI. *Ἡθόμενον πρὸς τοὺς τῶν Τρηχυνίων*] *Having heard a Trachinian say.* Cicero,<sup>b</sup> from a failure of memory, has attributed this saying of the Trachinian to a Persian, as M. Wesseling observes in his note. Davies has also noticed it in a note on the passage of Cicero.

CCXXVIII. *Τοῖς κείνων νόμοις*] *Their laws.* Thus I translate the original; although it is well known that the laws of Lycurgus were called *νόμοι*. Cicero has rendered this passage in his *Quæst. Tusculanæ*, "Dum sanctis patræ legibus obœquimur." M. Wesseling thinks that the orator had rather in view the epigram of Simonides of Ceos, in which we read *κείνων νόμοις*. But in the Mss. of the Palatine Library, whence the learned Salmasius borrowed his various readings,<sup>c</sup> we find *νόμοις κείνων*, and thus M. Brunck has

<sup>a</sup> Ephialtes.

<sup>b</sup> Cicero, *Tuscul. Disputat.* lib. I. § xli.

<sup>c</sup> *Remarques sur Cicéron*, par M. le Président Bouhier, p. 240.

printed it.\* The reading τοῖς καὶ τὰν νόμων καθέμενοι is found also in the Anthologia, the edition of Ascensius, 1531, fol. 130.

The ingenious and learned author of the Ancient Federative Governments has translated,† 'for having obeyed their institutions,' because the Lacedæmonians, says he in a note, had no written laws. That is true, and perhaps I should have done well to conform my translation to his remark. I flatter myself, however, that he will not be displeased at my taking the liberty of observing that it is precisely because the laws of Lycurgus were not written, that Simonides calls them νόμα, 'verbal laws,' 'oral laws.' The term νόμος, which is the proper word for designating these laws, comes from the same root as νόμα; but he could not bring it into his verse. M. De St. Croix probably had only met with the common editions of the Anthologia. I give the Latin version of these two inscriptions by Grotius:

#### SIMONIDÆ.

##### *De iis qui mortui sunt ad Thermopylas.*

Tar Decies centum pagnarunt millibus istis  
Ex Pelopis terra corpora mille quatuor.

#### EJUSDEM.

##### *De iisdem.*

Nos hic esse sitos Sparta: dic, quæsumus, hospes,  
Dum facimus prompto corde quod ipse jubet.

Σιμωνίδης ὁ Ἀκαρπύρειος] *Simonides, son of Leoprepes.* There were several poets of the name of Simonides. The one above mentioned has composed many works, the titles of which may be seen in the Bibliotheca Græca of Fabricius, Vol. i. p. 565, &c. M. Brunck, in his *Analecta*, Vol. i. p. 120, &c. has collected all that remain of the verses attributed to Simonides. He of whom Herodotus speaks was born in the third year of the 55th Olympiad, as Suidas informs us that he died in the 78th Olympiad, aged 89. M. Reiske,\* in his *Anthologia* of Constantine Cephalas, expressly denies the correctness of this date, and pretends to prove, by two inscriptions of the same Simonides, that that poet was alive in the third year of the 82nd Olympiad. The first, which is quoted by Diodorus Siculus<sup>d</sup> and by Aristides, mentions the victories of the Athenians near the river Eurymedon, and refers to the third year of the 77th Olympiad, as may be

\* *Analect. Vet. Poët. Græc.* Vol. i. p. 131. No. xxx.

† *Des Anciens Gouvernemens Fédératifs*, p. 40. note 1.

\* In *Notitiâ Poëtarum*, p. 300.

<sup>d</sup> *Diodor. Sic. lib. xi. § lxx.* Vol. 2. p. 451.

seen by a reference to that author. It is found also in the 1st Vol. of the *Analecta*, p. 134. No. XLVI. The second, which is in p. 135. of the *Analecta*, No. LI., contains nothing to indicate on what occasion it was composed. These two latter inscriptions are from another Simonides, posterior to the poet above mentioned. I am therefore led to conclude, that in the absence of other proofs we must adopt the opinion of Suidas, and the rather, as it is in conformity with the Oxford Marbles, Epoch. LVIII.

CCXXX. Ἀγγελὸν πεμφθέντα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου] *The army having deputed him.* This was the little army posted at Thermopylae. I make this remark, because M. Reiske thought it was that of the Isthmus: but Aristodemus was one of the 300. See *Miscell. Lipsiens. Nova*, Vol. VIII. p. 492.

CCXXXII. Ὦς ἡττήσατο] *Finding himself dishonoured.* He might have answered Leonidas, as another prince did on a similar occasion: I followed you in order to fight,\* and not to carry your messages.

CCXXXIII. Ἐφόνευσαν Ἰλαρίται] *Was killed by the inhabitants of that city.* This happened at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war. The Thebans<sup>b</sup> caused rather more than 300 men to enter Plataea in the night, with the view of taking possession of it. The Plateans at first surrendered, but, perceiving afterwards how<sup>c</sup> few the enemy were, they attacked them, killed the greater part of them, and then put to death the prisoners, to the number of 180, amongst whom was Eurymachus.

CCXXXV. Πάντα ὁμοίως στόλον] *Every naval armament.* What Chilo dreaded happened in the Peloponnesian war. The Athenians<sup>d</sup> took possession of the island of Cythera, and greatly annoyed the Lacedaemonians.

CCXXXVI. Γνώμην ἔχων . . . μὴ ἐπιλέγεσθαι] *Do not disturb yourself.* The usual reading is as given above. M. Wesseling saw that we ought to read γνώμην ἔχε, 'take resolution,' 'think.' This reading is found in the Ms. D of the Royal Library. I am as much in favour of that of the Ms. B, γνώμην ἔχω. If we adopt this, we must translate, 'I am of opinion that you should not disturb yourself.' Ἐπιλέγεσθαι often signifies to disturb or disquiet one's self. See note I. to § CXLIIX.

Οὐδὲ ἀνιένται] *They will not repair.* M. Wesseling reads ἀνιένται instead of ἀνιένται, which makes no sense. This conjecture is confirmed by the Ms. B of the Royal Library, in which we read

\* Plutarch. de Maliguitate Herodoti, p. 866. C.

<sup>b</sup> Thucyd. lib. ii. § ii.

<sup>c</sup> Id. ibid. § iii. iv. v.

<sup>d</sup> Id. lib. iv. § lvi.

ἀντιένναι. The grave accent placed over ἀν decides that the copyist made two words of it.

CCXXXVII. Συμβουλευόμενον τε ἂν συμβουλεύσει τὰ ἄριστα] *If the latter consults him.* There is a very sensible difference between the active and the middle verbs; a difference which most of the lexicons have omitted to point out, but which has been noticed by Stephens. Συμβουλεύω signifies to give advice, συμβουλεύομαι to take advice, or to consult. See Kuster, de Verbis Mediis.

Ἐχεσθαι τινα κελύω] *Let all persons abstain, &c.* I read ἔχεσθαι with M. Wesseling and two Mss., one in the Imperial Library of Vienna, and the other in England. Περιέχεσθαι can never signify 'to abstain;' and it is only on the authority of this single passage of Herodotus, that Stephens has given it this signification in his Thesaurus Linguae Graecae.

CCXXXVIII. Ἐτέλεσε ἀναστάνῳσαι] *And fixed his body on a cross.* The bones of Leonidas<sup>a</sup> were brought from Thermopylae by Pausanias<sup>b</sup> forty years after his death. His tomb was near that of Pausanias, opposite to the theatre. Funeral orations were annually pronounced in honour of these great men over their tombs, and games were celebrated in which Spartans only were permitted to contend. A column stood also on the same spot, upon which were engraved the names of the warriors who maintained the struggle against the Persians at Thermopylae, and those of their fathers.

The Abbé Gedoy<sup>n</sup> has the 'Lacedaemonians' instead of the Spartans, which is a proof that he translated from the Latin. It is, however, a gross error. Lacedaemonian is a generic term, embracing the whole nation, not only the inhabitants of Sparta, but also of the territory of that city. Spartan is a specific term, which designates the inhabitants of that city in particular. All the Spartans were Lacedaemonians, but all the Lacedaemonians were not Spartans; and the latter enjoyed privileges which were not shared by the former.

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Lacon. sive lib. iii. cap. xiv.    <sup>b</sup> See note on § cxxv. in p. 449. p. 240.



## NOTES ON HERODOTUS.

### URANIA. BOOK VIII.

I. Ἀθηναῖοι] *The Athenians.* The Athenians had 180 vessels in all, as we find hereafter, § xliν. Fifty-three others had joined them. See § xiv. Diodorus Siculus assigns<sup>a</sup> them 200; but perhaps he meant only to speak in round numbers.

Πλαταιέες συνεπλήρου] *Partly by the Plateans.* The Latin translation is not exact. It gives us to understand that the Athenians furnished the vessels, and the Plateans the troops that manned them. The Plateans furnished the troops conjointly with the Athenians, συνεπλήρου. "The Plateans," says the author of the oration against Nemea,<sup>b</sup> "having no vessels of their own, embarked in our triremes, and fought with us at Artemisium and Salamis."

III. Πρὶν ἢ] *Before.* In all the editions previous to that of M. Wesseling, the reading was πρὶν ἢ in a single word; that critic has restored πρὶν ἢ, after the Ms. of Dr. Askew. This reading is also supported by the Mss. A, B, and D of the Royal Library.

Τὴν Πανσοφίαν ἔβρι] *The arrogance of Pausanias.* The pride<sup>c</sup> of Pausanias, who endeavoured by his pomp to imitate the Persians, irritated the allies. But the equity of Aristides contributed not a little to induce the Greeks to commit the authority to the Athenians. This occurred three years afterwards, i. e. in the fourth year of the 75th Olympiad.

V. Ὡς δὲ οἱ οὐκ ἀνέκτιστο] *This latter gained.* "Eurybiades,<sup>d</sup> astonished at the multitude of the triremes of Barbarians, some of which attacked him in front, whilst others rounded Eubœa, thought of giving up the combat; not that he hoped for any greater advantage from the future, but that he was anxious to avoid the present danger, as is common in like cases, and because he was turning his views

<sup>a</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. xv. § lxxviii. Vol. ii. p. 64.

<sup>b</sup> Demosth. p. 740. segm. 149.

<sup>c</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. xi. § xliν. p. 438; § xliν. p. 439.

<sup>d</sup> Aristid. p. 139. lin. 5. a fine.

towards the Peloponnesus. Themistocles appeared on a sudden, like one of the gods of ancient poetry, stretched forth his hand, and prevented the total ruin of affairs, which had begun to take so disastrous a turn; and finding that he could not persuade Eurybiades by his eloquence, he bought him." He whom the Eubœans deputed to Themistocles to engage him to "remain, and who gave him money from them, was named Pelagon. On the word *ῥοραπε*, which immediately follows, see M. Valckenaer's note.

*Ἀδελμάρου*] *Adimantus*. A man of honour, faithful to his duty, thinks only of the glory which will result from a faithful performance of it; interest is never the motive of his actions. Adimantus, alarmed at the impending danger, wished to abandon the allies, but being gained over by the money of Themistocles, he consented to remain. We cannot therefore be surprised that a man who was to be urged to his duty only by so sordid a motive, should have behaved like a coward afterwards. Such at least was the opinion of the Athenians; although the rest of Greece did not coincide with them. See § xciv.

The following epitaph, from the pen of Simonides, was engraved on the tomb of Adimantus:<sup>b</sup> "This is the tomb of Adimantus, whose counsels procured for Greece the crown of liberty." See also on this Adimantus, note 1. to § xciv. *infra*.

*Ἐλάσθαι δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχον*] *By secretly keeping the rest of the money*. If we believe Phanias of Lesbos, he likewise gave a talent to Architeles of Athens, under the following circumstances. This Architeles commanded the sacred vessel. Not having wherewithal to pay his sailors, he was hastening to return. Themistocles hereupon stirred up his fellow-citizens against him. They rushed instantaneously upon his vessel, and carried off his supper. Architeles was at once astonished, and indignant; but Themistocles sent him some bread and meat in a hamper, at the bottom of which he placed a talent (225*l.*), and sent him word that he might sup at his ease that night, and in the morning pay his sailors, otherwise he would denounce him to the Athenians as a traitor, who had received money from the enemy.

VI. *Μηδὲ πυφύρον ἐκφυγόντα*] *That they would not be able to save one of them*. In the Greek, 'the Persians reckoned that not even the torch-bearer would escape.' Before the use of trumpets<sup>c</sup> in armies, the signal for combat was given by a torch, or flambeau. Those who carried them were consecrated to the god Mars. They advanced at the head of the army, and in the space which was between the two armies waved their torches, and retired without receiving the slightest harm.

<sup>a</sup> Plutarch. in Themist. p. 116. C.

<sup>b</sup> Anaclet. Vet. Poët. Græc. Vol. 4. p. 133. No. xli.

<sup>c</sup> Plutarch. in Themistocle, p. 115. D.

<sup>d</sup> Scholiast. Euripidis ad Phœniss. vers. 1386.

If even a whole army perished in battle, the torch-bearer was always spared, because he was consecrated to Mars. Hence it became a proverbial expression to signify the entire destruction of an army, that 'not even the torch-bearer escaped.' Herodotus is the earliest author in whom this expression is found, which afterwards became so familiar as to pass into a proverb.

VIII. Συλλήτης] *Scyllias*. The name of this skilful diver and swimmer is variously written. In an epigram of Apollonidas \* we find it *Scyllos*; in Pliny and Pausanias, *Scyllis*; and M. Brunck has also *Scyllis*,† no doubt on the authority of the two last-mentioned writers. Androtius painted him 'cutting the anchors of the Persian fleet. This *Scyllias* had his daughter *Cyana* taught‡ the art of diving. During the tempest which overtook the Persians off Mount Pelion, they both plunged under water, tore up the anchors which held the Persian vessels, and thus occasioned considerable damage to their fleet. Statues were erected both to the father and the daughter, in the temple of Apollo at Delphi, by order of the Amphictyons. The statue of *Cyana* was amongst those which Nero carried to Rome.

Σταδίου μάλιστα ἢ τούτου ἐς ὀγδώνοντα] *About eighty stadia*. I think that this means the smaller stadium of fifty-one fathom. Indeed I find eighty of these stadia in M. D'Anville's map. According to this calculation, it would be a league and a half and a little more than half a quarter.

Τὴν τε ναυγήην ὡς γένοιτο] *The particulars of the shipwreck*. They are the particulars of the shipwreck off Mount Pelion, mentioned in Book VII. § CLXXXVIII. Nobody was better able to communicate them to the Greeks than *Scyllias*, as the Persians had employed him to bring up some valuable effects from the bottom of the sea.

With regard to the loss of the 200 vessels which had passed *Euboea*, it was not possible to have intelligence of them so early.

The admirers of the Greek language should remark in this sentence the words ἐσήμετε ναυγήην, ὡς γένοιτο. The particle, joined to γένοιτο, indicates the particulars of the shipwreck. The correction of M. Valckenaer, ὅση ἐγένετο, therefore is unnecessary; besides, this mode of expression is familiar to all the good writers.‡

IX. Ὅτι οὐδεὶς οὐκ ἐπέπλεε] *They saw no one come against them.*

\* Anthol. lib. i. cap. lix. p. 97.

† Analect. Vet. Poet. Græc. Vol. ii. p.

136. No. xvi.

‡ Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxv. cap. xi.

Vol. ii. p. 706. lin. 16.

\* Pausan. Phocic. sive lib. x. cap. xix.

p. 842. It is astonishing that he did not take that pains himself.

† Wytttenbach, Selecta Principum Historicorum, p. 268.

This passage rather perplexed me; but M. Brunck has removed every difficulty. The Greeks set sail at midnight to meet the detachment of the Persians sent to turn Eubœa, and seeing no one come against them, i. e. not seeing this detachment, they went in the afternoon to attack the fleet which was at Aphetæ.

Δείλην ὥσιν] *At three o'clock in the afternoon.* So in the Greek. Hesychius,\* with some other grammarians, understands this of the time near sun-set; but in another place he explains it, ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας μέχρι δύσεως, the time from noon to sun-set. Dion Chrysostom<sup>b</sup> is more precise. After having compared glory to the shadow which sometimes increases and sometimes diminishes, he says that the vain-glorious man is no wiser than Margites, who was gay and sad in the same day. On this occasion, the rhetorician very clearly distinguishes the four parts of the day: πρῶτ', περὶ πλῆθουσιν ἀγορὰν, μεσημβρία, δείλη, ἑσπέρα. Πρῶτ' is the dawn of day, πλῆθουσα ἀγορά is the interval between sun-rise and noon; δείλη then must be the space between noon and sun-set. Another proof that δείλη ὥσιν is to be taken in the sense which I have given to it is, that the Greeks at this hour went against the Persians, an action took place, the Greeks retired, and were not overtaken by night till they were returning to their anchorage at Artemisium. Upon this expression, see note 1. to § CLXXIII. Book II.; and the note on § CCXXIII. Book VII.; as also my translation of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, Book I. Vol. I. p. 76. note 86; and Book VII. Vol. II. p. 218. note 39. The grammarians add, that this expression is peculiar to the Attic authors, and that in the ordinary language, δείλη alone was said in this sense. But Xenophon has used δείλη alone in this sense in the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, Book I. chap. VIII. § V. p. 53; Book II. chap. II. § VII. p. 87., and elsewhere; which proves that the decisions of the ancient grammarians are to be received with some degree of hesitation.

The Abbé Auger has been very wide of the meaning; for he has translated it, 'at the point of day.'

Τοῦ διεκπλόου] *The manœuvre.* Διεκπλοὺς is the manœuvre practised in passing between certain vessels to attack others, by retiring without putting about, and returning to the charge. On this manœuvre, see Book VI. note 2. to § XII.

X. Καρῶνονήσαντες ταῦτα] *This superiority.* In the Greek, 'having remarked these things,' that is to say, these advantages, this superiority. Καρῶρονεῖν does not here signify 'to despise,' but 'to remark, consider, reflect on.' M. Wesseling makes the same obser-

\* Hesychius, voc. δείλη ὥσιν, p. 903.

<sup>b</sup> Dion Chrysost. de Gloria, Orat. II. p. 614.

vation. Notwithstanding which, he leaves the erroneous translation of Gronovius unaltered.

"Ὅσοι δὲ καὶ ἡδομένοι ἦν τὸ γινόμενον] *Those, on the contrary, who were charmed.* Our author might have said, ὅσοι δὲ καὶ ἡδομένοι ἔσαν τῷ γινόμενῳ. But as he had before said, ὅσοι μὲν νῦν ἔσαν εὐνοοὶ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, he has used this expression for the sake of variety. The scholiast of Thucydides<sup>a</sup> remarks, that this syntax is peculiar to Herodotus. It is true that he frequently employs it; but all the Attic authors do the same, and it is commonly found in Xenophon, Plato, Demosthenes, &c. This turn of phrase is not unusual with Latin authors. Tacitus, in his life of Agricola, has said,<sup>b</sup> "Quibus bellum volentibus erat." See also the note of Wasse on Sallust, Jugurtha, § LXXXVI. p. 283.

XIII. Τὸ τέλος οὐκ ἐγένετο ἄχαρι] *They perished miserably.* This expression has been censured by Longinus<sup>c</sup> as weak. Boileau has translated, '*ils firent une fin peu agreable,*' (they met with an end not over agreeable.) This translation gives an air of justice to the criticism of Longinus; but this is rather disfiguring than translating our author. Ἀχαρι, in Herodotus, signifies all that is most distressing. We have seen, Book I. § XLI. συμφορὰ ἄχαρις applied to the murder of a brother; and Book VII. § CXC. he uses the same expression of the murder of a son. To translate 'a misfortune not over agreeable' would be ridiculous, and would not convey the meaning of Herodotus, though sufficiently literal. Antoninus Liberalis<sup>d</sup> terms the incest of a father with his daughter ἄχαρι καὶ ἀθεσμον ἔργον, a horrible action, and contrary to the laws; or if the same strict adherence to the letter be observed, an action 'somewhat disagreeable,' and contrary to the laws. This mode of speaking has passed from the Greeks to the Latins. The first verses of the third Book of Virgil's Georgics are familiar enough:

Quis aut Emrysthen durum,  
Aut insensati necit Boonidis aris?

on which, see the note of the learned and ingenious Heyne. Also the line of Horace, Ode XXVIII. Book I. alluding to Pythagoras:

Non sordibus auctor  
Naturæ varique.

Appian frequently uses the same form of speech; in speaking of people half-burned,<sup>e</sup> who uttered frightful shrieks, he says, οἱ δ' ἡμιφλεκτοὶ, φωνὰς ἀπὸ δαίς ἀφίεντες, literally, 'uttering disagreeable cries.'

<sup>a</sup> Schol. Thucyd. ad lib. iv. § LXXV. p. 283. col. 1. lin. 6.

<sup>b</sup> Tacit. Vit. Agricole, § XVIII.

<sup>c</sup> Longin. rept. Thucyd. sect. XLII. p. 322.

ex edit. Tellii.

<sup>d</sup> Antonin. Liberalis Metamorph. cap. XXXIV. p. 174. Lugd. Bat. 1674.

<sup>e</sup> De Rebus Punicis, § CXXIX.



Homer is the first author who thus expressed himself. As the study of this poet was the basis of the education of the Grecian youth, they thence acquired a familiarity with this turn of phrase, which induced all the writers of the language to adopt it freely. The Latins considered it so well worthy of imitation, that they have been equally profuse in the use of it.

See also Book I. note 1. to § XLI; Book IV. note to § XCV.; and especially the Treatise of Hippocrates, de Aëribus, Aquis, et Locis, translated into French by M. Coray, Vol. II. p. 399. in which the learned translator expatiates on this elegant form of expression.

XVI. 'Εν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ παραπλήσιοι ἀλλήλοισι ἐγίνοντο] *They fought that day with equal forces.* It appears to me that the Latin translator has ill rendered this passage, 'quâ in pugna pari Marte pugnatum est.' If, in fact, the advantage had been equal on both sides, how could Herodotus, a few lines lower down, have said that the Persians lost many more vessels and men than the Greeks? M. Bellanger has interpreted it in the same manner. The Persians were embarrassed by the multitude of their vessels, which could not manœuvre freely in so narrow a space. Their superiority of numbers was therefore of no advantage, and the amount of effective combatants was nearly equal on both sides.

Ἀδούρησαν] *Retired.* The Athenians distinguished themselves the most on the side of the Greeks, and the men of Sidon on the side of the Barbarians. "Glorious Artemisium," says Pindar,<sup>4</sup> in an ode which has not reached us, "Beautiful Artemisium, where the Athenians laid the glorious foundation of liberty." See on this fragment of Pindar, 'Pindari carminum fragmenta,' XLVII. p. 71.

XVII. Κλεινίης ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδου] *Clinias, son of Alcibiades.* Clinias, son of Alcibiades, and father of the celebrated Alcibiades, of one of the most illustrious houses of Athens, was descended from Eurysaces,<sup>5</sup> the son of Ajax. He had married Dinomacha, the daughter of Megacles, whose grandmother Agarista<sup>6</sup> was the daughter of Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon. He counted among his ancestors, Alcmaeon, the grandfather of him who was enriched by Cræsus.<sup>7</sup> Clinias distinguished himself at the battle of Artemisium, and fell in the battle of Coronea, against the Bœotians. He left one son a minor, who was the famous Alcibiades. It is not known how old he was when his father died; but he certainly was not born in the second

<sup>4</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. xl. § xiii. Vol. i. p. 191. E.

414.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch. de his qui acri a Numine puniuntur, p. 552. B.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch. Vit. Parallel. in Alcibiad.

<sup>7</sup> Herodot. lib. vi. § cxx.

<sup>8</sup> Id. ibid. § cxxv.

<sup>9</sup> Plat. in Alcibiade, Vol. II. p. 112. C;

Plutarch. in Alcibiade, p. 191. E.

year of the 84th Olympiad, as Simson says,<sup>a</sup> because his father died in the second year of the 83rd.<sup>b</sup> See the learned note of Valckenaer, who has corrected Simson's mistake, and given some curious details as to this Alcibiades.

XVIII. *Δησμον δὴ ἐβούλευον*] *They deliberated*. There are two readings, each of which is supported by two Mss. If we read *δησμον δὴ ἐβούλευον*, my translation is correct; but if we read *δησμον δὴ ἐβουλεύοντο*, we must translate, 'they resolved to fly.'

XX. *Τὸν Βάκιδος χρησρὸν*] *The oracle of Bacis*. There were three soothsayers of this name; the most ancient was of Eleon in Bœotia, the second of Athens, and the third of Caphya in Arcadia, as we find in the scholiast of Aristophanes.<sup>c</sup> This last was called also Cydus and Aletes, as we learn from Philetas of Ephesus. Theopompus, in the 9th Book of his Philippics, relates many wonderful things of this Bacis, and amongst others, that he purified and cured the Lacedæmonian women who were mad, Apollo having told them to apply to him for purification. Clement of Alexandria<sup>d</sup> reckons but two of this name, one a Bœotian, the other an Arcadian.

Aristophanes speaks very lightly of the oracles of Bacis and of Bacis himself, for he puts into the mouth of Hierocles,<sup>e</sup> "that is true . . . if the nymphs have not deceived Bacis, and if Bacis has not imposed on mortals."

*Βαρβαρόφωνον*] *When a barbarian*. I read *βαρβαρόφωνος* with Valla, Corn. de Pauw, and Reiske.

XXI. *Εἰ παλήσει ὁ ναυτικός σπαρτός*] *Mischances that might occur*. I read with M. Valckenaer, *εἰ τι παλῃσει ὁ ναυτικός σπαρτός*; or we may read with Coray, *εἰ παλήσει ὁ ναυτικός σπαρτός*. This latter critic appeals to the testimony of Thucydides, Book vi. § LXVII. where we find *ἢ ἂν τοῦ στρατεύματός τι παλῇ*, and to the same book, § CIV. But I prefer the conjecture of M. Valckenaer.

XXV. *Ἐπιστρεσθαί*] *They belicved*. The word is often taken in this sense. Although the Helots were dressed differently from the Lacedæmonians, the troops of Xerxes could not distinguish them, and took all the dead for so many Spartans and Thespians.

XXVI. *Ἄνδρες ἄν' Ἀρκάδης*] *Some Arcadians*. I do not think that any author has mentioned the name of the people of Arcadia who passed over to the side of the Persians. I conjecture, with M. Heringa,<sup>f</sup> on the authority of a passage of Vitruvius, that they were the

<sup>a</sup> Chron. Hist. Cathol. complectens ad ann. M. 3502, p. 755.

<sup>b</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. xii. § vi. Vol. i. p. 491.

<sup>c</sup> Schol. Aristoph. ad Pacem, vers. 1071. p. 369, col. 2.

<sup>d</sup> Clem. Alexand. Stromat. lib. i. Vol. i. p. 298, lin. 19, 20.

<sup>e</sup> Aristoph. Pac. 1070.

<sup>f</sup> Adr. Heringa Observ. Critic. Liber singularis, cap. xix. p. 166.

**Caryates.** "Carya\* civitas Peloponnesi, cum Persis hostibus contra Græciam consensit; postea Græci per victoriam gloriose bello liberati, communi concilio Caryatibus bellum indixerunt. Itaque oppido capto, viris interfectis, civitate deletâ, matronas eorum in servitutem abduxerunt: nec sunt passi stolas neque ornatus matronales depone-  
re: uti non uno triumpho ducerentur, sed æterno servitutis exemplo gravi contumeliâ pressæ pœnas dare viderentur pro civitate. Ideo qui tunc architecti fuerunt, ædificiis publicis designaverunt earum imagines oneri ferendo collocatas, ut etiam posteris nota pœna peccati Caryatium memoriæ traderetur." There were in the Peloponnesus two places known by the name of Carya, one in Laconia, the other in Arcadia. The latter was a town of the Pheneatæ. Herodotus, in enumerating the cities and states who took part with the Persians, does not name any city of the Peloponnesus. The anecdote related by Vitruvius agrees very well with what Herodotus says of these Arcadian deserters, and it is of them that we must understand it. It is therefore very probable that Vitruvius has confounded the two cities of the same name; or else it is an error of the copyists, who have written 'civitas Peloponnesi,' instead of 'civitas Pheneatarum.'

Ὀλύμπια ἀγοίεν, καὶ θεωροῖεν ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικόν] *They celebrate the Olympic games, &c.* I shall not undertake to give an account of the Olympic games. Many learned men have done so before me. I will refer the reader principally to the Dissertation on the Olympic Games, by Gilbert West; the first dissertation of Father Corsini, in the work entitled, 'Edw. Corsini Dissertationes iv. agonisticæ;' the Travels in Greece of the young Anacharsis, by the Abbé Barthelemy, Vol. II. chap. XXXVIII. p. 391, &c. 4to. edit. I will not therefore repeat what these learned men have said of them; but will content myself with adding, that these games, instituted by Pæus,<sup>1</sup> Pelops, and Hercules, having been interrupted, were renewed by Lycurgus of Lacedæmon, of the race of Hercules; by Iphitus, sovereign of a small province of Elis, a relation of the Heraclidæ;<sup>2</sup> and by Cleosthenes of Pisa, twenty-seven Olympiads before that in which Coræbus of Elea gained the prize. The names of the conquerors in these games were not inscribed in the registers. They began to be so only in the Olympiad which answers to the year 776 before our era, the Olympiad in which Coræbus obtained the prize. This last Olympiad is considered as the first, and is that from which the Greeks compute their dates.

\* Vitruv. lib. i. cap. i. p. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Phlegontis Tralliani de Olympiis Fragm. p. 126. Eusebii Chron. lib. i. p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Iphitus was descended from Oxylos, (Pausan. Eliacorum prior, seu lib. v. cap. iv.) He was a relation of the Heraclidæ, συγγενής. (Pausan. ibid. cap. iii.)

These games were celebrated at the summer solstice. Such at least is the unanimous opinion of the ancient writers, and of the most learned of the moderns; such as Scaliger, de Emendatione temporum, lib. iv. p. 242.; Petavius, de Doctrinâ temporum, lib. ix. cap. xlviii. Vol. ii. p. 58. wherein he refutes the opinion of an anonymous writer, who pretended that these games were celebrated in autumn; Father Corsini, in the work entitled, 'Dissertationes agonisticæ iv. quibus Olympiorum, Pythiorum, Nemeorum, atque Isthmiorum tempus inquiritur, ac demonstratur;' Dodwell de Cyclis veterum, Dissertat. iv. sect. 14. p. 226. During these games, and even for some time before them and after them, there was a suspension of arms amongst the different people of Greece, that they might all be at liberty to attend the games at Olympia, and return in safety to their countries. This armistice, which was called *ἐκεχειρία*,<sup>a</sup> was represented by the sculptors under the form of a woman crowning Iphitus, for the purpose of expressing the honour which accrued to him from the institution of them, as we see in Pausanias.<sup>b</sup> The same writer had before said,<sup>c</sup> that Iphitus was crowned by the woman Ecechiria. Hence the author of the Index has said, under the word Ecechiria, that she was the wife of Iphitus, and the Abbé Gedoy has therefor<sup>d</sup> translated, "On catering, you see on the right a column, against which Iphitus has his back, together with his wife Ecechiria, who is placing a crown upon his head." We cannot be surprised at this mistake of the Abbé's, whilst his translation abounds with errors infinitely more gross. But what shall we say to M. Gillies, who, in his History of Ancient Greece, has made the same blunder: "After passing the brass gates, you discovered Iphitus crowned by his spouse Ecechiria." Gilbert West has avoided this error, and expressed himself thus:<sup>e</sup> "The Eleans thought proper to distinguish Iphitus, by erecting a statue to him, even in the temple of Olympian Jupiter, with another emblematical figure (for so I take it to have been) of a woman named Ecechiria, (a Greek word, signifying a cessation of arms,) placing a crown upon his head."

*Τὸ ἄεθλον στέφανον*] *A crown of olive.* It was the wild olive-tree, which the Greeks, in their language, term<sup>f</sup> *κόρινθος*, 'olenster.' As the conquerors in the Olympic games were crowned with it, it was called *ἐλαία καλλιστέφανος*, the olive of the beauteous crowns.

XXVII. *Ἀρεσσι ἐνέχοντες αἰεὶ χόλον*] *To whom they had always*

<sup>a</sup> Plot. in Lycurgo, Vol. i. p. 39. E.

<sup>b</sup> Pausan. Eliacor. prior, sive lib. v. cap. xvi. p. 436.

<sup>c</sup> Id. ibid. cap. x. p. 400.

<sup>d</sup> Pausanias, ou Voyage Historique de la Grèce, Vol. 1. p. 432.

<sup>e</sup> The History of Ancient Greece, &c. Vol. i. p. 412.

<sup>f</sup> A Dissertation on the Olympic Games, p. 34.

<sup>g</sup> Pausan. Eliac. prior, sive lib. v. cap. xv. p. 414.



*been very ill disposed.* The Thessalians,<sup>a</sup> originally of Thesprotia, having taken possession of Æolia,<sup>b</sup> afterwards called Thessaly, endeavoured to penetrate into Phocis by the pass of Thermopylæ; but the Phocidians had built a wall there which prevented their incursions. Hence the origin of the hatred between these two nations. It became in time so inveterate, that the Thessalians in one day massacred all the magistrates and tyrants of the Phocidians, and the latter 'beat to death with sticks 250 hostages whom they had in their power. Thus we must understand the passage of Æschines de falsâ Legatione, p. 46. lin. 36.

Τέλλειον τὸν Ἥλειον] *The soothsayer Tellias.* Tellias was the chief of the family of the Telliadei, in which the gift of divination was hereditary. A little further on, (Book ix. § xxxvii.) we find mention made of Hegesistratus, a diviner, of the family of the Telliadei. As the Phocidians were indebted to him for gaining the ' battle, they caused a statue of him to be made by Aristomedon of Argos, and sent it to Delphi, with those of the chieftains and heroes of their country.

This action of the Phocidians might be termed, though not very properly, a *camisado*. I say not properly, because the Phocidians, in whitening themselves and their arms, had no other object than to terrify their enemies, whereas we moderns have no other object in such devices than to recognise each other in the dark. The Phocidians appeared like so many phantoms, and nothing more was necessary to operate on the lively and ardent imaginations of those they had to do with. On a dull and phlegmatic people, such an expedient would have been without effect; more dismal and terrific images would have been necessary to affect them. Thus we see that the Aarii, a people who inhabited that part of Germany now called Silesia, added to the impression produced by their natural ferocity, by art and by the time of their attack, staining their shields, their bodies and their faces black, and choosing the darkest night for their onset. "Ceterum Aarii super vires, quibus enumeratos paullo ante populos antecedunt, truces, insitæ feritati arte ac tempore lenocinantur: nigra scuta, tincta corpora: atras ad prælia noctes legunt: ipsâque formidine atque umbrâ feralis exercitûs terrorem inferunt, nullo hostium sustinente novum ac velut infernum aspectum."

Τὰ ὄπλα] *Their shields.* Ὀπλον is a heavy shield; the defence of the heavy-armed troops, hence called Hoplitæ.

Τετρακοσχιῶν κρατῆσαι νεκρῶν] *Killed four thousand of them.*

<sup>a</sup> Herodot. lib. vii. § clxxvi.

<sup>b</sup> Pausan. Phocic, sive lib. x. cap. i. p.

<sup>c</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. iv. § lxxvii. Vol. I. p. 801.

311.

<sup>d</sup> Plutarch. de Virtutibus Mulierum, p.

<sup>e</sup> Tacit. de Moribus Germanorum, §

xlvi.

244. B.



"No distinguished writer," says Plutarch,\* "has related this action of the Phocian women, though in point of courage it is surpassed by none that ever exalted the female character. It is attested by the sacrifices to this day offered by the Phocians near Hyampolis, and by the ancient decrees. I have given all the particulars of the transaction, in the Life of Daiphantus; but will now advert to what concerns the women. A cruel war existed between the Thessalians and the Phocians. The former massacred in a single day, in the various cities of Phocis, all the magistrates and all the tyrants; the latter beat to death with sticks 250 hostages who were left in their hands: the Thessalians afterwards entered the territory of Phocis, through the country of the Locrians, with their whole force, after having by a public decree forbidden any quarter to be shown to the men capable of bearing arms, and commanding that the women and children should be reduced to slavery. Daiphantus, the son of Bathyllus, one of the three archons, persuaded the Phocians to march against the Thessalians and give them battle; and he likewise persuaded them to collect in one place all the women and children of Phocis, and to surround that spot with wood, leaving guards there with orders to set it on fire, in case their army should be defeated. This measure met with unanimous approbation, except from one man, who said that it was but just to obtain the consent of the women first, or, if that was impossible, to abandon the measure. This decree coming to the knowledge of the women, they assembled, approved it, and crowned Daiphantus for having suggested the measure most conducive to the honour of the country. The children came to the same resolution, in an assembly which they held separately. These matters decided, the Phocians gave battle near Cleonæ, and gained a victory. The Greeks gave to this decree of the Phocians the name of Aponoia, or despair. In commemoration of this victory, the Phocians still celebrate at Hyampolis a festival in honour of Diana, which is the most remarkable of any of their festivals, and is called Elaphebolia." This is a compound word, signifying the action of killing stags with arrows.

XXVIII. [Ἰππὸν αἰρέων] *Cavalry*. The Thessalian cavalry was famous.\*

XXXI. Τὴν Δωρίδα] *Doris*. In the Greek, ἡρεπ, which may seem to relate to τὰς Φωκίδος χώρης, Phocis, of which Herodotus had just been speaking; and so it has been understood by Du Ryer;

\* Plutarch. de Virtutibus Mulierum, p. 244. A.

\* The guards had orders to put to death the women and children before burning them; they were afterwards to kill one

another, or to meet death by throwing themselves before the Thessalian cavalry. Pausan. Phocic. are lib. 2. cap. 1. p. 800.

\* Pausan. Phocic. are lib. 2. cap. 1. p. 799, Plat. in Menon. Vol. ii. p. 70.

but Phocis never having borne the name of Doris, it is clear that this pronoun must relate to the Doris which is mentioned above. The Dorians formerly inhabited the district Dryopis, whence a part of them passed into the Peloponnesus. See Book I. § LVI. and this Book, § XLIII.

XXXII. Τα ἄκρα] *The summits, &c.* Parnassus, a mountain of Phocis, has two principal summits, Nauplia and Hyampea.\* These two summits are the most considerable, and conceal the others. They are seen towards the spot where the city of Delphi was formerly situated, now called Castri, or a little above it. These two summits so celebrated, by the poets, obtained for Parnassus the name of 'biceps.'

Nec in bicipiti somniasse Parnasso  
Memini.

Pers. Prolog.

Parnassus gemino petit Æthera colle,  
Mons Phœbo Bromioque Sacer.

Lucan. lib. v. vers. 73.

Mons ibi verticibus petit arduus astra duobus,  
Nomine Parnassus, superatque cacumine nubes.

Urid. Metamorph. lib. I. vers. 346.

Servius<sup>d</sup> places this mountain in Thessaly, and divides it into Cithæron and Helicon, though it was situated in Phocis, and Cithæron and Helicon were in Bœotia. The Abbé des Fontaines<sup>e</sup> says also, that Parnassus and Helicon are one and the same mountain.

Πολιν κεμένην ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς] *And on which is built.* I read with M. Wesseling, πολιν κεμένην ἐπ' αὐτῆς. We learn from Pausanias,<sup>f</sup> that the city of Neon was built on this summit; and from Plutarch,<sup>g</sup> that there was in this place a castle situated on a craggy eminence, the name of which he does not mention, and to which the Phocians retired on the invasion of Xerxes. M. Valckenaer reads κεμένην ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς, a city governed by its own laws.

Πολιν τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κρισηίου πεδίου οἰκομένην] *A city situated above the plain of Crisa.* M. Bellanger observes, in a note, that Amphissa was only above Crisa, as might respect a person placed in the Peloponnesus, who, looking northwards, would see Crisa between him and Amphissa, and not in reference to a person looking from Asia Minor, or from the foot of the boot of Italy. Hence he concludes, that when Herodotus wrote this passage, he was in the Peloponnesus, attending the Olympic games, &c.

<sup>d</sup> Herod. lib. viii. § xxix.

<sup>e</sup> Serv. ad. Virg. Æn. vii. vers. 641.

<sup>f</sup> Tractat. de Virgile, Vol. iii. p. 345.

<sup>g</sup> Pausan. Phocic. sive lib. x. cap. xxi.

p. 878.

<sup>h</sup> Plutarch. in Sylla, p. 461. D. E.

But M. Bellanger is mistaken. Amphissa was necessarily more elevated than Crisa, as it was much further from the sea, wherever Herodotus might be when he wrote this part of his history.

XXXIII. Νεῶρα] *Neon*. The Phocians had taken refuge at Neon, as we have just seen. This city, therefore, which was burned by the Persians, could not be the same. There may have been two cities of the name in that country; but I think it more likely that the text is corrupt, and that we should read Κλεωνίς. There was in Phocis the city of Cleonæ near \* Hyampolis, which was always so particularised, to distinguish it from other cities of the same name.

Θησαυροῖσι] *Its treasures*. No doubt the rich presents which had been offered to the god; perhaps too the different cities of Phocis deposited their riches in a common treasury, as the Greek cities sent theirs to Delphi. See Book I. § I. note 6.

XXXIV. Παραποταμίων δὲ παραμεγήμενοι] *After having passed through the country of the Parapotamii*. It should seem from this, that Panopæa is beyond Parapotamia. M. D'Anville, in his map of Greece, has reversed this order.

XXXV. ἡγεμόνας] *Guides*. I think that the expression here signifies guides, as we have seen in § xxxi. ἡγεμόνες τῆς ἰδοῦ. Why was it necessary to remark that this army had its generals? An army never marches without general officers to command it.

Καὶ Αἰολιδέων] *And of the Æolians*. We do not hear in any other place of this city of the Æolians. MM. Valckenaer and Wesseling correct Αἰλαίων, the city of the Lilæi, or Lilæa. This conjecture, at the first glance, seems probable; but a closer examination of the passage discovers objections to it. The Persians are marching from Panopæa to Delphi. Lilæa should therefore lie in the road; but it is in fact † 180 stadia, or a short day's journey, beyond Delphi, and near the source of the Cephissus. But it appears from the narration of Herodotus, that the Persians did not advance beyond Delphi. Our knowledge of ancient geography is too imperfect to authorise us to decide that Αἰολιδέων is corrupt. We find in Apollodorus, † that Endymion, the son of Aethlius and Calyce, led a number of Æolians from Thessaly, and with them founded the city Elis, in the Peloponnesus. Might he not have left on the road some Æolians, who built a city, which, like many others, may have attained very little celebrity?

XXXVI. Σπέναι οὐκ ἐὰν κενέειν] *Wishing to dissuade them*. See M. Valckenaer's note 92. on § xxx. Book II.

\* Plutarch, de Virtut. Mulier. p. 241. D. p. 382.

† Pausan. Phocic. æve lib. x. cap. xxi.

‡ Apollodor. lib. i. cap. vii. § v. p. 20.

Τὸ Κωρύκιον ἄντρον] *The cave of Corycia.* "In going\* from Delphi to the summit of Parnassus, at about sixty stadia from that city, is a statue of bronze. There the path to the cavern of Corycia becomes more easy for persons on foot, for mules, and for horses. It takes its name from the nymph Corycia. It is the most remarkable of all the caverns I have ever seen . . . It greatly surpasses them<sup>†</sup> in size, and can be penetrated for a considerable distance without the assistance of a torch. The roof is sufficiently high. The springs that are found in it yield water; but a still greater quantity filters through the roof, and drops of it are seen on the ground all over the cavern. The inhabitants of Parnassus believe that this cavern is consecrated to the Corycian nymphs and to Pan.

"The Castalian spring issues from the hollow between the two<sup>‡</sup> summits of Parnassus . . . At the bottom of this space between the rocks we perceived, at the height of about thirty feet above our heads, an opening in the rock, through which we threw stones. It was a grotto in which there was water, and we conceived it to be the cave which the poets call 'Antrum Corycium;'<sup>§</sup> at least we found no other corresponding to the situation of it."

The inhabitants of Delphi, according to Antigonus Carystius,<sup>¶</sup> affirm that the cave of Corycia appears at certain times of the year as if made of gold. Philoxenus therefore cannot be blamed, adds he, for having said, "At Parnassus we see the palaces of the nymphs, the roofs of which are gilt."

From the top of this cavern drops of coloured water distil, which by the influence of an optical illusion on a lively imagination might be taken for gold. Had the author of the Voyage of the young Anacharsis been apprized of these particulars, I do not doubt that he would have made use of them to add still other beauties to the charming description he has given of this cavern.\*

Ἀννεύκαστρο] *They transported their effects.* Such is the force of the verb ἀννεύκαστρο, which we have seen before in the same sense, § xxxii. ; on which see the note of M. Wesseling.

Τὸν προφήτην] *The prophet.* As the Pythoness pronounced the oracles in a confused and unintelligible tone of voice, a sacred interpreter was employed, who collected them, and delivered them to those who consulted the god. This interpreter was called the 'prophet.' There was only one of them in the time of Herodotus. But as su-

\* Pausan. Phoc. sive hb. x. cap. xxxii. p. 577.

† Id. ibid. p. 578.

‡ Travels in Greece, by Spon and Wheeler, Vol. ii. p. 27.

§ Antigon Carystii Histor. Mirabil. cap. cxi.

¶ Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, Vol. ii.

pp. 29, 31.

perdition increased with the fame of the oracle, it became necessary to have more of them. They were chosen by lot from the Delphians of the first distinction, because it was not thought proper to confide so important an office to any but those who were interested in keeping the secret.

• Δελφῶν ἀριστέϊς, οὓς ἐκλήρωσεν πάλοι.

The term 'prophet' properly signifies, he who speaks to one person on the behalf of another. Hence it has been used for those who represent to the divinity the wants or the requests of a people or of an individual, and who report to the people or to the individual the answer of the god. We find an example of it in the first sense, in the first oration of Dion Chrysostom,<sup>a</sup> entitled 'Venator.' Οὕτως ἂν ἐπὶ τοὺς προφῆτας αὐτῶν, καὶ τοὺς συνηγάρους, τοὺς ποιητάς, ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἴωμεν. 'We must therefore have recourse to the poets, who are their interpreters and their advocates.' We find another, in Sextus Empiricus against the Grammarians, § LIII. p. 227., on which consult the note of Fabricius.

XXXVII. Ἐκ τοῦ μεγάρου ἐξεκρηγεῖντα ἱρὰ] *Carried out of the sacred precinct.* "A little before the battle of Leuctra," it was given out that the temples had opened of their own accord, and that the arms kept in the temple of Hercules had disappeared, as though Hercules were gone to the battle. *But many say that these prodigies were impostures of the magistrates."*

Προηλῆς Ἀθηναίης] *Minerva Pronæa.* See Book I. § xcii. note 3.

Ἐν τούτῳ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κεραυνοὶ αὐτοῖσι ἐνέπιπτον] *The lightning fell on them.* "Those<sup>d</sup> who had been sent to pillage the temple of Apollo advanced as far as that of Minerva. Suddenly there arose a violent storm, accompanied with thunder and lightning; and fragments of the rock, struck down by the tempest, fell on the Barbarians, and crushed numbers of them. The rest frightened, and considering it an interposition of the god, took to flight. Thus did the providence of the gods preserve this temple from pillage. The Delphians wishing to leave to posterity an eternal monument of the protection of the gods, erected a trophy near the temple of Minerva Pronæa, with the following inscription:

"The Delphians, filled with gratitude towards Jupiter and Apollo, for having checked the battalions of the Persians, and having pro-

<sup>a</sup> Euripid. Ion. vers. 416.

vii. p. 393.

<sup>b</sup> Dion Chrysost. Venator. p. 118. D.

<sup>c</sup> Diædar. Sic. lib. xi. § xiv. Vol. i.

<sup>d</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. lib. vi. cap. iv. § p. 415.



tected the temple, have erected me, to perpetuate the memory of this battle and of this victory."

We must read in Diodorus ἀπωσάμενους and ῥυσσάμενους, as has been pointed out by M. Valckenaer.

The same prodigies were repeated when the Gauls<sup>c</sup> entered Greece. See Book VII. note 2. to § CCXIII.

The Greeks, who were great lovers of the marvellous, magnified natural effects into prodigies. Had the temple been burned, as Plutarch says it was,<sup>d</sup> how could they have preserved the gifts and offerings of Cræsus? And yet Herodotus (Book I. § L. LI. LII.) speaks as an eye-witness of them.

XXXIX. Φύλακόν τε καὶ Αὐτόνοον] *Phylacus and Autonus*. When<sup>e</sup> the Gauls came to pillage the temple of Delphi, the heroes Hyperochus, Laodocus, and Pyrrhus, came to its assistance; some also reckon Phylacus of the number. Justin<sup>f</sup> has metamorphosed the two first into virgins of extraordinary beauty.

Υάμπεα] *Hyampea*. The Greek says, at the foot of the summit of Hyampea. Parnassus had two summits, Nauplia and Hyampea, as we have seen in the note on § XXXII. p. 466. The Delphians<sup>g</sup> precipitated those who had been guilty of sacrilege from the latter summit. But having unjustly put Æsop to death, the rock Hyampea was no longer used for that purpose, and offenders were thrown from the top of Nauplia.

XLI. Κίρρυγμα ἐποίησαντο] *They caused to be proclaimed*. It was a crime at Athens for any one to abandon his country in time of danger, or even to withdraw his wife and children from the perils with which the city was threatened, before permission had been given by a decree. Leocrates<sup>h</sup> having retired to Rhodes and to Megara some time after the battle of Cheronæa, on his return to Athens was accused by Lycurgus of having betrayed his country, and of having, as far as in him lay, given it up to the enemy, τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ μέρος. The votes were equal, as we learn from Æschines;<sup>i</sup> and had there been but one more against him, he would have been put to death, or banished. This orator does not, it is true, name Leocrates: but the scholiast says that Æschines alludes to Leocrates, who was accused by Lycurgus, whose oration is extant to this day. Another individual,<sup>k</sup> who in similar circumstances endeavoured to escape from Samos, was not so fortunate. The senate of the Areopagus punished

<sup>c</sup> Pausan. Attic. sive lib. i. cap. iv. p. 11.

<sup>d</sup> Plutarch. in Numâ, p. 66. C.

<sup>e</sup> Pausan. Phocic. sive lib. i. cap. xviii. p. 854.

<sup>f</sup> Justin. lib. xxiv. cap. viii. Vol. i. p. 519.

<sup>g</sup> Plutarch. de his qui sero a Numine puniuntur, p. 557.

<sup>h</sup> See the Oration of Lycurgus against Leocrates.

<sup>i</sup> Æsch. contra Ctesiphont. p. 469. A.

<sup>k</sup> Id. ibid. p. 468. F.

him with death the same day, as a traitor to his country. Autolycus\* also was punished, though he had not himself abandoned his country in time of danger, but for having withdrawn his wife and children.

Τροιζήνα] *At Træzen.* The greater part<sup>b</sup> of them conveyed their fathers, mothers, and wives to Træzen. The Træzenians received them with humanity, and ordained that they should be maintained at the public expense, assigning<sup>c</sup> two oboli per day to each person. They also permitted the children to gather fruit wherever they pleased, and paid masters to instruct them. The proposer of this decree was called Nicagoras.

Τῇ χρηστηρίῳ ὑπηρατέειν] *To obey the oracle.* I read with the Mss. B and D in the Royal Library, τῇ χρηστηρίῳ βουλόμενοι ὑπηρατέειν. In the Ms. A we find τῇ χρηστηρίῳ τε βουλόμενοι, &c. If we would preserve πειθόμενοι, we must adopt the conjecture of M. Koen, who reads ἔσπευσαν δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκθέσθαι πειθόμενοι, τῇ χρηστηρίῳ τε βουλόμενοι ὑπηρατέειν, and translate, 'They hastened to remove their wives and children from Attica, in obedience to the proclamation, and in compliance with the command of the oracle.'

Τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐν τῇ ἰρῇ] *In the temple of the citadel.* The temple of Minerva Polias, or protectress of the citadel, which was properly called πόλις. See note 3. on § CLX. Book I. To the examples quoted in that note, I shall add another from Pausanias,<sup>d</sup> Τὸν δὲ ἐν πόλει βωμὸν καλούμενον Ἀντέρωτος ἀνάθημα εἶναι λέγουσι Μετοίκων. 'It is said that the altar of Anteros, which we see in the citadel, was erected by the Metœci.' The Latin translator was incorrect.

Προθυμότερον ἐξέλκων] *Hastened.* The people<sup>e</sup> not appearing disposed to abandon the temples of the gods and the monuments of their fathers, and Themistocles not being able to persuade them to do this by arguments, had recourse to prodigies and oracles. For a few days previous, the serpent which usually lived in the temple had not been observed, and the priests finding the offerings they made to him untouched, they gave out, with the permission of Themistocles, that the goddess had abandoned the city, and had taken to the sea.

XLIII. Ἐξαναστάντες] *They were formerly driven out, &c.* Hercules having driven the Dryopes from Dryopis, conveyed them to Phocis, in the neighbourhood of Parnassus and of the Lycoreans. Thence, on the answer of the god, he conducted them to the Peloponnesus, where they occupied Asine, near Hermione. See the Geographical

\* Lycurg. contra Leocratem, p. 154. lin.

31.

<sup>b</sup> Plutarch. in Themistocle, p. 116. F ;

117. A.

<sup>c</sup> Thres pence of our money.

<sup>d</sup> Pausan. Attic. five lib. i. cap. xxi. p.

75.

<sup>e</sup> Plutarch. in Themistocle, p. 116.

D, E.

Table, Art. DRYOPES. These facts, which I borrow from Pausanias, are not related by the author very distinctly; and the Latin and French translators having ingrafted their own mistakes on this obscurity, have imputed to that traveller absurdities for which he is not accountable. I will undertake to correct one of them. "At Asinœi Lycoritis olim finitimi, Parnassi olim accolæ fuere. Nomen illis tunc fuit Dryopes, quod postea in Peloponnesum reversi aliquandiu retinuerunt, suntu[m] scilicet a coloniæ duce." Gedoyu has literally translated the Latin. The true translation of the passage from the Greek is as follows: "The Asinœi,\* from the commencement, (that is, immediately after their expulsion from Dryopis,) inhabited Parnassus, and were the neighbours of the Lycoreans. They were then called Dryopes, from the name of the founder of the colony, a name which they preserved also in the Peloponnesus." As to the Dryopes, see M. Heyne, ad Apollodorum, pp. 475, 476.

XLIV. Νῆας ὀγδώκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν] *A hundred and eighty vessels.* The Greeks had 380 vessels, as we see in § XLVIII. Thucydides, wishing to speak in round numbers, says 400; and adds, that the Athenians furnished something less than half of them.<sup>d</sup> Ναὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὰς τετρακοσίας, ὀλίγη ἐλάττωσις τῶν δύο μυριάδων. Such is the meaning of the sentence, which has been well understood by the scholiast; a meaning however which has been a stumbling-block to all the interpreters, and especially to M. Levesque, the last translator.

Τῶν οἰκετῶν] *Their women, &c.* Herodotus has expressed this in a single word, οἰκετῶν. Οἰκῆται, very properly observes Hesychius, οἱ κατὰ τὸν οἶκον πάντες, all the members of the household. Οἰκῆται comprises not only the servants, but the wife and children, as we see in Suidas.

Κραναιοὶ] *Cranai.* Many authors reproach Herodotus with having introduced a confusion in the chronology, by maintaining that the Pelasgi of Attica had been called Cranai before they took the name of Cecropidæ, although Cranai was posterior to Cecrops. This criticism is founded on an idea that the name Cranai was derived from that of king Cranaüs, who did not reign till after Cecrops. But in this they are mistaken. The name of Cranai was given to the Athenians on account of the sterility of their country, the greater part of which consists of mountains. I know that many of the ancients derive this name from Cranaüs; but the account of Herodotus shows that they are in error. Herodotus, however, was

\* Pausan. lib. iv. cap. xxiv. pp. 365, 366.

<sup>c</sup> Eustath. in Dionys. Perieg. vers. 423. p. 78. col. 1. lin. 21.

<sup>d</sup> Thucyd. lib. i. § lxxiv.

himself mistaken, in saying that the Athenians were Pelasgi by origin. See my Essay on Chronology, chap. viii. § 21.

*Κέκροπος*] *Cecrops*. This prince lived a little before Deucalion. The Athenians were not then civilized, and had their women in common. He established marriages, and ordained that each man should have but one wife. Hence the name διφυής, 'biformis,' which was given him. "Ante Deucalionis tempora regem habuere Cecropem: quem, ut omnis antiquitas fabulosa est, biformem tradidere; quia primus marem fœminæ matrimonio junxit." See also Suidas, at the word Cecrops.

Others pretend that this name was given to him on account of his knowledge of the Egyptian as well as the Greek language. See Scaliger on the Chronology of Eusebius, p. 27.

*Ἐρεχθίδης*] *Erechtheides*. This word is omitted in all the editions of Herodotus, and all the Mss. which I have consulted. I have restored it, after Berkeley, in his notes on Stephanus of Byzantium, under the word 'Ionis,' and after Wesseling.

XLVI. *Τρήκοντα*] *Forty-two vessels*. The text says only thirty. I have thought proper to alter this to forty-two: 1. Because Pausanias, who had read our historian with care, affirms that next to the Athenians the Æginetæ<sup>a</sup> furnished the greatest number of vessels. The Corinthians having furnished forty, the Æginetæ must have sent more. 2. To find the number of their vessels, we must add together all those which were at Salamis. This addition gives 366. Yet Herodotus asserts that they amounted to 378<sup>a</sup> or 380, including the two vessels which joined the Greeks a little before the battle. Twelve therefore are wanting, and these we must assign to the Æginetæ. See M. Valckenæer's note.

*Τῇ δὲ νήσῳ*] *Their island*. The expression of Herodotus is very clear, and my translation not less so. The Latin version, however, is ambiguous. "Sunt autem Æginetæ Dorienses, ab Epidaurō, cui insulæ nomen antea fuerat Ænone." I should not have stopped to notice this ambiguity, had it not given occasion to the author of the Latin index to make of Epidaurus an island, which had formerly been called Ænone. "Epidaurus, insula, antea Ænone dicta."

*Ἀποκρίσιν ἐπεύσαντος*] *At the solicitation of Democritus*. Simonides has written an inscription, in which he celebrates the glory acquired by Democritus at the battle of Salamis. Plutarch has preserved it in his treatise on the Malignity of Herodotus, p. 869. C.

<sup>a</sup> Justin. lib. ii. cap. vi. Vol. i. p. 83.

<sup>a</sup> The error cannot be in this number,

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Corinth. sive lib. ii. cap. as it is repeated in § lxxvii.

ixix. p. 178.

Δημόκριτος τρίτος ἦρξε μάχῃ, ὅτε πὸρ Σαλαμίνα  
Ἑλλήναι Μήδου συμβαλον ἐν πελάγει.

Πέντε δὲ νῆας ἔλεν ὀπίων, ἕκτην δ' ἀπὸ χειρῶν  
Ῥόσασα βαρβαρικῶν Δωρίδ' ἀλικομένην.

In the editions we read ὑπὸ χεῖρα . . . βαρβαρικόν, in the Mss. of Turnebus and Vulcobijs, ἀπὸ χειρὸς . . . βαρβαρικῆς, whence M. Reiske has made ἀπὸ χειρῶν . . . βαρβαρικῶν. And M. Bruuck has no doubt given the inscription after the latter critic. See *Analect. Vet. Poet. Græc.* Vol. 1. p. 133. The translation of it is as follows: "Democritus was the third who joined in the combat, when the Greeks attacked the Medes by sea near Salamis. He took five vessels from the enemy, and recaptured a sixth, which was Dorian." The Naxians, who recollected the burning of their city by Datis, (Book VI. § CXLVI.) sent these vessels to the Persians from fear. Democritus, more generous and more courageous than his fellow-citizens, gave them up to the Greeks.

Κύθνιοι] *The Cythnians.* These islanders were very weak. Demosthenes says to the Athenians: "If I took you for Siphnians, Cythnians, or such like, I would not advise you to adopt ideas so elevated."

XLVII. Νῆϊ μὲν] *A vessel.* It is scarcely probable that the most powerful settlement which the Greeks then possessed in Italy, should have sent but a single vessel to the battle of Salamis. It is more likely that Phayllus, full of gratitude towards the country which had three times crowned him at the Pythic games, equipped a vessel at his own expense, and joined their fleet at Salamis. Pausanias, who usually copies Herodotus, relates<sup>6</sup> that he fought against the Persians with a vessel which he had built and fitted out at his own expense, and on which he embarked all the Crotonians who were then travelling in Greece.

This passage of Pausanias leads M. Valckenaer to suspect that we should read οἰκίῃ νηϊ in Herodotus instead of νηϊ μὲν, and I think he is right.

Alexander<sup>5</sup> admitted the Crotonians to a share in the spoils of the Persians, in consideration of the zeal and courage of Phayllus, who, with a vessel equipped at his own expense, had gone to Salamis to share the dangers of the Greeks, at a time when the safety of Græcia Magna was in a critical state.

A statue was erected in honour of Phayllus at Delphi.<sup>4</sup>

Ἀνὴρ τρίς νικηφόρος] *Three times victorious.* He twice obtained

<sup>4</sup> Demosth. *περὶ Σουράδας*, p. 102, 52.

<sup>5</sup> Pausan. *Phocic. sive lib. x. cap. ix.*

p. 818.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch. in *Alexand.* p. 665. C.

<sup>6</sup> Pausan. *Phocic. sive lib. x. cap. ix.*

p. 818.



the \* victory of the Pentathlon, and once that of the Course. It is in vain that Moses Du Soul † would recommend us to correct the text of Herodotus, and to read Astylus instead of Phayllus. Astylus obtained the victory at the Olympic games in the 73d, 74th, and 75th Olympiads, as we learn from Diodorus Siculus, ‡ and Dionysius of Halicarnassus; § whereas Phayllus was crowned at the Pythic games. We do not know the date of the victories of Phayllus.

Ἀχαιοί] *Achæans*. "The god \* having ordered the Achæans to found Crotona, Myscellus repaired to the place to examine it. Perceiving that Sybaris was built near the river of that name, he considered the situation preferable, and returned to the oracle, to inquire whether it would not be better to found Sybaris than Crotona. † Depart hence, thou hump-back, (Myscellus was rather so), and instead of seeking to appropriate to yourself what belongs to others, be grateful for what is given you." Having returned, he founded Crotona, with the assistance of Archias, who by chance landed at that place, on his way to found Syracuse."

XLVIII. Γένος ἱέρως ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων] *Originally of Lacedæmon*. See my Chronological Essay, chap. xiv. pp. 362 seq., and more especially, chap. xv. sect. iii. § iv.

LI. Ἐν αὐτῷ διατριψάντες μῆνα] *Stopped a month upon its banks*. The Latin translator makes Herodotus say, that Xerxes occupied a month in passing into Europe. This is absolutely false, as the army occupied only seven days and seven nights in the passage, as we have seen, in Book vii. § lvi. M. Wesseling suspects that this passage has been interpolated; it certainly does not possess the clearness which characterizes our historian.

Ταμίαις τε τοῦ ἱεροῦ] *Treasurers of the temple*. This was the temple of Minerva in the citadel. These treasurers † had under their care the statues of Minerva and of Victory, the riches of the temple, and the public treasury, which were committed to them in the presence of the senate. ‡

Οὐχ ἂν σποδᾷς γ' ἔχοντες τὰς τριήρεις,  
καὶ τὰργύριον ῥάβυσσον ἢ παρὰ τῇ Σιφί.

† No, never will you persuade the Athenians to make peace, whilst they testify so much ardour in the construction of triremes, and

\* Pausan. Phocic. sive lib. x. cap. ix. p. 518.

† Plutarch. Vit. † parall. in Alexandro, Vol. iv. p. 51. et ibi notæ Moses Du Soul.

‡ Diodor. Sic. lib. xi. § i. Vol. i. p. 493.

§ Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. lib.

viii. init. p. 463.; ibid. § lxxvii. p. 522.

\* Strab. lib. vi. p. 402. B. C.; p. 403. A.

† Jul. Poll. Onomast. lib. viii. cap. ix. segm. xcvi. Vol. ii. p. 915. Harpocrat. voc. Ταμίαι, p. 109. Suid. voc. Ταμίαι.

‡ Aristoph. Lysist. vss. 173, 174.

whilst they possess, in the temple of Minerva, so vast a treasure.' These treasurers were chosen by lot from amongst those citizens who possessed a yearly income of 500 medimni. They were ten in number. See the excellent dissertation of the late Abbé Barthelemy, upon an ancient Greek inscription, relative to the finances of the Athenians. Paris, 1792, 4to.

'Υπ' ἀσθενείῃ βίῳ] *Their poverty.* 'Through poverty.' We may add to the note of M. Valckenauer, that the Greeks used ἀσθενής for 'poor,' as opposed to πλούσιος, 'rich.'

• Γεγραμμένων δὲ τῶν νόμων, ὃ τ' ἀσθενής  
• Ὁ πλούσιός τε τὴν δίκην ἴσῃν ἔχει.

• When there are written laws, the poor and the rich have equal rights.'

See also the *Electra* of Euripides, vers. 267, &c. The passage of our historian shows that it is an ellipsis, and that we must understand βίῳ, τροφῇ, or some other equivalent genitive. 'Ασθενής is also used by Herodotus to signify an infirm man. See Book iv. § cxxxv.

Τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος] *The wooden wall.* The citadel was no longer enclosed only by a palisade, or at least but little of it remained. The Pelasgi had built the wall which was called, after them, the Pelasgic wall. Book vi. § cxxxvii. But it was enough for this superstitious people that it had formerly been so.

LII. Ἀπήϊον πάγον] *Areopagus.* The situation of the Areopagus, or hill of Mars, is so clearly pointed out by our historian, that one is surprised to find Hesychius<sup>a</sup> and other authors place it in the citadel. Meursius<sup>b</sup> accuses Maximus of having said, in his prologue to Dionysius the Areopagite, that the tribunal of the Areopagus was without the city, ἔξω δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἦν τὸ κατὰ Ἀρείου Πάγου δικαστήριον. Meursius does not appear to have understood Maximus: ἔξω τῆς πόλεως does not signify without the city, but without the citadel, as I have shown in note 3. on § clx. of Book i. Mars submitted to this tribunal<sup>c</sup> the judgment of the gods, for the murder of the son of Neptune, and hence it took the name of 'the hill of Mars.' Such was the opinion of the authors whom I have cited, and of some others too numerous to refer to; but Æschylus, more ancient than any of them, informs us,<sup>d</sup> that the Amazons having come to attack Theseus, encamped on this hill, and having there offered a sacrifice to Mars,

<sup>a</sup> Euripid. *Tætræ*, vers. 453.

<sup>b</sup> Hesych. voc. Ἀρείου Πάγου.

<sup>c</sup> Meursius in *Areopago*, cap. i.

<sup>d</sup> Demosth. in *Aristocrat.* p. 413. segm.

ciii.; Pausan. *Attic. sive lib. i. cap. xivm.* p. 68; Aristod. in *Panathen.* p. 6 à fine.

<sup>e</sup> Æschyl. *Eumenid.* vers. 686—699.

it thence took the name of 'the hill of Mars.' The author of the *Etymologicum Magnum*, under the word Ἀρεας λόφος, says nearly the same thing.

The precise date of the origin of this tribunal, the most venerable in Athens, is not known. Meursius<sup>a</sup> makes Cicero to say, that it was instituted by Solon; but he mistook the meaning of that orator. 'Constituit'<sup>b</sup> does not signify 'he instituted,' but 'that he gave permanency, or stability.' Eusebius refers it to the 41st year of Cecrops; but that its origin was unknown even to the ancients, appears from what Demosthenes says.<sup>c</sup>

The number of the judges was not fixed.<sup>d</sup> The nine Archons were so by right, after having given an account of their administration during the period of their archontate; but some writers pretend that they were confined to the six Thesmothetæ. The first Archon was called Archon Eponymus, and gave his name to the year; the second was termed the King, the third the Polemarchus, and the six others the Thesmothetæ. They took cognisance<sup>e</sup> of murders, of wounds maliciously inflicted, of burnings, of poisonings, of all that concerned religion,<sup>f</sup> and it was for this reason that Socrates was condemned by this tribunal, and that St. Paul was taken before it. Instead of dilating further on the subject, I shall refer the reader to Meursius, and the ancient writers generally.

LIII. Τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς Ἀγλαΐου] *Of the chapel of Agraulos, daughter of Cecrops.* The craggy acclivity by which some of the Persians gained the citadel was on the south-west, near a ruined mosque, which Mr. Stuart imagined to have been formerly a church. See the plan of the citadel of Athens in the excellent work entitled, 'The Antiquities of Athens, by James Stuart.' This plan is the more curious, as it was taken on the spot by two very intelligent men, the late Mr. Stuart and Mr. Revett. I have therefore not hesitated in giving it the preference to that which accompanies the work of the Abbé Barthelemy.

The name of the daughter of Cecrops is written Aglauros in all the editions of Herodotus; and one would therefore be led to suppose that it was correct, as we find it the same in Pausanias, Book 1. chap. xviii. p. 41. and in Ovid's *Metamorph.* Book 11. vers. 739. I have however decided for Agraulos, on the authority of Apollodorus,<sup>g</sup> and of Stephanus of Byzantium, who observes that Agraulos, a village

<sup>a</sup> Meursius in *Areopago*, cap. iii.

<sup>b</sup> Cicero de *Officiis*, lib. i. § xxii.

<sup>c</sup> Demosth. in *Aristocrat.* p. 413. *segu.* ciz.

<sup>d</sup> Alter. *Argument. Orationis Demosth.* contra *Androt.* p. 389.

<sup>e</sup> Demosth. contra *Aristocrat.* p. 406. *segu.* xxxiii.

<sup>f</sup> Id. contra *Neuram.* p. 738. *segu.* cxxvi.

<sup>g</sup> Apollodori *Biblioth.* lib. xiii. cap. iii. § ii. p. 222.

of the tribe Erechtheis, took its name from Agraules, the daughter of Cecrops. This name is also written Agraulos by Ulpian,\* the echo-liast of Demosthenes. "Agraules, Erse, and Pandrosos," says he, "were daughters of Cecrops, according to Philochorus. Eumolpus having made war on the Athenians and on Erechtheus, and its long duration occasioning great evils, the oracle answered the citizens, that they should be delivered from it, if any one would voluntarily suffer death for the city. Agraules came forward, and threw herself from the top of the wall. The war having ceased, a temple was erected to her memory near the Propylæa of the citadel. The young people on going to the wars made oath in this temple, and those who were passing from the class of children to that of adolescents, armed cap-a-pea, also made oath to fight until death for the country which had nurtured them."

Ulpian appears to have confounded Agraules, the daughter of Cecrops, with the daughter of Erechtheus: on which subject see the latter part of the succeeding note. In fact, the Thracians, commanded by Eumolpus, attacked Attica in the year 3312 of the Julian period, 1402 years before our era. See Pausanias, Book i. chap. xxxvii. p. 92. Cecrops having died at a very advanced age, in the year 3194 of the Julian period, 1520 years before our era, (even if we should admit, contrary to all probability, that his daughter was born in that same year,) it would follow that she was 118 years old when Eumolpus came to the assistance of the Eleusinians, and attacked Attica. It is certain that if Agraules devoted herself for the good of her country, and that it was for such an action that altars were erected to her memory, it cannot be for the same that is related by Ulpian.

The Abbé Auger,<sup>6</sup> in his translation of Demosthenes, names her 'Aglauré,' though the best editions of that author, and amongst them that of Aldus, have Agraules; and he confounds her with the daughter of Erechtheus, as Ulpian has done. The Abbé, who has translated the oration of Lycurgus against Leocrates, ought to have known that when Eumolpus made war on the Athenians, Erechtheus reigned at Athens, and that it was his daughter who devoted herself for the good of her country. See that oration, p. 217 and following of Taylor's edition, and p. 54 of the Abbé Auger's translation. But see also the latter part of the succeeding note, in which I show that this difference is attributable to the diversity of traditions.

A temple was erected to Agraules,<sup>6</sup> the daughter of Cecrops, at

\* Ulpiani Enarratio in Demosthenis Orat. de falsa Legatione, p. 391. C, D. Apollodorus makes also Agraules, Erse and Pandrosos, daughters of Cecrops, lib. iii. cap. xiii. § v. p. 222.

<sup>6</sup> Traduct. de Démosth. nouv. éd. tom. iii. p. 603.

<sup>6</sup> Porphyre, de Abstinencia, lib. ii. § liv. p. 198.

Salamis, in the island of Cyprus; and every year, in the month Aphrodisius, a man was sacrificed in honour of her.

She had also a temple in the citadel of Athens, as Pausanias says, who erroneously writes the name 'Aglauros.'

"Above the temple of the Dioscuri, (Castor and Pollux,)" says he,<sup>a</sup> "is the place consecrated to Aglauros (read, Agrauros). It is said that Minerva confided to her and her sisters Erse and Pandrosos a chest in which was Erichthonius, forbidding them to examine it. Pandrosos obeyed, but her sisters opened the chest. As soon as they beheld Erichthonius, they became mad, and threw themselves from the highest acclivity of the citadel. It was at this same side that the Persians afterwards ascended, and put to death such of the Athenians as, believing themselves to understand the answer of the oracle better than Themistocles, had fortified the citadel with palisades."

LV. 'Ερεχθίδης] *Erechtheus*. It is very probable that he was called 'son of the earth,' because his origin was unknown. This inclines me towards the opinion of the Egyptians, who asserted him to be of their nation. A great drought having occasioned a<sup>b</sup> famine and great mortality throughout the earth, except in Egypt, Erechtheus brought from that country a quantity of corn to Athens, because of the connexion which subsisted between the Egyptians<sup>c</sup> and the people of that city. This action obtained for him the crown. I have, however, in my Essay on Chronology, followed the opinion<sup>d</sup> of Apollodorus, who states him to have been the son of Pandion, king of Athens.

This was also the opinion of Homer, who, in speaking of Erechtheus, observes<sup>e</sup> that the fertile earth had engendered him, by which he means that he was originally of Attica, and not a foreigner; at least so Eustathius<sup>f</sup> has understood it.

A temple had been raised to him in the citadel, as appears by this passage of Herodotus; and sacrifices were offered to him, as we have seen, Book v. § LXXXII. I am of opinion that the following verses of Homer allude to sacrifices offered to Erechtheus:

<sup>g</sup> Ἐρεχθίδε μιν ταύροις καὶ ἀγρεῖοις ἱλάσονται  
Κοῦροι Ἀθηναίων.

<sup>h</sup> The Athenians propitiate him, by sacrificing bulls and lambs in

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Attic. sive lib. i. cap. xviii. § xviii. Vol. i. p. 23. p. 41.

<sup>b</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. i. § xxi. Vol. i. p. 24. <sup>d</sup> Apollodori Bibl. lib. iii. cap. xiii. § vii. p. 228.

<sup>c</sup> Homer. Iliad. lib. ii. vers. 548.

<sup>e</sup> The Egyptians considered Athens as a colony from Sais. Diodor. Sic. lib. i. <sup>f</sup> Eustath. ad Iliad. ii. p. 293. lin. 11.

<sup>g</sup> Iliad. lib. ii. vers. 540.



honour of him." I understand *μιν*, with Pseudo-Didymus and the scholiast of Venice, of Erechtheus, though Eustathius applies it to Minerva.

In this temple of Erechtheus were three altars. The first was consecrated to Neptune and to Erechtheus; which occasioned Neptune to be surnamed Erechtheus. 'Ο δὲ Ἀθηναῖος Ἐρεχθεῖ Ἰσοειδῶρι θυῖται. 'The Athenian sacrifices to Neptune Erechtheus.' Hesychius, at the word Ἐρεχθεύς, observes, that with the Athenians Erechtheus signifies Neptune, and it is found with this signification in the poem of Lycophron, vers. 158. This leads me to correct a passage of Apollodorus, in which we should read, Butes had the priesthood of Minerva and of Neptune Erechtheus, τοῦ Ἐρεχθέος, instead of τοῦ Ἐρεχθῶριον. The Latin translator renders it, 'Butes Erichthonii filius:' a mistake the less excusable, as Apollodorus had said in the preceding chapter, p. 228, that Butes was the son of Pandion. M. Heyne expresses a similar opinion, in his learned notes on Apollodorus, p. 845.

The second altar was erected in honour of Butes, and the third to Vulcan. Butes was the first who held the priesthood of Minerva and Erechtheus, and the Butadæ or Eleobutadæ, two families descended from him, retained that honour. See Hesychius and Harpocration, under the words Βουράδαι and Ἐλεοβουράδαι.

Altars were no doubt erected to Erechtheus, because he had sacrificed his daughter for the good of his country. The tradition is preserved by Lycurgus, and the reader will not perhaps be displeased that I should quote it.

"They say" that Eumolpus, the son of Neptune and of Chione, came at the head of a body of Thracians to claim this country. Erechtheus was then our king; he had married Praxithea, the daughter of Cephissæ. This great army being on the point of entering Attica, Erechtheus repaired to Delphi, and consulted the god upon the means of gaining a victory. The god having answered him that he would defeat the enemy, if he sacrificed his daughter before the two armies came to action; he obeyed the god, sacrificed his daughter, and drove from Attica those who had come to attack it. Thus Euripides, who was in every sense of the word a great poet, merits infinite praise for having introduced to the drama such a subject, as he could not propose to his fellow-citizens a more noble example, the contempla-

\* Pausan. Attic. sive lib. i. cap. xvi. p. 62.

† Athenagoræ Legat. pro Christian. pp. 4, 5.

‡ Apollodor. lib. iii. cap. xiv. § i. p. 229.

§ Pausan. loco laudato.

• Lycurg. contra Leocrat. p. 160. lin. 9; ex edit. vero Taylor, p. 217.

† According to Apollodorus, Praxithea was grand daughter of Cephissæ, and the daughter of Diogenes and of Phrasimus. See Apollodor. lib. ii. cap. xiv. p. 229.

tion of which must create in them a love of their country. It will be proper, O judges,\* that I here quote the words which the poet has placed in the mouth of the young girl's mother. You will find in them a nobleness and a greatness of soul worthy of this city and of the daughter of Cephisa."

Then follows a fragment of the Erechtheus of Euripides, a piece which no longer exists, and which, being rather long, I have omitted.

We are led to suppose that there were two of the name of Eumolpus, both of Thrace, who attacked Attica; the one under Cecrops, and the other under Erechtheus; that to quell the first storm, Agraulos, the daughter of Cecrops, leaped from the top of the citadel; and that to avert the second, Aglauros, daughter of Erechtheus, was sacrificed by her father. The identity of the names and circumstances of the two wars, and the similarity of the means employed to obtain a successful issue, lead to the conclusion that the Athenians possessed only confused traditional records of these ancient events, some referring the arrival of Eumolpus to the time of Cecrops, and others to that of Erechtheus. They knew that the daughter of the prince had devoted herself for the safety of her country. Those who placed the expedition of Eumolpus under the reign of Cecrops I., thought that it was his daughter Agraulos who had killed herself; whilst those who dated it under Erechtheus, asserted that it was Aglauros who had been sacrificed. It was in point of fact the same transaction, but varied as to the date.

*Ἐλαιή*] *An olive-tree.* Pliny relates that in his time this olive-tree was said still to subsist. "Athenis quoque olea durare traditur in certamine edita à Minervâ." It was in the citadel; and because the goat destroys the olive-tree, and prevents it from bearing, goats were forbidden to be taken† into the citadel, except once a year, for a customary sacrifice.

The sacred olive-tree, if we may believe Pausanias,‡ was in the temple of Minerva. Meursius§ hereupon unhesitatingly condemns Herodotus. But can we suppose that our historian, who had lived many years at Athens, could have been mistaken as to the spot where this olive-tree was situated? A few lines farther on, however, he (Meursius) finds means of reconciling the two authors, by observing that in the same temple there were two chapels, one dedicated to Neptune Erechtheus, and the other to Minerva Polias. This is also

\* This was addressed to the judges before whom Lycurgus was pleading.

† Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xvi. cap. xlv. Vol. ii. p. 40. lin. 31.

‡ Varro de Re Rust. lib. i. cap. ii. § xx.

§ Pausan. Attic. alve lib. i. cap. xxvii. p. 51.

¶ Meursius in Cecropia, cap. xi.

the opinion of M. Heyne, in notis ad Apollodorum, p. 17. This olive-tree was called *Μορία*, *Ἀσὴ ἑλαία*, and *Πάγκρυφος*. See the scholiast of Aristophanes on verse 1001 of the *Nubes*, Eustathius on Homer's *Odyssey*, p. 1383, line 6, and Hesychius under the words *Ἀσὴ ἑλαία* and *Πάγκρυφος*. Apollodorus\* says that this olive-tree was seen in the Pandrosium; but it is easy to reconcile this opinion with the two others. "The temple of Pandrosos," says Pausanias, "was contiguous to that of Minerva." Hence, some place the olive-tree in the temple of Erechtheus, others in that of Minerva, and others again in that of Pandrosos.

*Θάλασσα*] *A sea*. This sea was nothing more than a well, into which water flowed from the sea by subterranean channels. "A circumstance which is not very wonderful," adds Pausanias,† "and yet which deserves to be remarked is, that when the south wind blows, a noise is heard in it, similar to the roaring of the waves; and that on the stone of this well is the figure of a trident, which is said to be a testimony of the contest between Neptune and Minerva on the subject of Attica."

Sea-water sprung up also in the temple of Neptune Hippias, near Mantinea, and at Mylassa, a city of Caria, though the port of that city was eighty stadia distant from the sea, and though Mantinea is so wholly inland, that the sea could come there only by a miracle, as Pausanias says. See also the succeeding note.

*Ἐπίουρος*] *Of the contest*. Cecrops\* reigned over Attica. It had been formerly called Actea; but he named it, after himself, Cecropia. It is said, that under his reign the gods appointed the cities in which they required to be honoured by a particular worship. Neptune first came to Attica, and having struck the ground with his trident, near the middle of the citadel, he caused a sea to spring up, which to this day is called the Erechtheis. After him came Minerva, who produced an olive-tree, now seen in the Pandrosium. Jupiter adjudged the city to Minerva, after whom it was named, that goddess being called Athena in Greek.

On the different names of Attica, see the Essay on the Chronology of Herodotus, chap. viii. § xi. p. 266 and following.

*Βλαστόν*] *A shoot*. "Sunt et miracula fortuita. Nam et oliva in totum ambusta revixit: et in Bœntiâ derosæ à locustis ficus germinavere."

\* Apollodor. Biblioth. lib. iii. cap. xiii. § i. p. 322.

† Pausan. Attic. sive lib. i. cap. xxvii. p. 64.

‡ Id. ibid. lib. i. cap. xxvi. pp. 62, 63.

§ Pausan. Arcad. sive lib. viii. cap. x. p. 619.

¶ Apollod. lib. iii. cap. xiii. § i. p. 221.

‡ Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. vi. cap. xvi. Vol. ii. p. 87. lin. 24.

Παχναίων] *A cubit*. According to Pausanias,\* two cubits. But the marvellous seldom loses any thing by time.

LVII. Μνησίφιλος ἄνθρωπος Ἀθηναῖος] *Mnesiphilus of Athens*. This Mnesiphilus was, as well as Themistocles, of the hamlet of Phrear. "He was neither an orator," says Plutarch,<sup>†</sup> "nor one of those who were called natural philosophers; but he applied himself entirely to that study which then bore the name of wisdom, and which was simply the science of good government, which renders prudence vigorous and active; and he attached himself to it as to a sect established by Solon, and which had continued in existence down to his time." Themistocles had been his disciple, and thence arose the deference he paid to his opinions; but, as at the same time he was not a man of sufficient repute in his country to be quoted, Themistocles thought it better to act upon his advice without naming the author of it.

LIX. Οἱ ὑποκαταλειπόμενοι] *Those who remained behind*. That is, those who are conquered in the race.

It was an expression peculiar to the games, and applied to the race of chariots, as well as to the foot-race. Hence it is taken to signify metaphorically those who are conquered, those who lose the advantage in any respect.

\* Ἄλλ' αἰὲν ἡμᾶς ἢ κακοῖς βαλεῖρέ πον,

† Ἡ ξὺν δόλῳ κερτήσεσθ' οἱ λειψόμενοι.

'But you always attack us by contumelious words, or endeavour to bite us in secret, because you have lost your cause.'

It is surprising that Herodotus should suppress an instance of moderation, which does infinite honour to Themistocles. This general represented to the council of the Greeks, how advantageous it would be to give battle at Salamis, and that by going further they would incur the risk of being completely surrounded by the Persians, who would then have room to employ their whole force. The Greeks, who wished to get nearer to the Peloponnesus, revolted against this proposal of the general, and, without giving him time to assign his reasons, they proceeded to insulting observations, and Eurybiades even came up to him with his cane raised. Themistocles, without suffering himself to be moved, said, "Strike, but listen." This<sup>‡</sup> trait of magnanimity disconcerted the Spartan.

LX. Κατηγορεῖν] *By accusing*. To impute to any one that he was about to abandon the common cause, was in reality an accusation. The correction of M. Valckenaer, therefore, who reads οὐδένα κατη-

\* Pausan. Attic. sive lib. L. cap. xxvii. p. 64.

† Plutarch. in Themistocle, p. 112. D.

‡ Sophocl. Ajax, vers. 1244.

§ Plutarch. in Themistocle, p. 117.

γορεύειν instead of οὐδένα κερηγορεύειν, appears to me unnecessary. If we adopted this correction, we must translate, 'he would have thought it contrary to good-breeding to speak ill of any one in the presence of the allies.'

LXI. Εὐρυβιάδρα οὐκ ἔων] *Dissuaded Eurybiades, &c.* M. Valckenaer has perfectly explained this whole passage; I will therefore only say two words for the sake of those who may not have seen his edition, and this the rather, as M. Bellanger was very far from seizing the sense of his author. 1. Οὐκ ἔων signifies 'dissuading,' as in Book II. § xxx. and elsewhere. 2. Ἐπιψηφίζειν signifies 'to take the opinions or advice,' and is said of him who presides over a council or assembly. (See M. Ernesti, in Socrat. Memorabil. p. 10.) 3. I would add to M. Valckenaer's note, that ἀπολι ἀνδρῶν is what is called in grammar 'dativus commodi;' this dative has often been ill rendered. I will quote but a single example, taken from Homer: \* ὅρε Ἴλιον εἰς ἑπαρτεινὴν ἡγεόμην Τρώεσσι. Madame Dacier has translated, 'and that I placed myself at the head of the Trojans.' Τρώεσσι is 'in gratiam Trojanorum.' M. Bitaubé has given a better translation of it, 'I set off to carry assistance to the Trojans.'

Τόρε δὲ] *Not being able to restrain himself any longer.* I thought it better to paraphrase these words, which evidently relate to the beginning of § lx., where Themistocles answers Adimantus with courtesy.

Μέζων] *More powerful.* Æschylus, in his tragedy entitled 'Persæ,' has emphatically said:† "Athens is indestructible; whilst its citizens live, it cannot be overthrown."

Διηκόσια νηες] *Two hundred vessels.* Aristotle, according to\* Plutarch, writes that the senate of the Areopagus gave eight drachmæ‡ a day to each soldier, and that by this means they succeeded in completing the equipment of the vessels. Clidemus, adds Plutarch, affirms that this money was obtained by an artifice of Themistocles. For whilst the Athenians, says he, repaired to the Piræus to embark, the Ægis of the statue of Minerva was lost. Themistocles, under colour of a general search for it, found amongst the baggage an immense sum of money, which being distributed in common, secured abundance to the fleet.

LXII. Μένων ἔσται ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός . . .] *You will save Greece.* There is an ellipsis here. We must supply σώσεις τὴν Ἑλλάδα, or εὖ ἂν ἔχοι. See M. Valckenaer's note.

LXIII. Ἀρεδιόκερο Εὐρυβιάδης] *Induced Eurybiades to change*

\* Homeri Iliad. lib. v. vers. 210.

† Æschyl. in Pers. 346. 347.

‡ Plutarch. in Themistocle. p. 117. A.

\* Six shillings sterling.

• Plutarch. in Themist. p. 117. A.



*His resolution.* 'Αναδίδωμι signifies, 'I cause any one to change his opinion,' or, in the middle voice, 'I cause myself to change my mind,' that is, I change my mind.

LXIV. [Ες Αἴγινα] *At Ægina.* Jupiter,<sup>a</sup> being enamoured of Ægina, the daughter of Asopus, conveyed her to the island which was then called CEnone, but which received from her the name of Ægina. He here had a son by her, named Æacus. And this latter had three sons, viz. Peleus, Telamon, and Phocus. Æacus was a very pious prince. Greece being afflicted by a terrible drought, the oracle of Delphi was consulted on the cause and the remedy. The Pythia answered that the wrath of Jupiter must be appeased, and for this purpose the intercession of Æacus be employed.

Upon this answer, all the cities sent deputations to that prince, who complied with their entreaties by offering up sacrifices and vows to Jupiter Panellenius, and obtained rain.

In the most conspicuous quarter<sup>d</sup> of the city of Ægina is seen the Æaceion, or temple of Æacus: it is a square enclosure of white marble, at the entrance to which are the statues of the deputies who came to Æacus on behalf of the different states of Greece. Such, no doubt, was the origin of the veneration of the Greeks for Æacus and the Æacides.

I take this opportunity of correcting a passage in Clement of Alexandria, relating to this Æacus, who obtained rain by his prayers.<sup>e</sup> Λάβροι δὲ καὶ συνεχεῖς ὄμβροι καταβράγντες, ὅλην ἐπλήρωσιν τὴν χώραν. Ἐνθεῦτεν ἡρόδοτος καὶ πλουσία τελεσφορεῖται: εὐκαρπία ταῖς Αἰακοῦ γεωργηθείσα εἰχαῖς. The Latin translator has rendered this: "Vehementes autem et continui imbres erumpentes totam implevere regionem. Hinc efficitur abundans et copiosa fructuum feracitas, qui Æaci tanquam agricultura, fuere impetrati precibus." This makes no sense at all, and the word γεωργηθείσα is evidently altered. I am surprised that the learned Bishop Potter should have made no note on this passage. I read χωρηγηθείσα. 'A rich and abundant harvest was granted to the prayers of Æacus;' *quæ Æaci precibus fuit impetrata.*

Phocus was killed by Telamon;<sup>f</sup> others say by Peleus and Telamon.<sup>g</sup> Peleus<sup>h</sup> retired to Phthia, and Telamon<sup>i</sup> to the island of Salamis, where he reigned. See also Book v. § LXXX. Ajax, the

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Corinth. sive lib. ii. cap. xxix. pp. 177. 179; Apollodor. lib. iii. cap. xi. § vi. pp. 213. 214. 216.

<sup>b</sup> Pausan. Corinth. sive lib. ii. cap. xxix. p. 179.

<sup>c</sup> Clem. Alexand. Stromat. lib. vi. p. 763. lin. 18.

<sup>d</sup> Pintarch. Vit. Parallel. p. 211. P.

<sup>e</sup> Pausan. Corinth. sive lib. ii. cap. xxix. p. 179; Apollodor. lib. xii. cap. xi. § vi. p. 214.

<sup>f</sup> Apollodor. lib. iii. cap. lxi. § i. p. 216.

<sup>g</sup> Id. ibid. cap. xi. § vii. p. 216.

son of Telamon, distinguished himself at the siege of Troy; but after the death of Achilles, having contested with Ulysses for the arms of the deceased hero, and Ulysses having obtained them, he killed himself in despair. Homer in his *Odyssey* places him in the Elysian fields; and at this I am not surprised, for there were many points of morality which at that time of day were not well understood, in so much that they did not consider suicide as infringing on its principles, but even authorised the act. But I have always been astonished that Fénelon, the pious and learned Archbishop of Cambray, should, in his *Telemachus*, have placed Ajax in the regions of the blessed. It is true he assigns to this prince a degree of happiness inferior to that of the kings who occupied themselves exclusively in rendering their subjects happy; but still he has placed him in the abode of happiness, and this is a bad example.

'Απέσπελλον] *To fetch*. (Pour en faire venir.) 'Απέσπελλον ἐπὶ is employed, as ἔκπετε ἐπὶ, to signify, 'he sent to seek or to fetch.' See Book I. § CX. and elsewhere. This deputation must have increased the celebrity of Æacus. But I much doubt whether the <sup>a</sup> festival celebrated in honour of him at Ægina was instituted on that occasion. I think it was of earlier date.

LXV. Τὸν μυστικὸν Ἰακχόν] *The mystic Iacchus*. On the 20th <sup>b</sup> of the month <sup>c</sup> Boedromion, which was the sixth day of the festival of the mysteries of Ceres, a figure of Iacchus or Bacchus, crowned with myrtle,<sup>d</sup> and holding in his hand a torch,<sup>e</sup> was carried from the Ceramicus<sup>f</sup> to Eleusis. During the march a hymn was sung in honour of the god, which hymn was termed the <sup>g</sup> Mystic Iacchus, and in it the invocation 'Iacche' was frequently repeated. It was this hymn Dicaeus said he had heard.

The hymn was sung not in honour of Bacchus Thebanus, the <sup>h</sup> son of Jupiter and Semele, but of Bacchus the son of Jupiter and Proserpine. The latter was, according to Cicero,<sup>i</sup> the first of the five Bacchuses, amongst whom he does not include the son of Semele.

The Greek text has, καὶ οἱ φαίνεσθαι τὴν φωνὴν εἶναι τὸν Μυστικὸν Ἰακχόν. These expressions are very clear. 'It appeared to him that the words which he heard were the Mystic Iacchus,' that is to say, the hymn so called. M. de Villosion, however, has thought proper to alter the text, and to substitute τὴν φωνὴν εἶναι τὸν Μυστικὸν Ἰακ-

<sup>a</sup> Τὰ Ἀλδεα. Schol. Pindar. ad Olymp. vii. vers. 156. p. 87. col. 2. lin. 11, 12. The entire passage of Plutarch, quoted by M. de Villosion in his notes on the *Lexicon* of Apollonius, p. 856, is taken from this scholiast.

<sup>b</sup> It answers to the 30th September.

<sup>c</sup> Plutarch, in *Camillo*, p. 128. D.

<sup>d</sup> Schol. Aristoph. in *Ran.* vers. 402.

<sup>e</sup> Aristoph. in *Ran.* vers. 331 et seq.

<sup>f</sup> Id. vers. 348 et seq.

<sup>g</sup> Arrian. *Exped. Alexandr.* lib. ii. § avi, Hesych. voc. Ἰακχόν.

<sup>h</sup> Arrianus, *ibid.*

<sup>i</sup> Cicero. de *Nat. Deorum*, lib. iii. § xlvii.

χορ, with this translation, 'hanc vocem emissam esse a Mystico Iaccho.' This writer might have learned from Arrian and Hesychius, what I have before remarked, that the Mystic Iacchus was a hymn sung in honour of Bacchus, on the sixth day of the Mysteries of Eleusis. Moreover, supposing it to have been the god, whose voice was heard by Dicæus, was his voice so different from that of men, or from that of the other gods, that he could distinguish it? We must even in that case suppose that this Athenian was perfectly well acquainted with the respective voices of the different gods. These and other reasons prevented me from adopting the conjecture of M. Villoison, which he had communicated to me, and which I should certainly have kept secret, had he not inserted it, unknown to M. de St. Croix, in note 6. p. 199. of the excellent work of that writer, entitled, 'Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de la Religion secrète des anciens Peuples.'

Καὶ ἀρτὸν τε ὁ βουλόμενος μύειναι] *And they initiate into these mysteries.* On these mysteries, see Meursius's treatise entitled 'Eleusinia,' and likewise Dr. Warburton's work called 'The Divine Legation of Moses.' That learned bishop, however, appears to me to be mistaken, in maintaining that the unity of the Deity was taught to the initiated. Perhaps this might be done with respect to those who manifested a disposition to receive this dogma: but I am persuaded it was never hinted at to the mass of the initiated, and that atheism was preached to a very small number, who seemed oppositely disposed. The same may be said of the mysteries of Samothracia and of Lemnos. I appeal to Cicero: "Omitto Eleusinam sanctam illam et augustam,

Ubi initiatur gentes orarum ultima.

Prætereo Samothraciam, eaque, quæ

Lemni

Nocturno aditu occulta colantur,

Silvestribus sæpibus densæ;

quibus explicatis ad rationemque revocatis, rerum magis natura cognoscitur, quam Deorum."

Such were the reasons which induced me, at the time of sending to the press my first edition, to adopt these two opinions on the doctrine taught at these mysteries, notwithstanding their incompatibility. But having since read with great attention the learned work of M. de St. Croix, on the Mysteries of Paganism, I have found with pleasure that they are both completely refuted. See sect. v. art. v. and more especially pp. 355, and 365, and following.

\* Cic. de Nat. Deorum, lib. i. § alii.

As to the assertion of Herodotus, that not only the Athenians, but all other Greeks who desired it, were initiated into these mysteries, it is to be observed that this was not always the case. Hercules and the Dioscuri were initiated; but they were first adopted by an Athenian. Anacharsis,<sup>4</sup> though a barbarian, was admitted to them; but he also was first adopted. The Athenians afterwards became less particular in this matter, not only with regard to the Greeks, as this passage of Herodotus proves, but also with regard to the Barbarians; as Sylla, Pomponius Atticus, Augustus, &c. were initiated.

Ἐχ' ἥσυχος] *Be not disturbed.* The Athenians, and the Ionians who were originally of Athens, frequently employ the adjective on this occasion. Euripides says, in like manner, in his *Medea*, verse 553. ἄλλ' ἔχ' ἥσυχος, and in *Orestes*, verse 1275 of Brunck's edition, ἀφοβοι ἔχε. The other Greeks more commonly use, in the like case, the adverb ἔχ' ἡσυχως.

Καραπτόμενος] *Which he supported.* Eustathius<sup>c</sup> remarks, that Herodotus takes *καράπτεσθαι* in an unusual sense; and he explains it, 'taking to witness,' *μάρτυρος προφέρων*. He then quotes this passage of our author. Herodotus has made use of the same expression, Book vi. § LXVIII.

LXVI. Τῶν πέντε πόλεων] *Of the five islands.* In the Greek, 'the five cities.' As all the islands of the Ægean sea contained cities of the same name with themselves, it became common to use the words *πῶλις* and *νῆσος*, island and city, on such occasions as synonymous. Herodotus, Book iii. § CXXXIX. calls Samos the first of all the cities; Eupolis calls Chios<sup>d</sup> a beautiful city, and Thucydides terms it a very large city.<sup>e</sup> See also Harpocration at the word *Κεῖροι*.

These five islands were Naxos, Melos, Siphnos, Seriphos, and Cythnos, of which Herodotus has spoken above, § XLVI.

LXVII. Οἱ μὲν δὲ ἄλλοι κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ γνώμην ἐξέφεροντο] *All were of opinion.* M. Wesseling, on the authority of two Mss., has introduced into the text *οἱ μὲν δὲ ἄλλοι*, instead of *οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι*, which was formerly read. This latter reading, however, supported by the three Mss. of the Royal Library, appears to me preferable; *ἄλλοι* being for *οἱ ἄλλοι*, *οἱ μὲν δὲ ἄλλοι* would be the same with *οἱ μὲν δὲ οἱ ἄλλοι*, which is inadmissible.

LXVIII. Τῶν ὑφελός ἐστι οὐδέν] *A cowardly and despicable people.* I have endeavoured to render the expression *τῶν ὑφελός ἐστι οὐδέν*. The late M. Hemsterhuis,<sup>f</sup> with his usual acuteness, has remarked,

<sup>a</sup> Plutarch, in *Thesco*. p. 16. A; *Diodor. Sic.* lib. iv. § xiv. p. 260.

<sup>b</sup> Lucian, *Scythia*, § viii. Vol. i. p. 868.

<sup>c</sup> Eustath. ad *Hom. Iliad.* i. vers. 382. p. 155. lin. 27.

<sup>d</sup> Scholiast. ad Aristoph. *Aves*, vers. 881.

<sup>e</sup> Thucyd. lib. viii. § xv.

<sup>f</sup> Lucian, *Timon*. Vol. i. p. 171. note 5. See also M. Valckenær's note.

that  $\delta$ ,  $\pi$   $\pi$   $\epsilon$   $\rho$   $\epsilon$   $\rho$   $\alpha$   $\lambda$   $\alpha$   $\varsigma$  is used to indicate whatever is most excellent of its kind. With the negation it means the very reverse. Now as it is here applied to warriors, and as cowardice is one of the worst qualities that can be imputed to them, I have thought it best distinctly to express the author's meaning.

LXXI.  $\tau\eta\ \Sigma\iota\pi\omega\nu\iota\delta\alpha\ \delta\delta\omega\tau$ ] *The road to Sciron.* This road<sup>a</sup> led from Megaris to the Isthmus over the mountain of Sciron, famous for being the resort of the robber whose name it bore. This robber threw travellers into the sea, or fastened their limbs to pine-branches which he had bent down, and which afterwards springing up again, dashed them to pieces. Theseus cleared the country of him.

LXXII.  $\text{Ἠλεῖοι}$ ] *The Eleans.* Pausanias<sup>d</sup> also says that they took part in the war between the Greeks and Xerxes. Diodorus Siculus denies this. As the Eleans, says he,<sup>e</sup> increased greatly, and governed their republic with eminent wisdom, the Lacedæmonians endeavoured to induce them to relax the strictness of their discipline, and to lead a more ordinary life, in order that, from enjoying the sweets of peace, they might be destitute of experience in military affairs. With this view, and with the consent of the other Greeks, they dedicated them to the god (Jupiter): they did not march with the troops of the nation against Xerxes; as being devoted exclusively to the service of the god, they were exempted from carrying arms; and even in the private wars waged by one nation of Greece against another, so far from disturbing or causing any injury to them, all were anxious to defend and preserve their city and its territory as a spot sacred and inviolable. But after a lapse of many generations, the Eleans engaged in war, as well for the common good, as for their own particular interests. See also Polybius, lib. iv. § LXXIII. p. 468.

LXXIII.  $\text{Ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου οὐκ ἐξεχώρησε}$ ] *Has never left the Peloponnesus.* The Achæans having been driven from Laconia and Argolis by the Heraclidæ, took possession of the country then occupied by the Ionians, and which from them took the name of Achaia; therefore they never did leave the Peloponnesus. See Book i. § cxlv. note 1.

$\text{Ἀἰτωλοὶ}$ ] *The Ætolians.* Pausanias also relates<sup>d</sup> that Elis had been peopled by Ætolians who came from Calydon, and other parts of Ætolia; but in enumerating the antiquities of that nation, he does not mention them. It should seem, on the contrary, that it was Æto-

<sup>a</sup> Strab. lib. ix. p. 600. A.

<sup>d</sup> Diodor. Sic. *Excerpt. de Virtut. et*

<sup>b</sup> Pausan. *Ellic. prior. sive lib. v. cap. iv. p. 303.*

*Vitia*, Vol. ii. p. 547.

<sup>e</sup> Paus. *Ellic. l. sive lib. v. cap. i. p. 376.*



lus, brother of Epeius, who, being obliged to fly on account of a murder, retired towards the borders<sup>c</sup> of the Achelous in Curetus, and gave his name to the inhabitants. Eleius having succeeded his brother Epeius, gave the name of Eleans<sup>d</sup> to the people, who under the preceding reign had been called Epeians.

I cannot find, therefore, that the Ætolians at any time came to settle at Elis; but I find that Endymion,<sup>e</sup> son of Aethlius and Calyce, took certain Æolians<sup>d</sup> with him from Thessaly, and was the founder of Elis.

If we adopt the first tradition related by Pausanias, these Ætolians were not properly Ætolians, but Æolians. Calydon was formerly called Æolis. See Thucydides, Book III. § CII. I should therefore be inclined to substitute 'the Æolians' for 'the Ætolians,' on the supposition that the copyists may have written one for the other, as in Book VI. § CXXVII., where we find Αἰωλίδας in some Mss. and Αἰολίδας in others.

Πρὸς Καρδαμύλην] *Towards Cardamyla.* He adds 'of Laconia,' to distinguish it from the city of Cardamyla in Argolis. Xenophon, whose clearness and accuracy are well known, speaking of Asine in Laconia, says: The Thebans<sup>e</sup> having led their army against Asine in Laconia, defeated the Lacedæmonian garrison. See my Geographical Table.

Λημνίων δὲ Παρορσῆται πάντες] *The Parorsetæ are all Lemnians.* The Minyæ, or descendants of the Argonauts, having been<sup>f</sup> driven from the island of Lemnos by the Pelasgi, came into the Peloponnesus. Having<sup>g</sup> shortly afterwards taken possession of the country of the Parorsetæ, and of that of the Caucones, they drove out the ancient inhabitants, and built six cities. This event is of the same date with the foundation of Thera, as we find from Herodotus, and consequently of the year 3564 of the Julian period, 1150 years before our era. At the time of the battle of Salamis, therefore, the Minyæ had for 670 years borne the name of Parorsetæ.

Δοκέουσι μὲν εἶναι Ἴωνες] *Are considered Ionians by some.* Herodotus had just said that the Cynurii were Autochthones; he could therefore scarcely say immediately afterwards that they were Ionians. The text, therefore, must be corrupt. I have adopted the correction proposed by M. Valckenær. Pausanias says<sup>h</sup> that the Cynurii were considered by some as being originally of Argolis, and that the colony had been under the conduct of Cynurus, son of Perseus; but

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Eliac. i. sive lib. v. cap. i. p. 376. Apollodor. lib. i. cap. vii. § vi. p. 27.

<sup>b</sup> Apollodor. lib. i. cap. vii. § vi. p. 27.

<sup>c</sup> Id. ibid. § v. p. 26.

<sup>d</sup> That is, the descendants of Æolus.

<sup>e</sup> Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. vii. cap. i. § xiv. p. 447.

<sup>f</sup> Herodot. lib. iv. § cxlv.

<sup>g</sup> Id. ibid. § cxlviii.

<sup>h</sup> Paus. Lac. sive lib. iii. cap. ii. p. 207.

as this founder was more than two centuries anterior to the establishment of the Dorians, and as the people who then inhabited Argolis appear to have been Autochthones, this account only in part contradicts that of our historian, that the Cynurii were aborigines of the country they then inhabited. With regard to what he adds, according to the correction of M. Valckenaer, viz. that some considered them to be Ionians, that is further supported by a passage of Pausanias, in which it is said that Orneæ took its origin from \* Orneus, the son of Erechtheus: for, admitting this tradition, they were Ionians.

Ἐόνες: Ὀρνέαι] *The Orneatæ.* Instead of Ἐόνες Ὀρνέαι, which does not seem to give any meaning, I read ὡς τε Ὀρνέαι. The Argians subdued the Orneatæ,<sup>b</sup> and incorporated them with themselves. We see also in Thucydides,<sup>c</sup> that the Argians demanded of the Lacedæmonians the restoration of Cynuria, as a property which belonged to them. See Book I. § LXXXII. notes 1. and 2.

LXXIV. Τὰτα] *The march of the Barbarians.* The Greek is τατα, 'these things.' I think that this refers to the march of the Persians, who were about to enter the Peloponnesus, and of which he had spoken before, § LXXI.

LXXVI. Πρὸς τῇ Σαλαμῖνι] *Towards Salamis.* To form a clear idea of the disposition of the enemy's fleet, we must acquire a distinct knowledge of the scene of action, and the design of the Persians. Salamis was an island near Attica, and between Attica and Megaris. On the side of Attica was a strait, and at the entrance of this strait, the little island of Psyttalia. On the side of Megaris was another strait. Between Salamis and Mount Ægaleos, the sea was open enough for the Greeks to work their vessels, but too narrow for a fleet so large as that of the Persians. This was the spot chosen by the Greeks to give battle, with the view of rendering useless a large proportion of the Persian fleet. The Persians, who had no idea of the plan of the Greeks, thought that a most favourable opportunity now presented itself to end the war at a blow, by taking the whole maritime force of the Greeks, as in a net. Filled with this idea, they took possession of the island of Psyttalia, and advanced their right wing, which<sup>d</sup> was to the west, towards Salamis and on the side of Eleusis, with the view of closing the passage against the Greeks; and for the purpose of enclosing them on the side of Piræus, they advanced their left wing, which stretched out to the east round the island of Ceos and the promontory Cynosura; by which they occupied all the strait as far as Munychia. The island of Ceos is at the

\* Pausan. Corinthiac. sive lib. ii. cap.

xxv. p. 108.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>c</sup> Thucyd. lib. v. § xli. p. 842.

<sup>d</sup> They were the vessels which were near Piræus. See § LXXI.

extremity of Attica, and opposite to the promontory Sunium. Cynosura is another promontory of Attica, opposite to one of the extremities of Eubœa. By this arrangement the Greeks were surrounded on all sides.

This explanation is founded on § LXXXV., on which it throws some light.

Such was my way of thinking some years ago; but a writer of considerable repute suggested doubts to my mind, which led me to a fresh consideration of the subject.\* This writer conceived that the island of Ceos, mentioned by Herodotus, was not that which is opposite to the promontory Sunium, and that Cynosura was not the promontory of Attica near Marathon, and opposite to Eubœa, but a promontory of the island of Salamis. For my part, I know of no other isle of Ceos but that which is opposite to Sunium, nor am I aware that there is any promontory in the island of Salamis named Cynosura. I therefore retain my former opinion, and the passage of Herodotus appears to me sufficiently clear. The Persians were desirous of subduing the Greeks; but more particularly of avenging themselves on the Athenians. What do they do? Their army advances towards Attica, whilst their vessels, having stopped three days at Histiaëum,<sup>d</sup> cross the Euripus, and in three days more gain Phalera. We must not suppose that the whole fleet was at Phalera; we must understand this only of the vessels which were the farthest advanced. The fleet of the Persians, which was extremely numerous, and which must necessarily pass Cynosura, had its hindmost vessels off this promontory, whilst its foremost ones stretched out to the port of Phalera. By this means the whole coast of Attica was in their power, whilst their army prepared to enter the country. The plan was well contrived, and seemed to leave the Athenians no hope of escape. One circumstance alone deranged it. Xerxes learned that all the Athenians had taken to their ships, which were between the island of Salamis and the territory of Eleusis, and that they had placed their wives and children in a place of safety. This intelligence, which obliged him to change his plan, did not appear to him less favourable, because he flattered himself that he should render himself master of the whole Greek fleet. It was then that he made the disposition of his forces which I have detailed in the beginning of this note.

LXXVII. Κόπον, [*Υβρις υἱὸν*] *Diadaïa*, son of Insolence. The oracle, in these words, alludes to Xerxes. Κόπος here signifies, 'satietas,' 'fastidium,' and not 'juvenis.' M. Wesseling pointed out this in his note; and I perceived that such was the real meaning. But the

\* The late Abbé Barthélemy.

<sup>d</sup> Herodot. lib. viii. § xliii. and lvi.

difficulty of rendering this in French, induced me to adopt an expression which, by taking from the oracle a part of its enigmatical style, might give room to imagine that I had interpreted *κόρος* by 'juvenis.' Pindar<sup>a</sup> says that Insolence is the mother of Disdain.

Ἐθέλοντι δ' ἀλεξείν Ὑβριν, Κόρου  
Ματέρα θρασύμυθον.

<sup>a</sup> 'Wishing to repel audacious Insolence, the mother of Disdain.'

The oracle and Pindar contradict each other only in appearance. If the disgust occasioned by abundance engenders insolence, it may be also said that insolence leads us to undervalue our own riches, and to covet those of others. It is in this sense that Sophocles has said<sup>b</sup> in his *Œdipus Tyrannus*:

Ὑβρις φυτεῖται τύραννον.

'Insolence generates the tyrant.' It is not necessary, with the commentators, to have recourse to an enallage to understand this verse.

Δοκεῖντ' ἀνὰ πάντα κίθεσθαι] *Fancies he shall make the universe resound.* M. Wesseling thinks the Greek obscure. The Latin translation, 'sibi cedere cuncta putantem,' is not exact. The above-mentioned critic in his notes proposes this, 'Opinantem ubique se auditum iri,' which appears to me correct, and I have therefore adopted it.

Χαλκὸς γὰρ χαλκῷ συμμίζεσθαι] *Brass shall mingle with brass.* This alludes to the brass with which the prows of the vessels were armed, or perhaps to those ancient times, before the discovery of iron, when all weapons were made of brass.

<sup>a</sup> Nam prius aris erat quam ferri obgnitus usus.

.....

Ære solum terræ tractabant, æreque belli

Miscebant fluctus, et vulnera vasta crebant....

Ἀντιλογίῃς χρησμῶν πέρι οὔτε αὐτὸς λέγειν τολμέω, οὔτε παρ' ἄλλων ἐνδέχομαι] *I dare not contradict . . . and I do not approve.* This single trait, says the learned and judicious M. Valckenaar, suffices to show, that in respect to oracles our historian, otherwise possessed of so much good sense, was infected with the same malady as his contemporaries. But it proves at the same time that there were even then some persons of more discernment and less credulity.

LXXIX. Ἐξωστρακισμένοι] *By ostracism.* "Ostracism is a Greek word, which comes from *ὀστράκον*, a shell or tile. It was a species of

<sup>a</sup> Pindari Olymp. xii. vers. 12.

<sup>b</sup> Sophocl. Œdipus Tyr. vers. 873.

<sup>c</sup> Lucret. vers. lib. v. vers. 1306.

judgment in use at Athens, by which those who were thought, either from their wealth or talents, to have become dangerous to the state, were exiled for ten years, or, as Diodorus Siculus says,<sup>a</sup> for five years. Ostracism was devised by the Athenians after they had thrown off the yoke of the Pisistratids,<sup>b</sup> as a means of getting rid of those whom they thought capable of overthrowing the popular government.

"On passing a judgment of this sort, the public place was closed in with boards; and in the enclosure were left ten avenues. The people entered by tribes, and each person placed in the urn his 'ostrakon,' on which was written his vote. If there were 6000 votes against the accused party, he was obliged in ten days to quit the city. No smaller number of votes could condemn him. Ostracism was in use not only amongst the Athenians, but also with the Argians, the Milesians, the Megarians, &c. Themistocles, Aristides, Thucydides, Alcibiades, &c. were exiled by ostracism. This species of exile differed from banishment in three respects. It was for a fixed time, the place of exile was assigned, and the effects of the condemned were not forfeited: banishment, on the contrary, was perpetual, no place was assigned, and the property of the banished person was confiscated. See Varinus Phavorinus, under the words 'Οστρακισμός and 'Οστρακισμός. Ostracism was an honourable kind of exile, which, so far from casting any stain on the person who incurred it, was rather a testimony of his merit. Sentence was pronounced by plurality of voices and by authority, without any deliberate arguing or formal investigation: to be liable to ostracism, it was enough to excite jealousy or provoke calumny; banishment, on the contrary, was a punishment inflicted by judges, after mature deliberation, upon such as were guilty of some crime not esteemed deserving of death. It fixed a stain of infamy, which could not be effaced, even by the expiration of the term of banishment; and when it was perpetual, it was equivalent to a civil death."—BELLANGER.

LXXXII. Τὸν τρίποδα] *The tripod.* See Book 1. § xcii, note 1.

Ὀγδῶκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας] *Three hundred and eighty.* Æschylus states them at only three hundred and ten.

LXXXIII. Οἱ σύνδογον τῶν ἐπιβατέρων ποιούμενοι] *The troops were assembled.* As this phrase appeared to M. Weseling to want connexion, he added ἡγορώμενοι: but he seems not to have been aware that it was a nominative absolute for a genitive absolute. From a thousand examples of this mode of expression, I will only adduce the

<sup>a</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. xi. § iv. Vol. L. p. 445.

<sup>b</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>c</sup> Æschyl. Pers. vers. 327, 328.



following: Καὶ διαλεγόμενοι αὐτῷ ἔδοξε μοι σῆτος ὁ ἀνὴρ . . . ' Having discoursed with him, it appeared to me that this man . . . '

Ἵ Σωθεὺς δὲ, παῖδας ἐξ ἐμῆς ὁμοσπόρου  
Κτησαμένους, ἦν ἔδωκά σοι δάμαρ' ἔχειν,  
Ὅνομά τ' ἐμοῦ γένοιτ' ἄν.

' If you succeed in escaping and have children by my sister, whom I have given you to wife, my name may be preserved.' Σωθεὺς δὲ is for σὺ σωθέντος, as has been remarked by Joshua Barnes. Προσθίγων in the Choëphori<sup>o</sup> is for προσθίγοντός σου. The Latins, in imitation of the Greeks, said, "ceterum Philosophorum disciplina . . . eas non modo nihil adjuvare arbitror." Cic. de Finibus, lib. 111. § 111., on which see Davies's note.

In like manner Terence, Hecyr. Act. 111. Sc. 1. vers. 6.

Nam nos omnes, quibus est alicunde aliquis objectus labor,  
Omne quod est interea tempus, priusquam id recatum est, lucro est.

Ἐορῶντων ἐκέλευε ἐς τὰς νῆας] *He ordered them to embark.* This order of Themistocles, as well as his harangue, was addressed to the Athenians only. The other generals acted in a similar manner, no doubt, though Herodotus does not mention it.

LXXXIV. Οἱ μὲν δὲ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ πρῶμην ἀνεκρούοντο, καὶ δεξιὰν τὰς νῆας] *The Greeks drew back . . . without putting about.* Ἐπὶ πρῶμην ἀνεκρούοντο. Ἐπὶ πρῶμην κρούσασθαι is said of a vessel which draws back, without putting about. This had not the appearance of retreating, and the persons on board were less exposed to the danger of being wounded, than if their backs were turned to the enemy. But when they drew back for the purpose of returning to the attack with greater impetuosity, it was called ἐπὶ πρῶμην ἀνακρούσασθαι. The distinction between these two expressions is very clearly pointed out by Julius Pollux. <sup>o</sup> Καὶ τὸ μὲν εἰς ἐμβολὴν ὑπογαγεῖν εἰς τοῦπισω τὴν ναῦν, ἀνακρούσασθαι τὸ δὲ εἰς φυγὴν, πρῶμην κρούσασθαι. "Ἀνακρούσασθαι is said when a vessel draws back, without putting about, to return to the attack; but when they take to flight, without putting about, they say πρῶμην κρούσασθαι." This manoeuvre was performed by rowing backwards. The same author also, speaking of a horse, says, ἀνάκρουε τῷ χαλινῷ, "make him draw back, by pulling the bridle, that you may afterwards urge him forwards with greater ardour." See Book vi. § x11. note 2.; and likewise the learned note of M. Valckenaer.

<sup>o</sup> Plato Socrat. Apolog. Vol. i. p. 21. C.

<sup>o</sup> Euripid. Iphig. in Taurid. vers. 605.

<sup>o</sup> Æschyl. Kœph. vers. 1060.

<sup>o</sup> Jul. Poll. Onomast. lib. i. cap. 12.

segm. cœv. p. 84.

<sup>o</sup> Id. ibid. cap. xi. segm. cœv. p. 170.

*Ἀναποσειθε]* *To draw back.* This expression is the same as that employed in the beginning of the paragraph. But I have preferred departing a little from the meaning to using a long periphrasis. See the preceding note.

LXXXV. *Ἀνεγράφη]* *Having been inscribed.* The names of those who had deserved well of the king were inscribed in registers. See the \* letter of Xerxes to Pausanias, king of Lacedæmon. Mordecai, who † warned Ahasuerus of a conspiracy against his life, was inscribed on these registers, and was afterwards rewarded. The Septuagint translate *γράμματα μνημόσυνα τῶν ἡμερῶν*, and the Vulgate, *historias et annales priorum temporum.*

LXXXVI. *Τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν νηῶν]* *The fleet of the Persians.* At the time of the battle of Salamis a horned comet appeared: "*ceratias*" cornus speciem habet, qualis fuit cum Græcia apud Salamina depugnavit." This battle was fought in the first year of the 75th Olympiad, 480 years B. C., on the 20th of the month Boëdromion, or the 30th September. † Plutarch, who assigns this date in his life of Camillus, is not mistaken, as Dodwell ‡ has supposed, when he asserts in the life of Lysander, § that the battle of Salamis was fought on the 16th of the month Munchion, or the 20th April. Plutarch, in his life of Camillus, speaks of the battle of Salamis which took place in the first year of the 75th Olympiad; and in the life of Lysander, of the battle of Salamis in the isle of Cyprus, which happened in the third year of the 82d Olympiad, 450 years before the vulgar era. Ruault is in error. Plutarch ‖ and Diogenes Laertius remark, that Euripides was born on the very day of the first battle of Salamis, and that he died on the day of the birth of Dionysius Priscus, who was one of the tyrants of Sicily.

LXXXVII. *Ἀρtemisia]* *Artemisia.* She was the daughter of Lygdamis, and queen of Caria. She possessed, however, but a small part of it, Halicarnassus the capital, and the three little islands of Cos, Nisyros, and Calydna. † We must not therefore confound Calydna with Calynda, a town on the frontiers of Lycia, of which Damasithymus was king. Neither must we confound this princess with another Artemisia, who was likewise queen of Caria, and daughter of Hecatomnus, sister and wife of Mausolus, who died about the 106th Olympiad, 356 years B. C.

\* Thucyd. lib. I. § cxxix. p. 84.

† Esther, chap. vi. vers. 1, &c.

‡ Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. ii. cap. xiv. Vol. I. p. 88. ln. 4.

§ Plutarch. in Camillo, p. 188. B.

‖ Annales Thucydidei, p. 49.

§ Plutarch. in Lysand. p. 441. D; de Gloria Atheniens. p. 349. F.

‡ Plutarch. Symposiac. lib. viii. Quæst. I. p. 717. C; Diog. Laert. lib. ii. ægum. xlv.

§ Herodot. lib. vii. § xcix.

*Νομίζου τὴν νῆα*] *Imagining that this vessel.* Polyænus<sup>a</sup> relates that Artemisia had taken down the Persian flag from her vessel; a circumstance not noticed by Herodotus, but which makes his account the more probable.

LXXXVIII. *Καὶ δὴ τίνα*] *And that some one.* If we may rely on<sup>b</sup> Ptolemy the son of Hephæstion, it was Draco, the son of Eupompus of Samos. He had so piercing a sight, that he could distinguish objects at the distance of twenty stadia. Xerxes gave him<sup>c</sup> 1000 talents to accompany him in his expedition. He was seated with Xerxes under the golden plane-tree, and related to him what passed in both fleets.

*Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶπαι*] *Xerxes answered.* This prince<sup>d</sup> sent a complete suit of armour of Grecian make to Artemisia, as a reward for her valour; and to the commander of his fleet, a spindle and distaff. This latter part of the story seems to me scarcely probable, and has most likely arisen out of the speech of Xerxes. The commander of this fleet was the brother of Xerxes; and he fell, fighting valiantly.<sup>e</sup>

LXXXIX. *Ἀριαβίγνης*] *Ariabignes.* This prince can be no other than he whom our author had before called<sup>f</sup> Artobazanes, and whom Plutarch<sup>g</sup> calls Ariamnes.

XC. *Πάντας αἰτιώμενος*] *Accused them all.* I read with most of the Mss. *πάντας αἰτιώμενος*, and refer this word to *Φοίνικας*.

*ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει τὸ καλεῖται Αἰγάλεω*] *Of Mount Ægaleum.* The ancients vary as to the place from whence Xerxes beheld the battle of Salamis. Phanodemus says,<sup>h</sup> that it was above the temple of Hercules, at that part of Attica which is separated from Salamis only by a very narrow strait. Acetodorus, on the other hand, affirmed that it was from the hills called Cerata, (the horns,) on the confines of the territory of Megaris. These differences are only such in appearance. They fought at Salamis, which, according to Pausanias,<sup>i</sup> extended as far as Megaris. Thus Mount Ægaleum was on the confines of Attica and Megaris. It appears that it was a part of Mount Corydalus.

This position of Xerxes, who from the top of Mount Ægaleum gave his orders, and animated his troops by his presence, warmed the imagination of a poet, who compares him to Jupiter *Νεφεληγερέτης*, an epithet which Homer frequently bestows on that god. Suidas

<sup>a</sup> Polyani Strateg. lib. viii. cap. liii. § i. pp. 804. 805.

<sup>b</sup> Phot. Biblioth. exc. p. 477.

<sup>c</sup> 225,000<sup>l</sup> sterling, which is contrary to all probability.

<sup>d</sup> Polyani Strateg. lib. viii. cap. liii. § ii. p. 805.

<sup>e</sup> Diod. Sic. lib. xi. § xxi. Vol. i. p. 217.

<sup>f</sup> Id. lib. vi. § ii.

<sup>g</sup> Plutarch. in Themist. p. 110. D; de Fratern. Amore, p. 189. D.

<sup>h</sup> Il. lib. p. 118. F.

<sup>i</sup> Pausan. Attic. are lib. i. cap. xxxv. p. 85.

has preserved this fragment, under the word *Māsson*. Vol. II. p. 506.

Ἐπιπρὸ δὲ μάσσον ἐπ' ἑρπον  
Αἰγάλειον θύεστος, ἄγων μέγαν ἱερὸν, ἔστη.

'Having advanced, he stopped on the summit of the odoriferous *Ægaleum*, bringing with him a terrific storm.'

I have adopted the corrections of M. Toup, *Emend. in Suidam*, Pars II. p. 140.

[*Προσελίσβeto*] *Contributed greatly*. The translators make Herodotus to say, that Xerxes also had the head of Ariamnes taken off, though he was his friend. But how had he deserved this treatment? Moreover *προσεβάλετο* cannot signify this, nor indeed does it make any sense at all. M. Wesseling approves the conjecture of M. Reiske, who reads *προσελάβετο*, and that of M. Abresch, who adds *ἴωνων το φίλοι ἴων*. See M. Wesseling's note. We know that *προσελάμβανομαι* signifies 'I assist,' though this signification is found in no Dictionary that I know of; but I will cite an example from Aristophanes. "Αἰδρεῖ . . . προσλάβετε, πρὸς θεῶν, εἰ μὴ με βούλεισθ' ἀποπνιγέσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν." 'Assist me, in the name of the gods, unless you would have me suffocated through your carelessness.'

XIII. [*Ἀμινίης Παλληγείης*] *Aminias of Pallene*. This Aminias was the brother of *Æschylus*,<sup>d</sup> from whose pen we have seven tragedies.

XIV. [*Λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι*] *The Athenians say*. Dion Chrysostom relates<sup>c</sup> that our historian, not having received from the Corinthians, to whom he had recited what he had written in their praise, the recompense that he expected, related the actions of Adimantus and the Corinthians at the battle of Salamis, in a wholly different manner. Plutarch says that Herodotus has malignantly misrepresented the conduct of the Corinthians in the battle of Salamis; but had the circumstance related by Dion Chrysostom been true, Plutarch would not have failed to make the most of it. But I cannot believe that our historian has been influenced by any such motives; but rather that he wished to gratify the Athenians, who were enemies of the Corinthians. Plutarch opposes to our historian,<sup>d</sup> and with reason, the silence of Thucydides, the offerings made at Delphi, the vow of the women of Corinth, and certain epigrams, or rather inscriptions of Simonides and some other poets, with which our historian must have been acquainted. I subjoin one on Adimantus, which is preserved in the *Anthologia* of Constantine Cephalas:

<sup>c</sup> Aristoph. in *Pac.* vers. 9.

<sup>d</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. XI. § XVII. Vol. I. p.

<sup>c</sup> Dion Chrysost. in *Corinth*, p. 456. C.

<sup>d</sup> De Herodoti Malign. p. 670. D, E, F; 671. A, B.

"This" is the tomb of that Adimantus, by whose advice Greece placed upon her head the crown of liberty."

I may add further, that had Herodotus acted with the intentions which Plutarch and Dion Chrysostom impute to him, he would not have opposed to the account of the Athenians the testimony of all Greece. But see the Treatise on the Malignity of Herodotus, translated by Amyot, § 2. with my notes.

This Adimantus had <sup>d</sup> three daughters and a son. He gave to the first of his daughters the name of Nausinica, to the second that of Acrothynium, and to the third that of Alexibia; and he called his son Aristæas. Aristæas distinguished himself in the Peloponnesian war at the head of the Corinthians.<sup>e</sup> Having been afterwards sent as ambassador to the great king,<sup>d</sup> with Aneristus, Nicolaos, Pratodemus, and Timagoras of Tegea, he was taken with his colleagues in Thrace, when on the point of embarking for Asia. They were conducted to Athens, and put to death.

Τὸ ἵπὸν Ἀθηναίων Σειράδος] *The temple of Minerva Sciras.* The island of Salamis<sup>f</sup> was formerly called Sciras, from a hero of the same name. Minerva was worshipped under that name in this island; and hence also the sacrifice, which at Athens was called Episcirosis, and the month Scirophorion, which answered nearly to our month of June.

This hero Sciras<sup>f</sup> was a soothsayer who came from Dodona to seek Erechtheus during the war which the Thracians, who had taken possession of Eleusis, waged against that prince. He erected at Phalera a temple to Minerva Sciras.

Ἐν ἑξερυσμείοις] *After the action.* We read also ἐν ἑξερυσμείοις in the Mss. A, B, and D in the Royal Library.

XCV. Ἐν τῷ θόρυβῳ τοῦτο] *Amongst the cries and tumult of the combatants.* I have endeavoured to express the force of the words ἐν τῷ θόρυβῳ τοῦτο. Θόρυβος in Pindar signifies tumultuous cries, noisy acclamations.

<sup>e</sup> Συμμαχία θόρυβον  
Παπαῖθζε μέγαν.

<sup>f</sup> Sodalitio acclamationem expressit magnam.

Ἀνέβησε ἄνω] *He carried them over.* "Aristides<sup>d</sup> observing that Psyttalia, a little island close to Salamis and in the strait, was

<sup>d</sup> Antholog. Cephal., p. 67.

<sup>e</sup> Plutarch. de Herod. Malig. p. 87 L. A.

<sup>f</sup> Thucyd. lib. i. § lxi. et seq.

<sup>d</sup> Herodot. lib. vii. § cxxvii. See also my 2d note on § cxxviii. of that book. Thucyd. lib. ii. § lxxvii.

<sup>e</sup> Strab. lib. ix. p. 603. A.

<sup>f</sup> Pausan. Attica, seu lib. i. cap. xxvii.

<sup>e</sup> Pindari Olymp. x. vers. 64.

<sup>f</sup> Plutarch. in Aristide, p. 323. F.



filled with hostile troops, took with him the most zealous and brave of his fellow-citizens, and having embarked them on light vessels, he made a descent on the island. He gave battle to the Barbarians, and put them all to the sword, except the most distinguished, whom he made prisoners. Amongst this number were three brothers, sons of Sondace, sister of the king. Aristides having sent them to Themistocles, it is said that they were sacrificed to Bacchus Omestes, by order of the prophet Euphrantides, and by virtue of an oracle."

XCVI. Ὡστε ἀποκληῖσαι τὸν χρησμὸν] *Were accomplished.* These words refer to τῶν ναυηγίων τὰ πολλὰ at the beginning of the sentence. 'So that the immense quantity of wreck accomplished the oracle.' I notice this, lest the turn I have given to it should lead people to believe that I had read ὥστε ἀποκλησθῆναι τὸν χρησμὸν.

Βάσις] *Basis.* See note 1. on § xx. supra.

Μουσαῖος] *Musæus.* There were several persons of this name. The one here mentioned was an Athenian,<sup>a</sup> and of Eleusis, son of Anti-phemus, or Antiophemus, as he is called by Pausanias.<sup>b</sup> He wrote some precepts in verse addressed to his son Eamolpus, on which see Pausanias.<sup>c</sup> This author says,<sup>d</sup> however, that there is nothing extant which is certainly from the pen of Musæus, except a hymn in honour of Ceres, which he wrote to be sung by the Lycomedæ. He had also composed oracles, which were ascribed to Onomacritus.<sup>e</sup> He was buried at Athens, upon a hill which is within the boundaries of the ancient city, opposite the citadel, whither he was accustomed to retire to sing his verses. He had a grandson of the same name, to whom Diogenes Laertius<sup>f</sup> attributed a Theogony and a Treatise on the Sphere in verse.

The Athenians,<sup>g</sup> whilst digging for the foundation of the temple of Ceres at Eleusis, found a cippus of bronze surrounded with stone, on which was engraven this inscription: 'This is the monument of Deiope.' Some pretend that Deiope was the wife of Musæus, others that she was the mother of Triptolemus. Pausanias seems to favour the latter opinion.<sup>h</sup>

Ἐπερποιοὶ φιλζουσι] *Shall roast barley.* The text is manifestly corrupt. I might easily have misled many of my readers by translating, 'the women of Colias shall shudder at the sight of the

<sup>a</sup> Soudas, under the word Μουσαῖος, Vol. II. p. 578.

<sup>b</sup> Pausan. Phocic. sive lib. x. cap. xii. p. 628.

<sup>c</sup> Id. ibid. cap. v. p. 809.

<sup>d</sup> Id. Attic. sive lib. i. cap. xii. p. 53.

<sup>e</sup> Clem. Alexand. Stromat. lib. i. Vol. i. p. 307.

<sup>f</sup> Pausan. Attica, sive lib. i. cap. xiv. p. 61.

<sup>g</sup> Diogen. Laert. in Proem. segm. iii. p. 3.

<sup>h</sup> De Mirabil. Auscultationibus, cap. cxliii. p. 291.

<sup>i</sup> Pausan. Attica, sive lib. i. cap. xiv. p. 31.

ears.' But a scholar would have perceived that the expression was foreign to the text.

Kuhn<sup>5</sup> corrects *φρύζουσι*, and explains it of a board used for drying any thing in the sun. This correction, approved by MM. Wesseling and Valckenær, appears to me good, but not so his interpretation.

In every country the women had the charge of domestic concerns. Before they had slaves, they themselves ground the barley which served for their nourishment, having previously roasted it. We find an instance in the Letters of Alciphron,<sup>6</sup> *κάχους ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν φρυγεῖν ἀναπείσω*. 'I will teach you how to roast barley in the country.' It is to this custom that the oracle quoted by Herodotus alludes; an oracle which could not be understood until after its accomplishment.

*Ἀνελύσαντος βασιλῆος*] *On the departure of the king*. Gorgias, who had counselled the Greeks to put an end to their dissensions, and to unite against the Persians, pronounced<sup>7</sup> at Athens the funeral oration of those who had fallen in the battle of Salamis, and whose obsequies were celebrated at the public expense. There is much art in this oration; for in exciting the Athenians against the Medes and Persians, he follows the course he had laid down in his Olympic oration; but he says nothing of concord, because he was speaking to the Athenians, who aspired to the empire, and who could not attain it but by some brilliant action. He therefore dwells on their trophies, and points out to them that those which have been raised to commemorate their triumph over the Barbarians require hymns, and those erected against the Greeks, lamentations.

XCVII. *Τὸ γεγονός πάθος*] *Defeat*. "I learned from a Mede," says Dion Chrysostom,<sup>8</sup> "that the Persians do not admit what is asserted by the Greeks . . . They will have it that Xerxes defeated the Lacedæmonians at Thermopylæ, and killed their king; that he took possession of the city of Athens, totally destroyed it, and reduced to slavery all the Athenians who did not take to flight; and that he returned into Asia, after having imposed a tribute on the Greeks. This account we know to be false; but it is not only possible, but very probable, that Xerxes might have sent intelligence of this kind to the Asiatic nations, to prevent their being alarmed."

The passage of Dion Chrysostom is manifestly corrupt. Instead of *καλεῖσθαι στρατεύσας τοῖς ἀνδρῶν ἔθνεσιν*, which makes no sense, I

<sup>5</sup> In nous ad Pausaniam, iuv. lib. i. p. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Alciphron's Epistolæ, lib. iii. Epist. xxvii. p. 334. Confer. not. Berglen.

<sup>7</sup> Philostrat. de Vit. Sophistar. lib. i. § 12. 2. p. 493.

<sup>8</sup> Dion Chrysost. Orat. xi. p. 191. D. 192. A.

read *κελευσαι ταυτα ἀγγέλλειν τοῖς ἀνὰ ἔθνεσιν*. The late M. Reiske corrected: *ὅτι δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσε ταῦτα πιστεῦσαι τοῖς ἀνὰ ἔθνεσιν*. But I think that I come nearer to the true reading.

This day, so glorious to the Greeks and especially to the Athenians, gave a new impulse to their courage and their genius. The Persians had made them tremble; but they despised and finally conquered that people. Their genius displayed itself, they produced master-pieces in eloquence, poetry, philosophy, and the arts, to which the most civilized nations may have come near, but have never been able to attain the same degree of perfection. This pre-eminence has been felt in all times, and particularly by the Romans, in the most brilliant epochs of their history. In the celebrated Naumachia, in which Augustus exhibited to the Romans the spectacle of a naval action, one of the fleets was called the Persian, and the other the Athenian. The latter, proud of so noble a name, maintained its reputation, and completely defeated that which bore the name of Persian. This we learn from a fragment of Book LV. of the History of Dion Cassius, taken from a Ms. in the library of St. Mark at Venice, which belonged to Cardinal Bessarion. M. Morelli, librarian of that library, published it at Basano. It has been lately reprinted at Paris, under the superintendence of M. de la Rochette.

*Ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα χῶμα ἐπειρᾶτο διαχῶν*] *He tried to join Salamis*. The sea \* was very narrow at this place, not more than about two stadia across. Ctesias says † that Xerxes, after having set Athens on fire, came to the temple of Hercules, the narrowest channel in all Attica; that there he commenced a mole or causeway which was intended to reach to Salamis, that he might march his army into that island. He then adds, that by the advice of Themistocles and Aristides, Cretan archers were advanced to the spot, and that then the Persians were obliged to prepare for battle. Thus, according to Ctesias, the design of constructing the mole preceded the battle, whereas, according to Herodotus, it followed it.

*Ὅτεσσι δὲ μιν πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι ταῦτα πρῆσσαν*] *On observing him proceed*. In the Greek, 'all the others seeing him do these things,' &c. The words, 'all the others,' &c. relate to what follows, because Mardonius did not think with the rest of the troops. I have been obliged to give the sentence a different turn.

XCVIII. *Οὐδὲν ὃ τι θάσσον παραγίνεται θνητῶν ἰόν*] *Nothing amongst mortals so swift*. *Θνητῶν ἰόν* is in opposition to the gods, who are as swift as thought. M. Valckenaer seems decidedly to disapprove this expression, and asks whether the pigeons used for the

\* Strab. lib. ix. p. 605. A.

† Phot. lxxii. p. 118. lin. 36, &c.

conveyance of letters, were not still swifter. To which I answer, that in all probability the conveyance by pigeons was not established on the great roads where there was a regular post by horses, but only for places difficult of access by horses, and remote from the main roads. We may remark, moreover, that at the end of Book i. Herodotus calls the horse the swiftest of mortal creatures. I am therefore inclined to consider M. Valckenaer's correction unnecessary.

Οὕτω τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἐξέφυγον τοῦτο] *The invention consists in this.* We know likewise of another invention,\* regarding the extent of his empire, by means of which Cyrus was apprised of the most distant occurrences. Having ascertained what distance a horse could perform in a day without injury, he had stables built at every such distance, where he had horses kept, and servants to attend them. There was also stationed at each of these places a man competent to receive dispatches, to remit them to others, and to supply fresh horses and men in the place of those that were fatigued. This mode of transmission was practised night and day by a succession of couriers. This then is the origin of the post, which dates as far back as the time of Cyrus.

Κατὰ περ Ἑλλῆσι ἡ λαμπάδοφορία] *As the flambeau passes.* In the Greek, 'as amongst the Greek the Lampadophoria passes.' I have thought it better to paraphrase it. See Book vi. § cv. note 6.

XCIX. Ἐν θυσίῃσι] *With festivals.* I read, with M. Valckenaer, ἐν θυσίῃσι. If we follow the ordinary reading, we must translate, 'that they were occupied in sacrifices and pleasures.'

Τοὺς ἐσθῶνας καταρρήξαντο] *They tore their garments.* Such was the custom of the eastern nations, as we find in numberless passages of Scripture. See also Æschylus, in his tragedy entitled Persæ, verse 53, et passim.

C. Τῶν πραγμάτων] *Your affairs, &c.* I read with M. Valckenaer, οὐ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Πέρσῃσι τοῖ τε δεδήληται τῶν πραγμάτων: and I explain ἐν Πέρσῃσι by διὰ Περσῶν, 'by the Persians.'

CII. Καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν πραγμάτων περὶ οἶκον τὸν σόν] *And that your house may remain flourishing.* I follow the correction of M. Weseling, who reads εὖ σσιμέων, instead of ἐκείνων, which embarrasses the meaning.

CIV. Οἱ δὲ Πηδασεῖς] *The Pedasians.* The whole of this paragraph, which has got into this place from Book i. § cixxxv, appears to M. Valckenaer, and I think justly, to be an interpolation. 1. The style somewhat differs from that of Herodotus. 2. Strabo appears to have read only the passage in the 1st Book. 3. It seems to be in its place

\* Xenoph. *Insta. Cyr.* lib. viii. cap. vi. § ix. p. 687.

in that book, and altogether irrelevant here; and had Herodotus considered this story sufficiently important to be here repeated, it would have come in better after § xx. of Book vi. M. Valckenaer shows very clearly that the style is altogether different from that of our historian. In the translation, I suppress *τοῖσι ἀμφὶ ταύτης οἰκίσουσι τῆς πόλεως*, which is only a gloss of *τοῖσι ἀμφικτατοῖσι*.

CV. *Οἱ εὐνοῦχοι, πιστὸς εἶναι*] *The fidelity of the eunuchs.* Chardin, who resided for a considerable time in Persia, thus speaks of them: "Having no connexion but with the master who has bought them, the eunuchs are devoid of either tenderness or pity; but for this very reason they have a most devoted attachment to their master, and would do for him, what another would do for his dearest friend, his relation, his child, his wife, or his country, for their master is to them all in all. I do not therefore regard the fidelity of the eunuchs, so highly vaunted in history, as deserving of so much praise, but rather as a natural consequence of their miserable condition. Certain it is, that one is more faithfully served by them, and less deceived, than by other men; but then again, they are very troublesome to govern, because, as I have before observed, they are generally rebellious, vindictive, and cruel."

CVI. *Τὴν Χίον μὲν νέμονται*] *Cultivated by inhabitants of Chios.* The Persians had given Atarneia to the inhabitants of Chios, as an equivalent for the surrender of Pactyas. See Book i. § clx.

*Ἵππῶγον*] *They have drawn you by an artful bait.* Ἵππῶγον has been ill rendered by 'tradiderunt.' Ἵπάγειν signifies properly to lead any one, to draw by a bait, as one draws a sheep after one by holding out grass. \*Ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἱππῶγεν αὐτὸν ἵνα ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὰ ἀμαρτήματα . . . δόψῃ δίκην. 'The god has drawn him, by deceitful hopes, to the place where he committed the crime, for the purpose of punishing him.' See also M. Hemsterhuis, ad Plutum, p. 58.

*Πανιώνιον μὲν νυν αὖτω περιήλθε*] *Thus was Panionius punished.*

Qui primus puris genitalia membra recidit,

Vulnere quæ fecit, debuit ipse pati.

Ovid. Amor. lib. ii. Eleg. iii. vers. 3 et 4.

CVII. *Ὡς τάχως εἶχε ἔκαστος*] *With all possible expedition.* In all the editions previous to that of M. Wesseling, we read *ὡς ταχέως εἶχε ἔκαστος*. This critic has corrected *ὡς τάχως εἶχε ἔκαστος*, after the single Ms. of the Imperial Library at Vienna: this reading is found also in the Mss. A and B of the Royal Library, except that in the Ms. B we read *εἶχεν*.

\* Travels of Chardin, Vol. ii. p. 159. λογία. Vel potius contra Andriandem, p.

† Lysias ἐπὶ Κελλίου ἱεροσυλίας ἀπο- 105.



*Ζωστήριος*] *Of Zoster.* "It is said\* that Latona, being with child by Jupiter, was pursued by the jealous Juno over sea and land; that the pains of child-birth overtaking her in our country, she there unfastened her girdle; and that the spot has from that time been called Zoster (girdle); and that having afterwards passed into the isle of Delos, she brought forth twins, the god Apollo and the goddess Diana."

The young maidens, as soon as they were of a marriageable age, wore a girdle, nearly resembling those which the jealous husbands of Italy oblige their wives to wear. The husband alone had the privilege of untying it, and he did this on the marriage night. Hence the expression 'solvere Zonam.' But the newly married women wore another kind of girdle, which they kept till their first lying-in. It is to this second custom that the manuscript scholiast of Hermogenes, just cited, alludes.

CIX. 'Ορι οὐ γε] *At least.* In the Greek, *ορι οὐ πείσει τοὺς γε πολλοὺς*, which the Latin translator has rendered, 'se non posse plerisque persuadere.' He has omitted the particle *γε*, which, however, is absolutely necessary, and qualifies the meaning. I have always endeavoured to express these particles in French, as far as the genius of the language will admit, under the conviction that they were not meant to be superfluous, as is commonly conceived.

*Μεταβαλὼν*] *Changed his opinion.* See the learned note of M. Valckenaer.

'Ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν βαλλόμενοι] *After having deliberated amongst themselves.* On this expression, see Æmilus Portus, in his Ionian Lexicon, under the word *βάλλεσθαι*.

*Νέφος τοσοῦτον ἀνθρώπων ἀνθρώμιοι*] *Dissipated . . . this fearful crowd of Barbarians.* Hesychius explains *ἀνθρώμιοι* by *ἀναστρέφαντες*. See Taylor's note on Lysias, p. 41.

*Καὶ τὴν οἰκίην γε ἀνακλασάσθω*] *That each, &c.* Τίς is here for *ἕκαστος*. Let us hear what the learned archbishop of Thessalonica says. <sup>a</sup>"Ορι δὲ τὸ τινέ, καὶ ὅπως τὸ τίς, ἔστιν ὅτε τῇ κατ' αὐτὸ ἀοριστίᾳ ἰσοδυναμεῖ πρὸς τὸ, ἕκαστος, δηλοῖ καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν τῷ,

Ἦρα τιν' ἤδη κάρα κα-  
λύμμασι κρυψάμενον,

καὶ ἄλλῃ. Δηλοῖ γὰρ ὡς καί ποτε ἔστιν ἕκαστος τῶν Σαλαμινίων λαθόντα φγεῖν. "Sophocles also shows us that *τινέ*, and in general *τίς*, have sometimes, by their own indeterminateness, the same value as *ἕκαστος*, 'each,' in these verses: 'it is time that each, covering her head with

\* Joan. Socioteles Comment. Mss. in <sup>a</sup> Eustathii Comm. in Iliad. lib. ii. p. Hermogenem. Vid. Ruhnken. Hist. Critic. 237. lin. 13.  
&c. p. lxx.

her vell,' &c. For he means to show that it was time that each of the Salaminians privately took to flight."

The ancient Scholiast of Sophocles explains this verse, which is the 246th of *Ajax Furius*, in the same manner.

*'Avaxōs ἐχέτω*] *Applies himself with ardour.* This expression, which denotes the care or diligence with which we do any thing, appears to me stronger than *ἐπιμελεῖτω*. Hence, Castor and Pollux are called *'Avaxes*, on account of the care they took of the Greeks. The word *'Avax*, king, comes from the same origin, because kings apply themselves sedulously to promote the welfare of their subjects.

CX. *Τὸν καὶ Σικίννος ὁ οἰκίτης αὐτοῦ ἐπέπετο*] *The slave Sicinnus was likewise of this number.* He had before sent Sicinnus to the Persian generals. See § LXXV. Plutarch says that it was an eunuch of the palace that was found amongst the prisoners, who was called Arnaces. Dacier considers this account more probable than that of Herodotus. But I prefer that of our historian. Themistocles was too prudent to send Arnaces, who, being a shrewd man, would have guessed at the intentions of the Greeks in this manœuvre, and have warned Xerxes against becoming the dupe of the fair professions of the Athenian general. Whereas, by sending a trusty person, it was more probable that his design would not be seen through, and that the advice which he gave to Xerxes would appear the effect of his zeal.

*Πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν*] *Upon the coasts of Attica.* M. Reiske, for want of paying attention to the account of Herodotus, supposes,\* without any reason, that Xerxes had fled with his fleet towards the Hellespont; and hence he taxes Herodotus with absurdity, because Themistocles sends Sicinnus to look for him on the coast of Attica. M. Valckenær has satisfactorily refuted him in his note; I am of opinion, however, that this latter critic is mistaken in supposing that Sicinnus was sent from Salamis, and not from the island of Andros. The Greeks<sup>†</sup> pursued the Persians as far as the isle of Andros, and not finding them there, held a council amongst themselves. It was on the conclusion of this council that Themistocles dispatched Sicinnus to the king. It does not appear that they had returned to Salamis, or that this happened before they went to Andros.

*Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλῆος*] *Themistocles, the son of Neocles.* Plutarch's account varies a little. He makes Xerxes to be informed from Themistocles, that the Greeks<sup>‡</sup> after their victory had resolved to go into the Hellespont, and break the bridge of boats; that Themistocles, anxious for his preservation, advised him to hasten out to the open sea, and back to Asia, whilst he would create amongst

\* Miscell. Lipsienæ. Nova, Vol. viii. p. 501.

<sup>†</sup> See above, § cviii.

<sup>‡</sup> Plutarch. in Themistocle. p. 120. C.

the allies perplexities and obstacles, which would retard the pursuit.

CXIV. Ἡρακλίδαι οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης] *The Heraclidæ of Sparta.* Herodotus thus expresses himself in order to distinguish the kings of Lacedæmon from those of Argos and Macedonia, who were also Heraclidæ, i. e. of the race of Hercules. I shall have occasion to say more of this, at § CXXXVII.

CXV. Ἀπάγων τῇ στρατῇ οὐδὲν μέρος] *But a very small proportion of his army.* In the Greek, 'no part of his army.' Xerxes had lost so great a number of his troops, and the army which he left with Mardonius was so considerable, that those he took with him could be but a small proportion of the gross number he had brought into the field.

Λοιμός καὶ δυσεντερία] *The plague and dysentery.* The plague never appears either in Europe or in Asia, unless brought from some other part. But at certain seasons, and especially in autumn, very malignant and contagious fevers are found to prevail in armies, and very often dysenteries, most difficult to remove, and frequently fatal. See the Observations on the Diseases of Armies in Camps and Garrisons, by the late Sir J. Pringle, first physician to the Queen of England.

M. Toup, however,\* proposes an alteration here, which he founds on a passage of Polybius. He would have us read ἐπελαβὼν δὲ λοιμός τε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ δυσεντερίαν, and that we should understand this of one and the same disease, called by the Greeks λοιμώψωρος, the scurvy, which Polybius has mentioned by that name, Book III. § LXXXVII. p. 330., and in other places<sup>†</sup> in the same terms as we find in Herodotus, as corrected by Mr. Toup. The conjecture of this critic is supported by one of the Mss. of the Royal Library, in which the reading was λοιμός τε, until a more recent hand corrected it to λοιμός τε.

CXVI. Ὑπερφυῖς] *Very atrocious.* Ὑπερφυῖς is one of those terms which grammarians call middle or mean terms, i. e. which may be taken either in a good or bad sense, according to the situation in which they are found. It must here be taken in the bad sense, as is determined by the context.

CXVIII. Στρυμονίην] *The Strymon.* The ancients understood the north wind, by the words Στρυμωνίης, πνοαὶ ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος, 'flatus à Strymone,' Θρηκίαι πνοαὶ, 'Thraci flatus,' because Thrace was a cold country, and was looked upon as the abode of Boreas.

Ἐπιβατέων] *Of its defenders.* Ἐπιβάτης does not signify a passenger, but a soldier embarked in a vessel to defend it. I have al-

\* Emend. in Sallust. p. 1. n. p. 332.  
Vel ex Lup. edit. Vol. II. p. 399.

† Excerpta ex Polybio de Virtut. et Vitiis, Vol. II. p. 1469.

ready remarked this : see also Porphyz. Homeric. Question. Quest. 1. p. 83. ex edit. Josuæ Barnes.

CXIX. Μυρίοι γνῶμαι] *A thousand persons.* A determinate for an indeterminate number. The Greeks in this sense say ten thousand, and the Latins six hundred.

CXX. Φαίvera] *It is certain.* On this signification of the verb φαivόμεαι, see the Idioms of Vigerus.\*

Πρὸς δὲ μᾶλλον] *Is rather towards.* Although the meaning of the Latin translation may be consistent, it is not exactly that of the Greek. Πρὸς signifies 'towards;' μᾶλλον . . . ἢ τοῦ shows that πρὸς must be repeated. Herodotus means to say, that Xerxes having gone to Abdera, a town situated beyond the Strymon and the port-town of Eion, it was not likely that he would return to Eion to embark. Such was the opinion of M. Bellanger, who has expressed it in a long and obscure note, of which I give only the substance.

CXXI. Τὴν μὲν ἀναθεῖναι] *They sent one.* The preposition ἐν indicates motion and I have translated accordingly. This vessel was doubtless consecrated to Neptune, because he was the tutelary god of Corinth and the Isthmus, where stood a beautiful statue of him, which Mummius carried to Rome, and consecrated to Jupiter Capitolinus. It is on this occasion that Dion Chrysostom<sup>†</sup> exclaims against "the ignorance of the Roman general, who, utterly destitute of every idea of beauty or consistency, was so silly as to consecrate to one god the statue of another god, his brother." This reproach is founded on the principle, that one should offer to a god only what is inferior to himself.

CXXII. Τὰ ἀριστήρια] *Because they had distinguished themselves more than the others.* The Æginetæ actually received the Reward of Valour. "As the victory of Salamis<sup>‡</sup> was due apparently, to the Athenians, every one anticipated, that, elated by this advantage, they would dispute the empire of the sea with the Lacedæmonians. The latter, foreseeing what was likely to happen, endeavoured to depreciate the courage of the Athenians; and when the question was agitated, who had best deserved the Prize of Valour, they, by their influence, procured it to be adjudged to the Æginetæ, and to Aminias of Athens, brother of the poet Æschylus. He commanded a vessel, and was the first who attacked the Persian admiral, run down his vessel, and killed the admiral. As the Athenians were justly indignant at the unfair treatment they experienced on this occasion, the Lacedæmonians, from fear lest Themistocles in his anger should form

\* Vigerus de præcipuis Græcæ Dictionis Idiotismis, cap. v. sect. xiii. § i. p. 313.

† Diodor. Sic. lib. xi. § xxvii. Vol. i. p. 426.

‡ Dion Chrysost. Corinth. p. 466, A.



some scheme hostile to them and to the Greeks, made him presents of double the value of those which had been given to the others. The people of Athens, displeased at his receiving them, took from him the command, and bestowed it on Xanthippus, the son of Ariphron."

See the *Treatise on the Malignity of Herodotus*, § 21. and note 127.

CXXIII. Διείμωτο] *Draht out*. It is clear from my translation, that I here read διείμωτο, which is the reading of Stephens, and of the Mss. A and B in the Royal Library. If διείμωτο be preferred, we must translate, "The generals distributed the ballots to those who were entitled to vote."

These ballots were distributed for the purpose of adjudging the prize of valour to him who should be considered to have merited it. I do not know whether this was a usual practice, or if the present was the first occasion of resorting to it; but it must necessarily have produced a great effect on a people so greedy of glory and distinctions as were the ancient Greeks. Such a custom might formerly have succeeded with a people as sensible to honour as were the Greeks; but since that nation has sunk under the domination of the most vile and contemptible of mankind, I know not what can regenerate it.

Οἱ πολλοὶ συνεκέντησαν Θεμιστοκλῆα κρείσσαν] *The greater part adjudged it with one voice to Themistocles*. This is natural. There are few people who do not consider their own merit as superior; but when the second place is to be adjudged to any one, he in whose favour all suffrages unite, may be fairly deemed the first in merit. This was strongly felt by the most eloquent of the Romans, and was a point of which he ingeniously availed himself to prove that the Academicians were the first and most illustrious of all the different sects of philosophers. All the sects, says he, ascribe to themselves the first rank, and concede the second to the Academicians. Hence we may reasonably conclude that that sect is indubitably the first in merit, which all concur in deeming the second. "Academico \* Sapienti ab omnibus ceterarum sectarum, qui sibi sapientes viderentur, secundæ partes dantur, cum primas sibi quemque vindicare necesse sit. Ex quo potest probabiliter confici, eum recte primum esse judicio suo, qui omnium ceterorum judicio sit secundus."

CXXIV. Ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνα ἀνίστην] *He repaired to Lacedæmon*. Plutarch<sup>†</sup> relates that the Lacedæmonians took him thither themselves, and conferred on him all the honours mentioned by Herodotus, because they feared, no doubt, as Diodorus Siculus observes,<sup>‡</sup> that this great general, indignant at the little esteem testified for

\* Cicero ex libro incerto Academico-  
rum apud Divum August. contra Academ.  
lib. iii. cap. vii.

† Plutarch. in Themist. p. 120. D.

‡ Diodor. Sic. lib. xi. § xxvii. Vol. i.  
p. 325



him, should contrive some measure hostile to them and to the rest of the Greeks.

[*ἱππείης*] *The knights*. The art of horsemanship formed no part of the Lacedæmonian military education. They seldom employed cavalry, and when they did, it was generally mastered by that of the other Greeks. In the first war with Messenia,<sup>a</sup> they, as well as the Messenians, had very few, and those few achieved no exploit of moment, for the Peloponnesians did not know how to manage their horses. This was<sup>b</sup> about the end of the second year of the 9th Olympiad, 743 years before our era. About ninety-five years afterwards, and in the 33rd Olympiad, horse-races<sup>c</sup> were established at Olympia, as in the 25th Olympiad chariot-races<sup>d</sup> had been instituted. Crauxidas of Cranon in Thessaly obtained the prize. It is well known that the Thessalian cavalry was excellent, and that the Thessalians had become skilled in the art of horsemanship. The Greeks then began to cultivate this art with greater care. But the Lacedæmonians continued to neglect it. At the battle of Leuctra, which was fought in the second year of the 102nd Olympiad,<sup>e</sup> the Thebans had a corps of cavalry properly equipped and exercised in the wars which they had maintained against the Orchomenians and the Thespians. The Lacedæmonian cavalry, on the contrary, was very bad. *Ἵ τοὶ δὲ Λακεδæμονίους κατ' ἐκείνους τὸν χρόνον πομπέεσσαν ἦν τὸ ἱππικόν*. Xenophon, from whom I take this passage, adds, in the following paragraph, that none but the richest people amongst them could support horses; that when they levied troops, he who was destined to serve in the cavalry, took the horse and the arms given him, and without further preparation took the field. Moreover, they mounted on horseback only the weakest men, and those who were the least anxious for glory. The Lacedæmonian cavalry<sup>f</sup> began to acquire reputation only after it admitted foreign horsemen.

The Ephori chose<sup>g</sup> from amongst the citizens in the flower of their age three men who were called Hippagretæ, and each of these three chose a hundred. But whether these horsemen served on horseback, or whether it was only a dignity, that of knights or horsemen, without any reference to the horse, does not clearly appear. Strabo<sup>h</sup> tells us,

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Messen. sive lib. iv. cap. viii. p. 300.

<sup>b</sup> *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Vol. xvi. p. 61.

<sup>c</sup> Pausan. Laced. i. sive lib. v. cap. viii. p. 391. The Abbé Godeau translates 'the 28th Olympiad,' whilst the Greek has, *ἔγδοη δὲ αὐτὸς τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδων*, the 8th Olympiad after that... Now that of which he was speaking was the 24th. The learned Coraon has been more correct. See *Fast. Attic.* Vol. iii. pp. 55. 51.

<sup>d</sup> Pausan. Elinc. i. sive lib. v. cap. viii. p. 394.

<sup>e</sup> Id. Arcad. sive lib. viii. cap. xxvii. p. 656.

<sup>f</sup> Xenoph. Hist. Hellenic. lib. vi. cap. iv. § 1. p. 395.

<sup>g</sup> Xenoph. Hipparch. cap. ix. § iv. p. 99.

<sup>h</sup> Xenoph. Lacedæm. Republic. cap. iv. § iii. p. 73.

<sup>i</sup> Strab. lib. 2. p. 738. A.

that amongst the Cretans\* and Spartans there were horsemen or knights, that with both it was a mere name of dignity, ἀρχὴν τῶν ἰππέων, with this difference, that the knights of Crete had horses, and those of Sparta had none. These Spartan knights formed a body of three hundred men, divided into six companies of fifty men. They served near the king's person in battle,<sup>†</sup> and far from the cavalry, which was always at the wings. From this corps, detachments were chosen for the most perilous enterprises; but they were never seen on horseback; and when the ancients speak of knights, they never mention horses. The three hundred Spartans who fought with Leonidas at Thermopylæ, were certainly infantry. I conjecture that they were the three hundred knights; for Herodotus says, Book VII. § CCV, that Leonidas chose τοὺς κατεστρωτάς τριηκοσίους. Valla translates, 'trecentos e primoribus viros,' three hundred of the first men in the city; Camerarius has it, 'trecentos constantis ætatis viros,' and Gronovius, 'delectis trecentis compositis viis.' The true meaning of this passage appears to me to be, as I have before remarked, that Leonidas chose as the troops to accompany him the three hundred men, the fixed and permanent corps of Spartan knights, who served<sup>‡</sup> near the person of the kings. The article τοὺς, marks a body of troops which subsisted before the choice made by Leonidas, and this body can be no other than that of the three hundred knights; at least, no other body consisting of this number was known. The Agathoergi were, it is true, a permanent body. They were chosen from amongst the knights; but as the five oldest of that order<sup>§</sup> went out every year, the number could not be fixed. See Book VI. § LXI. note 2. and Book VII. § CCV. note 1.

CXXV. Φθόνῳ καταμαργύνει] *The jealous rage.* I read καταμαργύνειν with the Mss. cited by M. Wesseling, and the Ms. A in the Royal Library.

\* Ἄν ἐγὼ εἶν Βελβινίτης] *If I were a Belbinite.* This answer of Themistocles supposes that Timodemus was of Belbina; yet Herodotus, at the beginning of the paragraph, says that he was of Aphidnæ. M. Wesseling suspected, with Corn. de Pauw, that this Timodemus was really a Belbinite, and that being afterwards made a citizen of Athens, he had been incorporated amongst those of the quarter or hamlet Aphidnæ, according to the custom of that republic, all the citizens of which were inscribed in the registers of their tribe, and of one of the hamlets belonging to that tribe.

CXXVII. Ἐς λίμνην] *In a marsh.* This marsh was on the south

\* Remark that Lycurgus had formed his government on the model of that of Crete.

† Thucyd. lib. v. § lxxii. p. 361.

‡ Id. ibid.

§ Herodot. lib. i. § lxxii.

of the city of Olynthus, and near the bottom of the Toronean gulf: it was called Bolyca.

CXXVIII. *Kαταλέξει προδοσίῃ*] *Not to accuse Timoxenus of treason.* I read with the Ms. of Sancroft, *καταλέξει προδοσίῃ*, literally, 'not to implicate him in treason.' This was a rare example of prudence, which Herodotus was anxious to transmit to posterity. See M. Wesseling's note.

CXXX. *Ἀδελφιδέος*] *His nephew.* So in the Greek, which all the Latin translators have rendered by 'patruelis,' cousin-german, and Du Ryer, 'uncle.' Yet in every place where Herodotus has used the word, it signifies nephew, the son of a brother or sister; nor do I know any passage in any other author where it has a different signification; that which has been adduced from Lucian has been ill rendered,<sup>a</sup> and Grævius has corrected the Latin version.

CXXXI. *Τὸς Χαρίλλου*] *Charillus.* This prince was not the son of Eunomus, but of Polydectes, and grandson of Eunomus; we must therefore say, Charillus, Polydectes, Eunomus, &c. This is the order followed by Plutarch<sup>b</sup> and Pausanias.<sup>c</sup> It may be also inferred from the circumstance of Polydectes<sup>d</sup> being the elder brother of Lycurgus, and the latter being the guardian of Charillus.

*Τὸς Εὐρυφώντος*] *Euryphon.* Euryphon was grandson of Procles, and son of Sous,<sup>e</sup> one of the most illustrious of the kings of Sparta, under whose reign the Lacedæmonians reduced the Helots to slavery, and gained a considerable territory from the Arcadians.

*Τῶν ὀκτὼ τῶν πρώτων*] *The seven that I have first named.* In the Greek, the two first; but as Menares, Agesilaus, Hippocratides, Leotyichides, Anaxilas, Archidamus, and Anaxandrides, were not kings of Sparta, it is fairly presumable that the number was written in figures, and that the copyists have mistaken a seven for a two.<sup>f</sup>

*Βασιλεῖς ἐγένοντο Σπάρτης*] *Had been kings of Sparta.* Aristodemus, Aristomachus, Cleodæus, Hyllus, and Hercules, were not kings of Sparta; according to all appearance, Herodotus stops at Procles, who was the first king of that family, and who gave to it the name of the house of the Proclidæ.

The genealogy of the family of the Proclidæ is rather perplexed. Herodotus, usually so exact, has suffered greatly from the inattention of the copyists. Pausanias and Plutarch may assist us in setting him right. I have given this genealogy in my Chronological Essay, chap. xvii. p. 496 and following, and p. 513.

<sup>a</sup> Lucian. de Luctu, § iv. Vol. ii. p. 944.

<sup>b</sup> Plutarch. in Lycurgo, p. 46. B.

<sup>c</sup> Pausan. Conanth. sive lib. ii. cap. xxi. p. 197.

<sup>d</sup> Strab. Geograph. lib. x. p. 788. B.

<sup>e</sup> Plutarch. in Lycurgo, p. 40. Pausan. Iacoon. sive lib. iii. cap. vii. p. 319.

<sup>f</sup> Palmieri Exercitationes in Auctores Græcos, p. 39.

*Ἐξπαρτήεις Ἐλπίππος*] *Commanded by Xanthippus.* See the end of the passage quoted from Diodorus Siculus, in the note on § CXXII.

CXXXII. *Ἐόντες ἀρχὴν ἑπτά*] *They were at first seven.* *Ἐόντες ἀρχὴν ἑπτά* has been ill rendered by the Latin translator, 'hi septem omnino erant.' I know that *ἀρχὴν* is often used in this sense; but Herodotus here means to say, that the conspirators were at first seven, but that one of them afterwards discovering the plot, they were reduced to six.

*Δεινὸν ἦν τοῖς Ἕλλησι*] *Frightened the Greeks.* The power of the Persians, and the little knowledge which the greater part of the Greeks had of the country, frightened the allies. I say the greater part, because the account of Herodotus is not to be taken strictly. Sigeum, Ephesus, the Chersonesus of Thrace, and consequently the coasts of Asia and of Thrace nearest to the Hellespont, were well known by the Athenians; as Samos and its neighbourhood must have been\* to the Lacedæmonians.—WESSELIING.

CXXXIII. *Ἄρδα Εὐρωπία γένος, τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Μῦς*] *An European, named Mys.* This Mys was probably of Europos in Caria, as the oracle answered in the Carian tongue. The Carians generally understood both Greek and Persian, and served as interpreters to the Persians. See Thucydides, Book VIII. § LXXXV; Ælian, Hist. Var. lib. 8. cap. XXI.—VALCKENAEER.

*Τῶν οὐά τε ἦν οἱ ἀποειπῆσθαι*] *As far as he should find it possible.* I read with M. Koen, *τῶν οὐά τε ἦν οἱ ἀποειπῆσθαι.* Mys could consult those oracles only which were situated in countries occupied by the allies of Persia. See M. Valckenæer's note.

CXXXIV. *Παρά Τροφώνιον*] *Into the cave of Trophonius.* Trophonius was descended from Athamas<sup>b</sup> by Phrixus, Presbon, Clymenus, and Erginus. It is said that he was swallowed up by<sup>c</sup> the earth. Bœotia<sup>d</sup> being afflicted by a great drought, the Bœotians had recourse to the oracle of Delphi, which directed them to go to Lebadea and consult Trophonius, who would find a remedy for their misfortunes. Having arrived at that city, and not being able to find such an oracle, Saon, the oldest of the deputies, perceived a swarm of bees which were flying towards a cave; he followed them, and thus discovered the oracle. It is said that Trophonius himself instructed him in all the ceremonies necessary to be observed in consulting him.

"He" who wishes to descend into this cave, passes a certain number of days in a chapel dedicated to the good Genius and to Fortune, where, amongst other purifications, he abstains from warm drinks,

\* Herodot. lib. iii. § xlii. xlvii.

<sup>b</sup> Pausan. Bœot. sive lib. ix. cap. xxxiv. pp. 778. 779; cap. xxvii. pp. 784. 785.

<sup>c</sup> Id. ibid. cap. xxxvii. p. 786.

<sup>d</sup> Id. ibid. cap. xi. pp. 792. 793.

<sup>e</sup> Id. ibid. cap. xxxix. p. 789, &c.



and bathes in the river Hercynus. He is fed with the flesh of victims which he has offered to Trophonius and his children, to Apollo, to Saturna, to Jupiter Rex, to Juno Heniocha, and to Ceres surnamed Europa, who they say was the nurse of Trophonius. A diviner, who is present at all these sacrifices, examines the entrails of the victim, and from the inspection of them foretels, whether Trophonius will receive favourably him who has offered them . . . On the night that he descends into the cave, a ram is sacrificed, after an invocation to "Agamemes; and if the entrails do not exhibit favourable signs, no account is to be taken of the favourable signs exhibited by the other victims.

"After these preparations, he is first conducted, during the night, to the banks of the river Hercynus. There two children, about thirteen years old, called Mercuries, rub him with oil, and wash him . . . The priests afterwards conduct him to two fountains which stand near each other. He drinks of the first, which is called the fountain Lethé, that he may forget the past. He then drinks the waters of the fountain Mnemosyne, that he may be able to recollect what he has seen. After having offered up his prayers before the statue of the god, which is shown only to those who come to consult him, he is clothed in a tunic of linen ornamented with a band, and puts on shoes of the fashion of the country . . . You first descend by a ladder down a very narrow opening, and thence into a cave, the opening to which is not very large. To enter, you must lie down on the ground, and take honey-cakes in each hand. You go feet foremost, and immediately feel yourself hurried along with force and rapidity. You come out of the cave feet foremost . . . On coming out, the inquirer is placed on the seat of Mnemosyne, and is asked what he has seen and heard; he is afterwards taken back to the chapel of Fortune and the good Genii, where he is some time in recovering himself; for on coming out of the cave, he is generally so agitated, that he appears to have lost his senses."

The priests<sup>b</sup> would not at first permit Apollonius of Tyana to enter this cave. As they were aware that this cheat knew as much as themselves, they feared that he would discover their impostures. But having afterwards concerted with him, they admitted him; and he came out in a surprising manner, well calculated to impose on the superstitious.

At Lebadea<sup>c</sup> certain festivals, called Trophonis,<sup>d</sup> were celebrated in honour of Trophonius. Royal festivals were also celebrated at

<sup>a</sup> He was the brother of Trophonius.

<sup>b</sup> Philostrat. *Vita. Apollonii*, lib. viii. cap. xix. p. 343.

<sup>c</sup> Philemon inedit. vid. *Apollonii Lexic.*

p. 856. col. 2. lin. penult. Schol. Pind. ad *Olymp.* vii. vers. 153. p. 87. col. 2. lin. 6.

<sup>d</sup> Jul. Polluc. *Onomast.* lib. i. cap. i. segm. xxvii. p. 26.



this city in honour of Love. These were called *Ἐρώτεια βασίλεια*, as we see in the quotation from Philemon. We must, after this lexicographer, correct the scholiast of Pindar, on verse 153 of the 7th Olympic, p. 87. col. 2. lin. 3., and read, *ἐν μὲν Θεσπειαῖς, Ἐρώτεια ἐν δὲ Λαβδαίῃς, τὰ καλούμενα Ἐρώτεια βασίλεια*. The edition printed by Calergi, at Rome, in 1516, and which is the first of all, is the most faulty.

[*Ἐς Ἀβας*] *To the oracle of Abas*. Apollo delivered his oracles in this city, which was consecrated to him. The Persians, when they entered Greece,\* burned his temple. A body of Phocians having taken refuge there during the sacred war, the Thebans set it on fire, and completed its destruction. This oracle was in great repute, and was one of those consulted by Croesus.<sup>1</sup>

[*Ἱποῖσι*] *By the flame of the victims*. I read with M. Valckenaer, *ἐμπύροισι*, 'by the flame of the victims' . . . M. Reiske<sup>2</sup> alters the reading to *ἱππῶσιν*, 'by victims.' I have preferred the correction of M. Valckenaer, because it is certain that at Thebes Ismenian Apollo was consulted by the flame<sup>3</sup> which consumed the entrails of the victims, and it is not certain that the god was consulted in any other manner. We know likewise, that at Olympia the god was consulted by the flame, though not by that method only.<sup>4</sup> *Ὀλυμπία . . . ἵνα μάρτυς ἄνδρες ἐμπύροις τεκμαιρόμενοι*. 'Olympia, where the diviners discover the future by the flame of the victims.'

When the fire which consumed the victim emitted a clear flame, it portended good, but if it sent forth a thick smoke, evil. At least, I conjecture so from the following verses of Sophocles. Tiresias, addressing Creon, communicates to him the terrible omens he has observed: "Frightened<sup>5</sup> (to hear the birds lacerating each other), I immediately had recourse to divination by the victims which were burning on the lighted altars. The flame was not bright, the thick vapour arising from the thighs, which were consuming on the cinders, obscured it: the gall evaporated, and the thighs, deprived of their fat, rolled off from the wood of the sacrifice."

[*Ξεῖνόν τινα πείσας*] *Of a foreigner*. M. Wesseling says, in a note on this passage, that this foreigner, who, being gained over by money, went to sleep in the temple of Amphiaraius, was a Lydian; and he then cites Plutarch, whom he afterwards considers as contradicting himself.

1. It appears from his note, that this critic supposed that it was the

\* Pausan. Phocic. sive lib. x. cap. xxiv. pp. 687, 688.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. lib. i. § xlvii.

<sup>3</sup> Miscellan. Lipsiens. Nova, Vol. viii. p. 503.

<sup>4</sup> Soph. Œd. Tyr. vs. 21. et ibi Schol.

<sup>5</sup> Pindar. Olymp. viii. vers. 3. See also the Scholiast on this verse.

<sup>6</sup> Sophocles. Antigone, vers. 1017, &c. or 1005, &c. ed. Brunck.

stranger himself who slept in the temple of Amphiaraus, whereas Herodotus says clearly, at least with the slight alteration proposed by M. Valckenaer,<sup>a</sup> that it was the envoy of Mardonius. 2. Plutarch likewise says that it was the<sup>b</sup> deputy of Mardonius who went to sleep in the temple; and he adds that he was a Lydian, as he who went to consult the oracle of Trophonius was a Carian. Plutarch speaks of two envoys, Herodotus but of one. 3. Plutarch does not contradict himself by saying in another place that it was a slave who slept<sup>c</sup> in this temple.

[Εἰς Ἀμφιάρεω] *In the temple of Amphiaraus.* This temple was at Oropo in Attica. On Amphiaraus, see Herodotus, note to § XLVI. of Book 1. I may add to what I have said in that note, that Eriphyle, bribed by a gold necklace given to her by Polynices, having persuaded Amphiaraus to join the expedition against Thebes, where he knew that he would perish, charged his son Alcmaeon to avenge his death upon his mother. The son had no sooner heard of the death of his father, than he murdered his mother. He was himself killed afterwards by Temenus and Axion, sons of Phegeus, who consecrated this celebrated necklace in the temple of Apollo. This necklace was a gift from Venus herself<sup>d</sup> to Hermione, the wife of Cadmus. It was stolen in the sacred war, and the wife of a Phocian general having decorated herself with it, her eldest son, agitated by the Furies, set fire to her house and burned it, as is related by Diodorus Siculus.<sup>e</sup> It is thus, adds he, that the gods punished those who had dared to despise them.

Herodotus does not say by what dream Amphiaraus warned Mardonius of the evil destiny that awaited him. Plutarch supplies this deficiency. "The slave, whom Mardonius had sent to consult the oracle of Amphiaraus, having fallen asleep, saw in his dream the minister of the god, who at first endeavoured to bar his access to the temple, telling him the god was not there, and pushing him with his hands; at length, finding that he would not go, the same minister took up a large stone, and struck him a blow on the head. This was in some measure a type of what was to happen: for Mardonius was conquered, not by a king, but by the guardian and lieutenant of the king of Macedon, who commanded the army of the Greeks; he was killed likewise by a blow from a stone, as the Lydian in his dream fancied he had been."

<sup>a</sup> This critic reads *κατακλύψε*, instead of *κατακλύσει*. We know that the modern Greeks pronounce the 'eta' as an 'iota'; which may have occasioned the error of the copyists.

<sup>b</sup> Plutarch. in *Ariad.* p. 330. C.

<sup>c</sup> Id. de *Oraculorum defectu*, p. 412. A.

<sup>d</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. iv. § lxxv. p. 309.

<sup>e</sup> Id. lib. xvi. § lxxiv. Vol. ii. p. 132. Vid. et Georg. Gomist. *Pleth. de his qui post pugnam Mantin. Græci acciderunt*, lib. ii. cap. xvii. pp. 128, 129.

<sup>f</sup> Plutarch. de *Oraculorum defectu*, p. 412. A, B.

CXXXV. Θωμά μοι] *In my opinion.* Μοι does not relate to λέγε-  
ται, but to θώμα. The Latin translators, as well as those in modern  
languages, have been mistaken in this respect.

Τοῦ Πτόου Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ τέμενος] *The temple of Apollo surnamed  
Ptoüs.* "A wild\* boar suddenly presented itself at this place to the  
view of Latona; she was alarmed at it. Hence the name† which was  
given to her son, to the temple which was dedicated to him, and to  
the adjacent mountain." It seems from Plutarch, that this mountain  
was near to that of Delos.‡ This oracle§ was of great antiquity and  
renown. It is said, observes Plutarch, that a monstros serpent  
rendered it desert, and hindered it from being visited. It appears  
to me, continues that judicious writer, that the reverse was the case,  
and that the solitude of the place attracted the animal thither, instead  
of his presence causing it to be deserted.

When Greece became depopulated, the oracle was abandoned, and  
in the time of Plutarch nothing was to be seen in the neighbourhood  
but a man who led his flock there to pasture.

Ptoüs\* was, according to Pausanias, the son of Athamas and  
Themisto: he gave his name to the mountain, and to Apollo the  
surname of Ptoüs.

Πρὸς οὐρεῖ] *Of a mountain.* Probably the mount Ptoüs of which I  
have spoken in the preceding note, and which is also mentioned by  
Pausanias, Book ix. chap. xxiii. p. 755.

Κατὰ μὲν γλώσση] *In Carian.* Plutarch is mistaken in saying‡  
that the prophet answered in Æolian. Herodotus affirms that it was  
in a barbarous language: whereas the Æolian was a dialect of the  
Greek. Pausanias informs us that Mys\* interrogated the god in his  
own language, but that the god answered in a barbarous tongue.

CXXXVI. Ἐπεμψε ἄγγελον εἰς Ἀθήνας Ἀλέξανδρον] *Sent Alexander  
ambassador to Athens.* Herodotus speaks of this prince honourably,  
ἄγγελον, envoy; and the orator Lycargus still more so, as he calls  
him† τὸν παρὰ Ξέρξου πρεσβευτὴν, the ambassador of Xerxes. But  
Demosthenes, who wished to bring Philip into contempt, terms Alex-  
ander‡ ἐήρυξ, a herald.

Πρόξενος] *By the rights of hospitality.* The πρόξενος was a man  
who had a certain connexion with a city or nation, who took care

\* Plutarch. in Pelopid. p. 286. C.

† Ptoüs comes from πτώσσω, 'pertur-  
rect.'

‡ Plutarch. in Pelopid. p. 286. B.

§ Id. de defectu Oraculorum, p. 414.  
A, B.

\* Pausan. Bæot. sive lib. ix. cap. xiii.  
p. 763.

‡ Plutarch. de defectu Oracul. p. 414.

A.

§ Pausan. Bæot. sive lib. ix. cap. xiii.  
pp. 755, 756.

† Lycurg. contra Leocrat. ex edit.  
Henr. Stephani, Part ii. p. 156. lin. 41.

‡ Demosth. Philippici ii. p. 46. lin. 13.

of the interests of that nation, and who entertained the deputies or ambassadors from it. See Ammonius de Differentiis Vocum, voc. Πράξενον, and the learned note of M. Valckenaer, Animadvers. ad Ammon. p. 201.

CXXXVII. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου γένεσις ἐστὶν] *Alexander was descended.* Macedonia, according to Pliny, Book iv. chap. x, was anciently called Æmathia. It comprehended Pieria. "Pierus, who was one of the aborigines, reigned in Æmathia; he had nine daughters, who were so bold as to oppose their chorus to that of the nine Muses, whom Jupiter had begotten from Mnemosyne in Pieria.... As a punishment for their temerity, they were changed into birds." Antoninus Liberalis, chap. ix., after the Metamorphoses of Nicander.

Helios (the sun) first reigned in Egypt; some of the priests however attribute this distinction to Vulcan, the inventor of fire. Saturn succeeded him, and had by Rhea his sister, Osiris and Isis, &c. Diod. Sic. Book i. pp. 8, 9.

Osiris was naturally benevolent, and desirous of glory. He assembled an army with the intention of overrunning the whole earth, and communicating the discoveries he had made, especially the use of corn and wine. In this expedition, he was accompanied by his sons Anubis and Macedo, and also by Pan, Triptolemus, &c. In his travels, he left Macedo his son, king of the province, which from him has taken the name of Macedonia.

Phidon and Caranus were brothers; they were Heraclidæ, i. e. descendants of Hercules, the son of Alcmena, according to the genealogy traced by Syncellius, p. 262. of the edition of the Louvre: 1. Hercules, 2. Hyllus, 3. Cleodates (Cleodæus), 4. Aristomachus, 5. Timenes (Temenus), 6. Cissius, 7. Theostus, 8. Merops, 9. Aristodamidas, 10. Caranus. Hercules was therefore the ninth ancestor of Phidon and Caranus. Timenes (Temenus) was one of those Heraclidæ who, eighty years after the taking of Troy, re-entered the Peloponnesus to take possession of various kingdoms conquered by Hercules, and which that hero had left to some princes his contemporaries, on condition that they should restore them to his descendants, when these should demand it. See Diodorus Siculus, in several passages of Book iv. Six generations after this return, Phidon became king of Argos. Caranus his brother also wished to have a kingdom. Having obtained some troops from the king of Argos and other cities of the Peloponnesus, he joined the king of a certain people near Epirus and the Acroceraunian mountains, named Orestidæ: they conquered several countries, of which Macedonia was one, and it fell to the share of Caranus.

	Years.
1. Caranus reigned . . . . .	30
2. Cœnus . . . . .	28
3. Tyrimmas . . . . .	45
4. Perdiccas I. . . . .	48
5. Argeus I. . . . .	34
6. Philip I. . . . .	37
7. <del>Æ</del> ropus . . . . .	23
8. Alcetas . . . . .	28
9. Amyntas I. . . . .	42
10. Alexander I. . . . .	44
11. Perdiccas II. . . . .	23
12. Archelaüs I. . . . .	14
13. Orestes . . . . .	4
14. Archelaüs II. . . . .	4
15. Amyntas II. . . . .	1
16. Pausanias . . . . .	1
17. Amyntas III. . . . .	5
18. Argeus II. . . . .	2
19. Amyntas IV. . . . .	12
20. Alexander II. . . . .	1
21. Ptolemy I. . . . .	3
22. Perdiccas III. . . . .	6
23. Philip II. . . . .	23
24. Alexander III., (the Great) . . . . .	12
25. Philip III., (Aridæus) . . . . .	7
26. Cassander . . . . .	19
27. Antigonus and Alexander . . . . .	3
28. Demetrius Poliorcetes . . . . .	6
29. Pyrrhus, seven months.	
30. Lysimachus . . . . .	3
31. Ptolemy II., (son of Lagus) . . . . .	1
32. Meleager, two months.	
33. Antipater, forty-five days.	
34. Soathenes . . . . .	2
Interregnum . . . . .	2
35. Antigonus Gonatas . . . . .	44
36. Demetrius, son of Antigonus . . . . .	10
37. Antigonus Physcus . . . . .	12
38. Philip IV. . . . .	42
39. Peræus . . . . .	10
40. Pseudo-Philippus . . . . .	1



Thus this kingdom subsisted 632 years and a little more than eight months and a half, and was destroyed by the Romans 168 years B. C.—BELLANGER.

Remark, that in this note M. Bellanger cites Stephens's edition of Diodorus Siculus.

I should add that this genealogy does not agree with Eusebius as to the duration of the reign of each of these princes. Phidon was the elder brother of Caranus. He invented scales and measures, 895 years before our era. He might then be about 28 years old. He drove out the Agonothetæ of the Elci, in the 8th Olympiad of Iphitus, that is to say, the year 856 before our era. He was dethroned two years afterwards by the Lacedæmonians. From this prince to Hercules there were fourteen generations. See Book vi. § cxxxvii. notes 4. and 5. and more especially a Memoir\* on Phidon, king of Argos, in which an attempt is made to reconcile the Chronicle of Pausanias with the Chronology of Eusebius.

Herodotus does not mention the three first Macedonian princes, Caranus, Cœnus, and Tyrinnas, because their dominion was not firmly established.

Τημενίδης] *Of Temenus*. Temenus was descended from Hercules by Aristomachus.† Having cast lots‡ with Procles, Eurysthenes, and Cresphontes, for three kingdoms of the Peloponnesus, Argos fell to him, Lacedæmon to Procles and Eurysthenes, sons of Aristodemus, and Messena to Cresphontes. The descendants of Temenus were called Temenidæ. Gavanes, Æropus, and Perdiccas, were of this family. They subdued Macedonia, and their posterity reigned over it for several centuries, till the time of Philip, who lost a battle he fought with the Romans. Pausanias mentions the prediction of a sybil, conceived in these terms:§ “Macedonians, who boast of a race of kings, originally of Argos, two Philips will constitute both your good and your ill fortune. The first shall give kings to cities and to nations; the second, overcome by nations from the west and the east, shall load you with all sorts of ignominy.”

Τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίαν] *Upper Macedonia*. Upper Macedonia is that furthest inland,¶ and Lower Macedonia that which stretches along the Ægean sea.‡ “Upper Lacedæmonia comprised the Lyncestæ, the Helimiotes, and other nations above these, which form particular kingdoms, though subjected to Macedonia and in alliance with it. The

\* Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, Vol. xvi. p. 27 et suiv.

† Pausan. Corinth. sive lib. ii. cap. xviii. p. 151.

‡ Apollodor. lib. ii. cap. viii. § iv. p. 144.

§ Pausan. Achaic. sive lib. vii. cap. viii. p. 543.

¶ Scholiast. Thucyd. ad lib. ii. § xcix. No. lxxv.

‡ Thucyd. lib. ii. § xcix. p. 163.

Temenidæ, originally of Argos, first took possession of Lower or Maritime Macedonia. They drove out from Pieria the Pierii, who have since inhabited the city of Phagres, and other towns at the foot of Mount Pangæus, beyond the Strymon; whence, to the present day, the country which extends from the foot of Pangæus to the sea is called the Pieric gulf. They also drove from Bottiæa the Bottiæi, who now live near the Chalcidians of Thrace: they likewise took possession of a part of Pæonia, viz. that narrow tract which borders upon the river Axius, extending on one side to the sea, and on the other as far as Pella. They possess moreover, beyond the Axius, Mygdonia, as far as the Strymon, from which last country they expelled the Edones; they also drove out the Eordæ from Eordæa, and the Almopii from Almopia. These Macedonians, who inhabited the maritime coast, also seized on some other countries, which they still possess: viz. Anthemus, Grestonia, Bisaltia, and a great part of Macedonia properly so called, (Upper Macedonia.) The whole is called Macedonia."

*Ἀσθερίες χρηματί*] *Were not rich in money.* "At the time of the siege of Troy, the use of money was unknown to the Greeks. Neither Homer nor Hesiod speak of gold or silver money; they express the value of things, by a certain number of sheep or oxen; they indicate the wealth of a man by the number of his flocks, and that of the country by the abundance of its pastures, and the quantity of its metals. In the camp before Troy, trade was carried on in kind, and not in money; the wines of Lemnos were bought with copper, iron, skins, oxen, slaves, &c. See the *Iliad*, Book vii. verses 473—475.

"Lucan (*Pharsal. lib. vi. vers. 402.*) attributes the invention of money to Itonus, king of Thessaly, and son of Deucalion; whilst others ascribe it to Erichthonius, king of Athens, who was said to be the son of Vulcan, and who was brought up by the daughters of Cecrops. Aglaosthenes (in *Jul. Pollux, lib. ix. cap. vi. segm. lxxxiii. pp. 1063, 1064.*) attributes the glory of this invention to the inhabitants of the island of Naxos. The most common opinion is, that Phidon, king of Argos, contemporary with Lycurgus and Iphitus, first brought money into use in the island of Ægina, to afford to the Æginetæ the facility of subsisting by commerce, their island being remarkably barren. See Strabo, Book viii. p. 577. We have at the present day \* some coins of this prince, (Sperling. '*de nummis non cusiis*,') which represent on one side the species of buckler called by the Latins '*ancile*,'

\* See what I have said of them in the *tesauro, Vol. xvi. pp. 24, 36. Mémoires of the Academy of Belles-Lettres.*

and on the other a small pitcher with a bunch of grapes, with the word ΦΙΛΟ. Plutarch (in *Lycurgo*) informs us, that *Lycurgus*, with a totally opposite design, and to alienate the *Lacedæmonians* from any commerce with strangers, caused to be manufactured a coarse heavy coin, of iron, steeped in vinegar whilst red-hot, in order to render it unfit for any other use. He wished, says *Justin*, (lib. iii. cap. ii. p. 124.) that traffic should be carried on, not with money, but by an exchange of merchandize; 'em̄ singula, non pecuniâ, sed compensatiōe mercium jussit.'

"According to *Athenæus*, lib. vi. cap. iv., neither gold nor silver was suffered at *Lacedæmon*. A certain number of oxen was given to the widow of king *Polydorus*, who reigned about 130 years after *Lycurgus*, for the purchase of her house. From the time that *Lysander* pillaged *Athens*, the *Lacedæmonians* began to have money both of gold and silver; but this was limited to the public transactions, the use of it being forbidden to private individuals, on pain of death. The form of the small money of the Greeks was very remarkable. According to *Plutarch*, (in *Lysandro*, p. 442.) they were small rods or pieces of iron or copper, called 'obeli' (spits), whence the word 'obolus;' and the name of 'dragma' (handful) was given to a piece of money of the value of six oboli, because six of these little rods or bars made a handful. See *Eustathius*, in *Iliad*. p. 102.

"*Herodotus* (lib. i. § xciv.) says that the *Lydians* were the first who struck coins of gold and silver, and used them in commerce; *Xenophanes* (in *Julius Pollux*, lib. ix. cap. vi.) says the same thing. But neither the one nor the other mentions at what precise period this occurred.

"It does not appear that in the time of *Croesus* the *Lydians* had any regular stamped coin. The treasures of that prince contained only gold and silver in the mass, either dust or ingots;\* for *Herodotus*, (lib. vi. § cxxv.) says that *Alcmæon*, in his ample dress, large shoes, and even in his hair, carried away from the treasury of *Croesus*, by permission of that prince, a complete load of gold-dust.

"Neither does it appear that before the time of *Darius*, the son of *Hystaspes*, money was in use amongst the *Persians*. *Darius* regulated the tribute which he required of his subjects, and the weight in gold and silver which he chose they should pay him. He had this gold and silver separately melted in earthen pots; the pots were broken afterwards, and the metal cut from the mass as it was wanted.

\* This does not amount to any proof, because these princes struck money only as it was needed, and kept their stock of gold in bullion; witness what he says, a few lines lower down, of *Darius*.

Subsequently, however, this prince caused coins to be struck of the purest gold, which were called Darics. We do not learn that any king had done so before him. See Herodotus, lib. iv. § cix. xvi. Polyenius (in Strabo, Book xv. towards the end,) and Diodorus Siculus, Book xviii, also assert, that the kings of Persia kept in their palace the produce of the tribute in ingots, coining but very little of it. Xerxes, according to Herodotus, Book ix. § xl, left a considerable quantity of gold and silver both in bars and in money with Mardonius, whom he had commissioned to carry on the war in Greece; so that from the time of Darius, a vast number of Darics, pieces of money which bore the figure of an archer on the reverse, were seen in that country, as we find from Plutarch, in his *Apophthegmata Lacourica*.

"No ancient coins either of the Lydians or the Persians are now extant. The most ancient medals found in the cabinets of the collectors are Greek; and amongst the Greek coins, the oldest are of the time of Amyntas, father of Philip, king of Macedonia, and grandfather of Alexander the Great.

"We must not therefore be surprised that Herodotus should say, Book viii. § cxxxvii, that neither the people nor even the kings were rich in money in those ancient times, but that their riches consisted in herds, &c. Gold and silver were formerly exceedingly scarce, both in Greece and the adjacent countries. Athenæus (lib. vi. cap. v.) cites Anaximenes of Lampsacus, who says it was only on account of the scarcity of gold, that the golden necklace of Eriphyle became so famous in Greece, and that at that time a silver cup excited much admiration, as being a remarkable novelty. The same Athenæus informs us, that Philip, king of Macedonia, whenever he retired to rest, put under his pillow a small gold cup that he had, and which he highly esteemed on account of the scarcity of that metal.

"Before the time of Gyges, king of Lydia, no other metal was seen in the temple of Delphi but copper; and this not in the form of statues or other ornaments, but only in tripods. The Lacedæmonians were obliged to have recourse to Cræsus for the gold of which they made their statue of Apollo on Mount Thornax, as we learn from Herodotus, Book i. § lxix. Hiero, king of Syracuse, diligently sought for gold to make a statue of Victory, and a tripod, for the temple of Delphi: he at length found some at Corinth, in the house of a certain Architeles, who had accumulated it by purchasing it in small quantities, and who, beyond the weight required of him, made the king a present of a handful; in return for which, Hiero sent him a vessel laden with corn."—BELLANGER.

Τὴν κατ' ὅσον] *The opening of the chimney.* The chimneys of

the ancients were not constructed like ours. There was no tube or channel to carry off the smoke: the fire was made in the middle of the room, the roof of which gradually contracted so as to have the appearance of an inverted funnel. I recollect to have seen, some sixty years ago,\* similar chimneys in some villages of Lorraine.

CXXXVIII. *Ῥόδα, ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἔχον ἑξήκοντα φύλλα*] *Roses with sixty petals.* The roses of Miletus,<sup>4</sup> says Pliny, have no more than twelve petals: the rose called *Spineola* has many, but they are small. The least leafy roses have five petals; and there is a species, called '*centifolia*,' which has a hundred petals; these are found in Campania, and in Greece not far from Philippi.<sup>5</sup> The territory of that city does not produce them; the shrubs are brought from Mount Pangeus, and, being replanted in a rich soil, produce roses larger than those that grow on the mountain itself. Hardouin, in a note on this passage of Pliny, observes that he has seen, in the king's garden at Paris, roses with three hundred petals.

*Ὁ Σίληνός*] *The Silenus.* Plutarch relates<sup>6</sup> after Aristotle, that "Midas having captured the Silenus in the chace, asked him what was most beneficial to man, and ought to be preferred by him before all other things. The Silenus was at first silent, and would not answer; but Midas having compelled him to speak: '*Ephemeral race,*' answered he, '*of a species condemned to toil and trouble, why would you force me to reveal to you things of which you had better remain ignorant? . . . It were better that men came not into the world, and that they were not made partakers of a better nature. The greatest good after that, and of that number which you may procure for yourselves, is to die quickly.*'"

This thought, arising out of the misfortunes incidental to human life, is, as we see, very ancient. Theognis has since expressed it in verse:

Ἀρχὴν μὲν μὴ φῦναι ἐπιχθονίοισιν ὕριστον,  
μηδ' εἰσεῖν αὐγὰς ὄψεαι ἡλίου·  
φύντα δ', ὅπως ὤκιστα πύλας Αἴδαο περῆσαι,  
καὶ κεῖσθαι πολλὴν γαῖαν ἐφεσσύμενον.

'The most advantageous circumstance to men would be, not to be born at all, and not to see the brilliant light of the sun; but when one

\* I write this in 1801.

<sup>4</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxi. cap. iv. Vol. ii. p. 236.

<sup>5</sup> Now called Philippopolis, in Romania.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch. de Consolat. ad Apollon. p. 115. D, E.

<sup>7</sup> Theognidis Sentent. vers. 417. Conf. not Bruckh.



is born, to enter as speedily as possible into the palace of Pluto, and to be covered safely under ground.'

Lactantius makes some very sensible remarks on this passage.\* "*Hinc (nempe ex antea dictis) nata est inepta illa sententia, hanc esse mortem, quam nos vitam putamus; illam vitam, quam nos pro morte timeamus*;) ita primum bonum esse, non nasci, secundum, citius mori: quæ, ut majoris sit auctoritatis, Sileno attribuitur. . . . quero igitur, cui optimum esse putet non nasci, cum sit nullus omnino, qui sentiat: nam ut bonum sit aliquid, aut malum, sensus efficit."

Many authors say that it was a satyr. Some of the ancients confounded the Sileni with the satyrs. Marsyas is called a Silenus by some writers, and a satyr by others. There was this difference, however, that only the satyrs of an advanced age were called Sileni.<sup>†</sup> "Sileni priusquam senescant, Satiri sunt." The scholiast of Aristophanes<sup>‡</sup> informs us, that their excessive lasciviousness had obtained them this name; σίρος being the 'pudendum virile.'

CXL. Ἦν μὴ τὸ ὑμέτερον αἴριον γένηται] *Unless you oppose some obstacle on your side.* In all the Mss. and in all the editions we read as above, which can never signify 'nisi per vos steterit.' M. Valckenaer changes αἴριον into ἀντίον. This slight change gives the meaning of the Latin version; I have therefore adopted it. See the note of that critic.

Βασιλεὺς χεῖρ ὑπερμήκης] *The power of the king is immense.* In the Greek, his arm is exceedingly long. For such is the signification of the word χεῖρ amongst the Greeks, and frequently that of 'manus' with the Latins, as I have proved, Book 11. § CXXI. note 12.

An nescis longas Regibus esse manus?

Ovid. Heroid. xvii, 166.

CXLII. Φέροι καὶ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα] *It now extends throughout all Greece.* Gronovius has remarked on § x. of Book 1., that this turn of phrase is peculiar to Herodotus. In this he is mistaken. This mode of expression, which is very common with Herodotus, is also familiar to the Ionian and Athenian writers. The Ionian bears a considerable resemblance to the ancient Attic. We often find this form of speech in Euripides.

• Τροφαὶ ὅ αἱ παιδευόμεναι  
Μέγα φέρον' εἰς ἀπείραν.

\* Lactant. Divinar. Institut. lib. iii. cap. xix. p. 243.

† Pausan. Attic. sive lib. i. cap. xxiii. p. 64.

• Servius ad Virgil. Eclog. vi. vers. 14.

‡ Schol. Aristoph. ad Nubes, vers. 1060.

• Euripid. Iphigen. in Aulid, vers. 562.

'Good education contributes greatly to virtue.' In Sophocles,\* *eis bláβēn féron*, 'which occasions harm:' and in those authors who have imitated the Attics. Plutarch, in his life of Lucullus,<sup>†</sup> says τὴν μὲν ὕψιν οὐκ εἶχε συμβαλεῖν εἰς ὃ, τι φέροι. 'He could not guess what was the purport of this vision.'

Τούτων ἀπαντῶντων αἰτίους] *That, being originally the authors.* The text is corrupt. I read with Corn. de Pauw, *τούτων ἀπάντων αἰτίους, αἰτίους γενέσθαι*, κ. τ. λ., and I have translated accordingly. M. Koen conjectures that we should read *τούτων ἀπάντων ἐκτός, αἰτίους γενέσθαι*, and M. Reiske, *ἀνεν τούτων ἀπάντων αἰτίους γενέσθαι*. If we adopt either the one or the other of these conjectures, we must translate, 'would it be not a grievous thing that besides these ills, the Athenians should likewise be the cause of . . . ?'

Two lines before, I read *περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρχῆς* ὁ ἄγων ἐγένετο, according to the conjecture of M. Wesseling, instead of *περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρχῆς*. The Lacedæmonians, who arrogated to themselves the dominion over all Greece, would never have fought for that of the Athenians.

Οικοφθόρησθε] *Your houses overthrown.* Οικοφθόρεω is said, in a general way, of the loss of property or patrimony. It has been taken in this sense by Plato: *οὔτε οἰκοφθόριαν τε καὶ πέναν φοβούμενοι, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ φιλοχρήματοι*. 'They fear neither the loss of property, nor poverty, as do the vulgar, and those who are attached to money.' Herodotus always uses it in this sense. In after times, the word was applied to men who corrupted women. We do not find that signification attached to it in Stephens's Thesaurus; but we do in Hesychius, and in the glosses of Philoxenus. The Fathers of the Church have often used it. I will give an example from St. Ignatius, *Epistolâ ad Ephesios*, cap. xvi. Οἱ οἰκοφθόροι βασιλεῖαν Θεοῦ οὐ κληρονησούσιν: 'Fornicators shall not inherit the kingdom of God.' And another from the *Excerpta* of Antonius and Maximus, printed with Stobæus: *Ξάνθος ὁ σοφὸς θεασάμενος ἐπὶ θύραις εὐπρεποῦς γυναικὸς ἄνδρα οἰκοφθόρον*. 'The philosopher Xanthus having seen at the door of a handsome woman, a man who was endeavouring to corrupt her.'

Καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἀχρηστοὶ οἰκετέρων ἐχόμενα πάντα] *All the useless persons that your families contain.* That is to say, children, old men, women, and slaves; in a word, all those who were unfit for war. Under the word *οἰκεταί* were comprehended not only the servants, but also the wife, children, and the whole family. We may remark

\* Sophocl. *Œdipus Tyrann.* vers. 525. vol. 517. ex edit. Brun. k.

† Plutarch. in *Lucullo*, p. 306. E.

\* Plato in *Phædon*, Vol. 1. p. 82. C.

† Stob. *Excerpta* ex *Antonino et Maximo*. Sermon. lxxv. p. 106. lin. 33.

this turn of expression, τὰ . . . ἀχρηστὰ οἰκετῶν ἐχόμενα, for οἱ ἀχρηστοὶ οἰεῖσθαι. We have before seen, (Book I. § CXX.) τὰ τῶν ἀνειράτων ἐχόμενα for τὰ ἀνειράτα, and § CXCIII., καρπῶν ἐχόμενα for καρποί. The grammarian\* who has written on the different specimens of Bucolic poetry, speaking of the shepherds who were mastered in this style of writing, says, that they retired to the plains near Syracuse, and demanded bread, and that they ‘gave them pleasant things, and such as were calculated to excite laughter.’ Διδόναι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ παιδίας καὶ γέλωτος ἐχόμενα . . . Ἡ δὲ Κλεοπάτρα, καὶ ἄλλα τρυφάσασα ἀσεβείας ἐχόμενα. ‘Cleopatra committed still farther impieties.’ M. Wesseling has pointed out this particular turn of expression, and I have thought proper to do so too, as the dictionaries either do not explain it at all, or give very imperfect explanations of it. See also Book III. § XXV. note 2.

CXLIII. Τῷ Μήδῳ δύναμις] *The forces of the Persians.* In the Greek, ‘of the Medes,’ i. e. the king of Persia. I have already noticed this expression, which is very familiar to the Greek authors. It is surprising that Tanogui Lefebvre should wish to change τοῦ Μαρκεδότος to ἡγεμόνος, in Longinus’s Treatise on the Sublime, sect. iv.: τοῦ Μαρκεδότος is there taken for the king of Macedonia, Alexander.

Ὁνειδίζειν] *To exaggerate.* Ὁνειδίζω signifies ‘effero,’ ‘amplifico oratione.’ Καὶ μὴν ὅτι φέρεται τὸ πρᾶγμα τοιοῦτόν ἐστι, οὐχ ὅ λόγος αὐτὸ ἐξονειδίζει θεάσασθε: ‘Do you not therefore perceive that things are such by their nature, and that I do not exaggerate them?’ I have discovered, since my first edition, that this remark had been anticipated by Mr. Musgrave. See his note on verse 4. of the Orestes of Euripides.

Ἐλευθερίῃς γλιχόμενοι] *Burning with the bright flame of liberty.* I read ἐλευθερίῃς γλιχόμενοι with the margin of the edition of Stephens, which I find also in the Ms. B of the Royal Library, though the various readings of the new edition of our author make no mention of it. If the ordinary reading be preferred, ἐλευθερίῃν σκεπτόμενοι, we must translate, ‘being led to consider the advantages of liberty . . .’

Οὐδὲν ἄχαρι παθεῖν] *Which would not be agreeable to you.* This expression conveys a very serious threat: ‘in fact, Alexander had a narrow escape of being stoned. “Our ancestors so loved their country,” says Lycurgus, “that they were very near stoning Alexan-

\* Vide Theocritum Warton, Vol. i. p. lvi.

† *Ælian.* apud Suidam. voc. Κόσμοι, Vol. ii. p. 551.

‡ Dion Chrysost. Orat. xxi. p. 331. D.

§ On this mode of expression, see the note on § xlii. of this Book.

¶ Lycurg. contra Leocrat. part ii. p. 159. lin. 42, 43.

der, ambassador of Xerxes, and formerly their friend, because he demanded of them earth and water." It appears from Herodotus, that Xerxes did not require earth and water of the Athenians, and this is confirmed by Aristides. "Instead of earth and water," says that orator, "which he had formerly demanded of them, he offered them magnificent donations. He restored to them their city and all its territory. To this he added the whole of Greece as a free gift, together with riches beyond what all Greece contained." But to return to Alexander, the same Aristides adds,<sup>a</sup> that his quality of guest of the Athenians saved his life, although they did not send him away very comfortably; as they ordered him, on pain of death, to quit their territory before the setting of the sun.

[*Ἡδὲ αὖτε ὁμοίᾳ*] *The same customs.* There was a great diversity in the customs, manners, religion, and even in the language, of the different nations of Greece; though there was a fundamental resemblance in them all. Theophrastus also says, in the commencement of his *Treatise on Characters*, that the mode of education was the same throughout Greece. It was very different however at Lacedæmon from what it was at Athens; but Theophrastus and Herodotus, in speaking of the identity of the manners and customs of the Greeks, speaks of them as contrasted with those of the Barbarians. Had M. Reiske paid due attention to this, he would have been more guarded in his criticism on the passage of Theophrastus. See his remarks on that author. M. Coray saw clearly that Theophrastus intended to contrast the manners of the Greeks with those of the Barbarians. But "even in this sense, this writer (Theophrastus) has not been very exact, in stating the education of the Greeks to be the same in all parts . . . Neither is it true that all Greece is placed under the same climate. Without referring to the different nature and elevation of the soil, which may change the atmosphere within a very trifling distance, (as witness the heaviness of that of Bœotia compared with that of Attica,) we know that that part of Greece bordering on Thrace is very different from the Peloponnesus and the adjacent islands."

This difference is not so material as M. Coray imagines. He would probably not have expressed himself so, had he read the *Travels of Tournefort*. That writer was much surprised, on arriving at Constantinople, to find the tulip and ranunculus in blossom in the fields in December. These expressions are to be understood generally, and not criticised with geometrical precision. Herodotus and Theophrastus wished to contrast the manners and the climate of

<sup>a</sup> Aristid. in Panathen. p. 13. lin. 27.

<sup>b</sup> Id. *ibid.* p. 13. lin. 24.

<sup>c</sup> Les Caractères de Théophraste, traduction nouvelle, p. 64.

Greece, properly so called, with those of the barbarous nations; and the distinction was sufficiently striking. If we consider it in reference to their manners, it is too obvious to require illustration. In respect to the climate, it is generally known that the climate of Greece is mild and temperate, being neither subject to the intense heat felt in many parts of Asia, nor to the extreme cold of Scythia. Herodotus and Theophrastus have said no more than this; and I am surprised that a Grecian, so learned and so well informed as M. Coray, should have found in it any occasion for blaming these distinguished authors.



## NOTES ON HERODOTUS.

### CALLIOPE. BOOK IX.

I. Ὅσον δὲ ἐκάστητε γίνουτο, τούτους παρελάμβανε] *All those who were of age to bear arms.* The Greek says only, 'he took those of the places through which he passed;' but he means by this only such as were fit for war. "Independently of the troops\* which Xerxes had given to Mardonius, that general had assembled more than 200,000 men from Thrace, Macedonia, and other allied countries. He had in all<sup>b</sup> about 500,000."

Θώραξ ὁ Ἀηρισσαῖος] *Thorax of Larissa.* This Thorax<sup>c</sup> was the son of Aleuas. He was very much attached to Xerxes, as were his two brothers, Eurypylus and Thrasydeus. On the Aleuades, see Book vii. § vi. note 1.

II. Κατελάμβανον τὸν Μαρδόνιον, καὶ συνεβόλευον αὐτῷ] *Endeavoured to repress the ardour of Mardonius.* This general was advancing by forced marches on Attica. The Thebans, who knew that that country was not favourable for the evolutions of cavalry, endeavoured to persuade him not to carry the war thither, but rather to fix his camp on their plains. Such is the meaning of the expression, οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατελάμβανον Μαρδόνιον. The force of the imperfect tense, on which I have remarked in note 1. on § vi. of Book i. and elsewhere, is very evident in this passage; for the Thebans did not actually repress the mad eagerness of Mardonius, as his presumption rendered him deaf to their counsels, and he continued to advance with the same ardour.

III. Ὁ δὲ αὖς ἐπειθερα] *Prevented him from adopting it.* Diodorus Siculus however relates, that whilst<sup>d</sup> Mardonius was with his army in Boeotia, he sent money to the principal cities of the Peloponnesus, for the purpose of separating them from the league. This seems to confirm what is said by Demosthenes and Plutarch, of

\* Diodor. Sic. lib. xi. § xviii. Vol. i. p. 427.

<sup>b</sup> Id. *ibid.* § xia. p. 428.

<sup>c</sup> Herodot. lib. ix. § lvii.

<sup>d</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. xi. § xviii. Vol. i. p. 426.

Arthmius of Zelia<sup>a</sup> in Asia, who having brought money from the king, with the object of corrupting the principal persons in the cities, was, together with his whole family, declared by the Athenians<sup>b</sup> infamous, an enemy of Greece, and the decree was engraved on a brazen column in the citadel, near the bronze statue of Minerva. A commentator of Demosthenes, on the third Philippic, remarks,<sup>c</sup> that this Arthmius was sent by Artaxerxes Longimanus with money, to induce the Peloponnesians to declare war against the Athenians. But on what authority he asserts this I am not aware. It would appear that it was Xerxes who sent him. See Plutarch, in vitâ Themist. p. 114. F.

Πυρραῖσι διὰ νήσων] *Torches in the islands.* Whatever happened, was communicated by men posted at certain distances from each other. The first who wished to communicate any thing,<sup>d</sup> did so by holding up one or more lighted torches. The second held up as many as he had seen, and this was repeated along the whole line. By this species of communication, intelligence of any particular fact was conveyed with great rapidity.

Ἡ δὲ βασιλῆος αἴρεσις] *For the second time took possession.* Literally, 'the capture of the king,' or rather, 'the capture of the city by the king, was in the tenth month before the second expedition of Mardonius.' Every one knows that ὑστεραίος is for ὑστερος; but perhaps every one does not know, that ὑστερος is a relative term to πρότερος, expressed or understood. Πρότερος is said of 'two;' and its correlative ὑστερος signifies 'the second.' Ammonius is precise on the subject: 'πρῶτος μὲν ἐπὶ πολλῶν πρότερος δὲ ἐπὶ δύο καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἀκολουθεῖ ἔστιν ὁ ὑστέριος τῇ δὲ προτέρῃ ὑστερος.'

V. Κατέλευσαν [βάλλοντες] *Stoned him.* It should seem that it is to this circumstance that Lycurgus alludes,<sup>f</sup> when, addressing the judges, he says, "The decree made as to him who perished at Salamis, merits your attention. He endeavoured only by his discourse to betray the republic; and yet the senate took from him his crown,<sup>g</sup> and sentenced him to death; a noble decree, and worthy of our ancestors. They had exalted souls, and were anxious to punish the guilty."

A certain<sup>h</sup> Cysilus had, ten months before, experienced a like fate, for having attempted to persuade the people to remain in the city and receive Xerxes. The women of Athens stoned his wife likewise. Cicero, who relates the same anecdote, probably after the

<sup>a</sup> Demosth. in Philipp. iii. p. 91. C, D. Æschin. contr. Ctesiphont. p. 369. E. Plutarch. in Themistocle. p. 111. F.

<sup>b</sup> Id. ibid. p. 91. C, D, de falsâ Legat. p. 336. D.

<sup>c</sup> Oraciones Philippicæ. Dublini, 1764. 8vo. Vol. n. p. 111.

<sup>d</sup> Onomast. Strategica, cap. xlv. p. 74.

<sup>e</sup> Ammon. de Differentiis voc. Græcar. p. 119.

<sup>f</sup> Lycurg. advers. Leocrat. p. 165. lin. 6. et p. 237. ex edit. Taylor.

<sup>g</sup> This traitor was a senator, and, as such, wore a crown whilst he was sitting.

<sup>h</sup> Demosth. pro Coronâ, p. 507. D.

Athenian orator, adds this reflection: "Atque ille utilitatem sequi videbatur: sed ea nulla erat repugnante honestato." Cic. de Offic. lib. III. § XI.

VI. Ἀγγέλους] *A deputation.* Idomeneus relates \* that it was Aristides who was deputed, and he names no other. Yet Plutarch † affirms that the name of Aristides does not appear in the decree made on this occasion, but those of Cimon, Xanthippus, and Myronides.

VII. Δία τε Ἑλλήνιον] *Jupiter Hellenius.* The same with Jupiter Panhellenius. Greece † being afflicted by a drought, the Pythia made answer to the deputies who consulted her, that Jupiter must be appeased, and for this end the mediation of Æacus employed. Deputies were sent to this prince from all the cities, by whom sacrifices and prayers were offered to Jupiter Panhellenius, (or common to all Greece,) and rain was procured. The mountain on which this temple was placed was also called the mountain of Jupiter Panhellenius. ‡ See Book VIII. § LXIV. note I., in which I correct a passage of St. Clement of Alexandria.

Ἀλλὰ ἀπειπάμεθα] *We have rejected these offers.* I read, with the margin of Stephens, and the Mss. A and B of the Royal Library, ἀλλ' ἀπειπάμεθα. In all the editions, except that of Wesseling, we find ἀλλὰ πάντα τε ἀπειπάμεθα.

Ἐν τέλει ἐστὶ] *Is almost finished.* I read, with the Mss. A, B, and D, of the Royal Library, and the margin of H. Stephens, ἐν τέλει ἐστὶ. The wall was not yet finished; but it was nearly so, as appears by the succeeding paragraph.

X. Πανσανίη] *Of Pausanias.* Pausanias † was not king, but guardian of Plistarchus.

Πλεισάρχου] *Plistarchus.* This prince died at the commencement of his reign. Plistoanax, son of Pausanias, mentioned in the preceding note, succeeded him. §

Κλεόμβροτος] *Cleombrotus.* See Book VIII. § LXXI.

Ὁ ἥλιος ἀμαυρώθη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ] *An eclipse happened.* This eclipse, if we believe Father Petavius, † occurred in the same year as the battle of Salamis, on the 2nd October, at 1 h. 24 min. p. m. At Athens it was 7 digits 1-8th, and lasted two hours. Such is the opinion of Petavius. But having consulted M. Pingré, of the Academy of Sciences, and Canon of St. Geneviève, that astronomer informed me that there was an eclipse of from 6 to 7 digits, on the 2nd October, in the year 479 before the vulgar era. It is the same that Herodotus mentions,

\* Plutarch. in Aristid. p. 324. F; 325.

A, B.

† Id. ibid.

‡ Pausan. Corinth. sive lib. ii. cap. xxix.

§ p. 179.

¶ Id. ibid. cap. xxx. p. 181.

\* Pausan. Lacon. sive lib. iii. cap. iv. p. 214.

† Id. ibid. cap. v. p. 214.

‡ Petavius de Doctrinâ tempor. lib. i. cap. xxv. Vol. ii. p. 109. col. 11.

differing only in this, that he dates it before the battle of Plataea, whereas it did not occur till after that battle.

XI. *Ἰακινθία*] *The festival of Hyacinthus*. Hyacinthus, the son of Amyclas, was beloved by Apollo. That god was playing with him at quoits, when, Hyacinthus going hastily to take up the quoit that had been thrown by Apollo, it bounded, struck him in the face, and killed him.\*

The Lacedæmonians kept a festival in honour of him,† in the month Hecatombeon. "Polycrates,‡ in his History of Laconia, relates that the Lacedæmonians offer sacrifices to Hyacinthus for the space of three days, and that from grief for the loss of him, they wear no crowns during the repast, and serve no loaves, but cakes instead. They sing no psæan in honour of the god, do nothing that is usual in other festivals, but, after having modestly supped, retire. The second day is appropriated to various spectacles, at which all the most distinguished persons are present. Children, clothed in tunics fastened up, play on the flute and on the cithara, which they touch rapidly, accompanying it with their voices. Others ride round the theatre on horses magnificently accoutred. Chorusses of young people appear on the scene, and sing verses relating to the solemnity; dancers, mingled with them, execute ancient dances to the sound of the flute. The young girls attend this festival, some on elegant wooden cars, others on war-chariots. All the city is joyous. On this day a number of victims are sacrificed. All the citizens regale their friends and their slaves. They all assist at the sacrifices, during which time the city is deserted." Polycrates says that the city is deserted, because the festival was celebrated at Amyclæ.

*Ξείρους γὰρ ἐκάλεον τοὺς βαρβάρους*] *Such was the name which they gave to the Barbarians*. It appears that it was not to all the Barbarians indiscriminately that the Lacedæmonians gave this name, but only to their enemies. *Ξενοί, οἱ πολέμοι*, says Hesychius: *ξέροι*, 'the enemies.' Amongst the ancient Latins, 'Hostis' originally signified a stranger, though it was afterwards used to indicate an enemy. "Hostis"‡ apud antiquos peregrinus dicebatur, et qui nunc hostis perduellis."

Varro, de Linguâ Latinâ, lib. iv. p. 6. ex Edit. Henrici Stephani: "Multa verba aliud nunc ostendunt, aliud ante significabant, ut Hostis. Nam tum eo verbo dicebant peregrinum, qui suis legibus nterretur: nunc dicunt eum quem tum dicebant perduellem." Cicero de

\* Ovid. Metamorph. lib. x. vers. 183.

† Hesychius, voc. Ἐκατομβέων μην. This month commences July 14th, and ends August 11th.

‡ Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. iv. cap. vii. p. 139. D.

‡ Sest. Pompeius Festus, voc. 'Hostis,' p. 175. On this passage, see the notes of Scaliger and Dacier: the first of whom cites the passage of Herodotus as being in Urania, whereas it is in Calliope.

Officiis, lib. i. § xii. "Equidem illud etiam animadverto, quod, qui proprio nomine perduellis esset, is hostis vocaretur, lenitate verbi tristitiam rei mitigante: Hostis enim apud majores nostros is dicebatur, quem nunc peregrinum dicimus. Indicant duodecim tabulæ, aut status dies cum hoste: itemque, adversus hostem æterna auctoritas. Quid ad hanc mansuetudinem addi potest? Eum, quicum bella geras, tam molli nomine appellari? Quanquam id nomen durius jam effecit vetustas; a peregrino enim recessit, et proprie in eo, qui arma contra ferret, remansit."

XIV. *Μεγαρίδα*] *Megaris*. The Megarians were not held in high estimation; witness the oracle which was pronounced to them, and which is quoted by Suidas,<sup>a</sup> the scholiast of Theocritus,<sup>b</sup> and Tzetzes.<sup>c</sup>

Ὑμεῖς δ', ὃ Μεγαρεῖς, οὔτε τρίτοι, οὔτε τέταρτοι,  
οὔτε δωδέκατοι, οὐτ' ἐν λόγῳ, οὐτ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ.

'Megarians, you are neither the third, nor the fourth, nor the twelfth; no account is taken of you, and you occupy no rank whatever.'

This oracle passed into a proverb; and we find it in an epigram of Callimachus, on a certain Callignotus, who had forsaken his mistress:

Ἢ νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν ἄλλης δὴ θέρεται πυρὶ, τῆς δὲ ταλαίνης  
Νύμφης, ὡς Μεγαρέων, οὐ λόγος, οὐτ' ἀριθμός.

'He now burns with another fire, and pays no more regard to his unhappy wife, than we do to the Megarians.'

It is pretended, however, that this oracle was spoken of the inhabitants of Ægium. See Book i. § cxlv. note 3.

XV. *Παρὰ Ὑσιᾷ*] *Near Hysia*. Dacier<sup>d</sup> here writes Hysia instead of Hysia, because the latter place was on this side the Asopus, towards Cithæron, and Mardonius was on the opposite side, towards Thebes. But if from this reason we infer Hysia to be a corruption, we must think the same of Erythræ and Platæa, which are also on this side the Asopus. However, if we should admit Hysia to be corrupt, we cannot substitute Hyria, a small place near Aulis, as Strabo<sup>e</sup> says, and consequently too far distant from the camp of Mardonius. In fact, we must make no alteration at all. Herodotus meant to convey an idea of the extent of the camp of Mardonius, and not finding on the

<sup>a</sup> Suidas, voc. ὅμοιος, ὃ Μεγαρεῖς.

<sup>b</sup> Schol. Theocr. ad Idyll. xiv. vers. 48.

<sup>c</sup> Tzetzes, l'ib. ix. cap. ceter. vers. 890, 891. This author names the inhabitants of Ægium in Achæa, instead of those of Megara.

<sup>d</sup> Callimach. Epigr. xvi. vers. 5 et 6. Vol. i. p. 336.

<sup>e</sup> Vies des Hommes Illustres de Plutarque, tom. iii. p. 364.

<sup>f</sup> Strab. lib. ix. p. 630. A.



other side of the Asopus any place which could fix the attention of his readers, he has indicated it by towns situated on this side the Asopus, opposite to the place where Mardonius was encamped.

[Παρὰ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν] *Along the Asopus.* Παρὰ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν *παράμυτον*. M. Reiske read *παράμυτον*, and this conjecture appeared very plausible to M. Wesseling, from a passage in Plutarch, which he cites in his note. The Ms. B in the Royal Library has *παράμυτον*, which is an error of the copyist for *παράμυτον*.

[Τείχος ῥοσόνιον ἐποίησε] *The wall which he threw up.* This <sup>a</sup> camp, of a square form, enclosed by a wall of ten stadia on each side, was intended for the baggage and all the valuables.

[Ὁ Φρύγιος] *Phryno.* Phryno was probably a Theban, as his son Attaginus was of the city of Thebes. We must not mistake him for an Athenian of the same name, who lived a long time before him, and who obtained the prize <sup>b</sup> at the Olympic games, and was killed by Pit-tacus of Mitylene, one of the seven wise men of Greece. On the latter Phryno, see Book I. § XXVII. note 2.

[Παρασκευασμένοι μεγάλοι] *Made preparations for a great feast.* This banquet, if we may rely on Athenæus,<sup>c</sup> consisted of Thrions,<sup>d</sup> of Hepastæ,<sup>e</sup> Aphysæ, Enerasicholæ, puddings, hams, and vegetable soups. On which he makes the following jesting remark: that if all the Persians had been regaled in like manner, they would have died of hunger before the battle of Platæa, and the Greeks would have had no opportunity of signalling themselves.

Athenæus appears to have enumerated the viands of this banquet only in ridicule of the avarice of the Thebans. How, in fact, can we imagine that the richest citizen of an opulent city, and where they were used to good cheer, should have offered so poor a repast to the general of the Persian army, whom he knew to be accustomed to the most luxurious banquets?

[XVI. Διαπινόντων] *As they were drinking one against another.* The Persians, on the first establishment of their monarchy, were a very sober people, and were accustomed to drink only water. See the Discourse of Sandanis the Lydian, Book I. § LXXI. But when they had conquered the greater part of Asia, they adopted the manners of the people they had subdued, and drank intemperately. The Persian nobleman deputed to Amyntas, king of Macedonia, mutually excited

<sup>a</sup> Plutarch. in Aristide, p. 325. C.

<sup>b</sup> Strab. lib. xiii. p. 805. B, C, 896. A.

<sup>c</sup> Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. iv. cap. xii. p. 149. E, F.

<sup>d</sup> The Thrio was made with flour, lard, and milk, cooked in fig-leaves.

<sup>e</sup> The Hepastæ were little fish, of what

species I know not. See what M. Camus says of them in his translation of Aristotle, Vol. II. p. 681. The Aphysæ were a small fish, very common at Athens, and formed the nourishment of the poorer classes. The Enerasicholæ were probably anchovies. See M. Camus, Vol. II. p. 101.

each other to drink, at the festival given to them by that prince. See Book v. § xviii. They did not limit these excesses to occasions of convivial merriment, when even the wise man may sometimes transgress the bounds of moderation; but indulged in them on those in which they had the greatest need of the full exercise of their understanding. For even when they intended to deliberate on matters of great importance, they would first drink to excess. See Book i. § cxxxiii. As to the expression, *ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ δεινῶν ἔσας, διαπύοντες*, it has been perfectly explained in the note of M. Wesseling, to which I refer the reader.

XVIII. *Συστρέψαντες ἑαυτοῖς*] *Closed their ranks.* 'Closing up the ranks,' that they might sustain the shock of the enemy, not 'turning round.' This has been explained in the notes of Gronovius, and of MM. Valckenaer and Wesseling.

XIX. *Ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν*] *At the Isthmus.* "When \* the Greeks were assembled at the Isthmus, they resolved to take an oath which should cement their union, and which should bind them to meet their dangers courageously. It was conceived in the following terms:— I will not prefer life to liberty; I will not abandon my generals, either alive or dead; I will give burial to such of the allies as shall fall in battle: after having conquered the Barbarians, I will not destroy any city which shall have contributed to their defeat; I will not build up again any of the temples which they shall have burned or overthrown; but I will leave them in the state in which they are, to serve as a monument to posterity of the impiety of the Barbarians."

Consult the note of M. Wesseling on this passage of Diodorus.

Lycurgus mentions the same oath, in his oration against Leocrates;† if it be real, the account of Lycurgus, who affirms that it was taken by all the Greeks assembled at Platæa, is more probable than that of Diodorus Siculus, who supposes that it was taken at the Isthmus, by the Peloponnesians only. Indeed, how could these people, whose temples were untouched, take an oath never to rebuild the temples burned by the Persians? See M. Valckenaer's note.

Lycurgus, as I have just observed, quotes the same oath, but with some variation. I find it in that author as follows: "I will not prefer life to liberty; I will not abandon my generals, either alive or dead; I will give burial to all such of the allies as shall fall in battle: after having obtained the victory over the Barbarians, I will destroy no city that shall have fought for Greece; and I will decimate all those which have taken part with the enemy; I will not rebuild any of the temples burned or overthrown by the Barbarians; I will leave them in their present state, a monument to posterity of their impiety."

\* Diodor. Sic. lib. xi. § cxxv. Vol. i. p. 437.

† Lycurg. contra Leocratem, p. 158. Im. 1. c. p. 206. edit. Taylor.

Although Theopompus, as quoted in M. Wesseling's note on the passage of Diodorus Siculus, contends that this oath is purely imaginary, the authority of Lycurgus, which appears to me of great weight, may be cited in opposition to him.

XX. *Ὡς οὐ κατὰ βασιλῆα*] *As they were not descended, &c.* Plutarch relates some particulars, antecedent to these events, which perhaps the reader will not be displeased that I should here advert to.

Whilst \* Greece was in a most critical conjuncture, some citizens of Athens, of the first families in that city, having been ruined by the war, and considering that with their wealth they had lost also their credit and authority, held secret assemblies, and resolved to destroy the popular government in Athens; and, in case of the failure of their project, to ruin the state, and deliver up Greece to the Barbarians.

This conspiracy had made considerable progress, when it came to the knowledge of Aristides. At first he felt alarmed, on account of the circumstances in which the country was involved; but as he was not informed how many were concerned in it, whilst he thought it right to give his attention to the subject, he determined that the investigation should not be too rigid, in order that the door might be left open for repentance. He contented himself with arresting eight of the conspirators, amongst whom were two that were deeply implicated. A process was instituted against them, but during its progress they escaped. Aristides afforded to the others an opportunity of repenting, and, on releasing them, told them that the field of battle would be the tribunal where they might justify themselves, and prove that they had never adopted any counsels but such as were just and to the advantage of their country.

XXI. *Μοῦνοι*] *Alone.* It will appear, from my translation, that I place the comma after *μοῦνοι*, and not after *δέχεσθαι*. In this I follow the editions of Aldus and of Wesseling. This punctuation is confirmed by the Mss. A, B, and D, in the Royal Library, in which we find a colon after *μοῦνοι*; which comes to the same thing.

XXII. *Προτέρων τῶν ἄλλων*] *Having got before it.* The Greek phrase here signifies, 'præ aliis longius provector.' M. Bellanger did not think proper to avail himself of this remark, which had been communicated to him by a man of letters with whose name I am unacquainted, and which I found amongst his papers. It is nevertheless very correct. M. Wesseling has made the same observation, and supports it by a passage of Eustathius,<sup>b</sup> who explains these words of the Iliad, *ἵππον προύχοντα*, by *προελαύνοντα*, 'going before.' Stephens has not omitted this signification in his Thesaurus.

\* Plutarch, in *Aristide*, p. 326. C.

<sup>b</sup> Eustath. ad Iliad. p. 1303. lin. 34.

*Παῖς μιν ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ*] *Struck him in the eye.* Plutarch says that it was through the visor of the helmet.<sup>a</sup>

XXIV. *Κείραρες τοὺς ἵππους*] *Cut the manes of their horses.* We might suspect that this custom was confined to the Barbarians; but it had in fact been practised by the Greeks from the most remote periods. When Admetus<sup>d</sup> heard of the death of Alcestes, he commanded that the manes should be cut off from the horses throughout Thessaly. The same custom was observed on the death of Pelopidas,<sup>e</sup> and Alexander the Great revived it on the death of Hephæstion; but probably he did so from a desire to imitate the Persians.

XXV. *Τῷ Ἀνδροκράτει τοῦ ἡρώου*] *Androcrates.* Androcrates<sup>f</sup> had been in ancient times a leader of the Plataeans. Aristides<sup>g</sup> having sent to consult the oracle of Delphi, the god answered that the Athenians would obtain the victory, if they made vows to Jupiter, to the Juno adored on mount Cithæron, to Pan, and to the nymphs Sphragitides, and also offered sacrifices to the heroes Androcrates, Leucon, Pisander, Damocrates, Hysion, Actæon, and Polyides, who had been chiefs of the Plataeans. The temple<sup>h</sup> of Androcrates was surrounded by a very thick wood. It was on the right of the road from Plataea to Thebes.<sup>i</sup>

XXVI. *Ἐχεν τὸ ἑκρον κίρας*] *The command of one of the two wings.* The Lacedæmonians, by right, commanded whichever wing they chose. *Ἐχεν*, which is here used by Herodotus, is explained, a few lines lower down, by *ἡγεμονεύειν*.

*Ἡρακλῆδας ἐπεποιῶτο*] *The Heraclidæ endeavoured.* The Heraclidæ<sup>j</sup> retired, after the death of Hercules, to the court of Ceyx, in Trachinia, to avoid the anger of Eurystheus, king of Mycenæ. The latter urged that prince to drive them from his dominions, together with the Arcadians who had accompanied Hercules in his expeditions, and threatened him with war in case of refusal. The Athenians having afforded them a refuge at Tricorythus, a village of Attica in the Tetrapolia, Eurystheus marched at the head of a numerous army against them; but was defeated and slain, together with all his sons. The Heraclidæ re-entered the Peloponnesus; but the plague having ravaged the country, the oracle declared that it was because the Heraclidæ had returned before the time prescribed by the fates. Atreus succeeded Eurystheus. It was under his reign that Hyllus presented himself with his troops, and was killed in a

<sup>a</sup> Plutarch. in Aristide, p. 327. C.

<sup>b</sup> Euripid. Alcest. vers. 429.

<sup>c</sup> Plutarch. in Pelopida, p. 296. C, F.

<sup>d</sup> Id. in Aristide, p. 325. D.

<sup>e</sup> Id. ibid. C, D.

<sup>f</sup> Id. ibid. F.

<sup>g</sup> Thucyd. lib. iii. § 211v.

<sup>h</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. iv. § 1vii. lviii. pp. 301, 302.



single combat by Echemus, king of the Tegeatæ. One of the conditions of this combat was, (according to Diodorus Siculus, from whom I borrow this account of the transaction,) that if Hyllus should be killed, the Heraclidæ should not enter the Peloponnesus for 'fifty' years. This is an error which has escaped that author, as it is certain, from Herodotus, that we must read 'a hundred' years. Thucydides<sup>a</sup> says that the Heraclidæ returned eighty years after the taking of Troy. The second return of the Heraclidæ happened<sup>b</sup> twenty years before the taking of Troy, and their last return eighty years after that event, that is, according to the calculation of Herodotus, that their second return was in the year 3424 of the Julian period, 1296 years before our era, and the last in the year 3524 of the Julian period, 1190 years before our era. On the return of the Heraclidæ, see my Chronological Essay, chap. xvi.

The discourse of the Tegeatæ does not appear to me well judged. They ought, in fact, to have passed very lightly over their exploits against the Heraclidæ, in the presence of the descendants of those very Heraclidæ, who, to punish their presumption, should have decreed the post of honour to their rivals, even though the cause of the latter were not equally good.

[*Exequer*] *Echemus*. Under the reign of Echemus,<sup>c</sup> the son of Aëropus, grandson of Cepheus, and great-grandson of Aleus, the Achæans obtained a great victory, near the Isthmus of Corinth, over Hyllus, the son of Hercules, who at the head of a numerous army of Dorians attempted to enter the Peloponnesus. Echemus, challenged by Hyllus to a single combat, killed him. Such is the opinion of many historians, and I think it more probable than that of others, who say that Orestes was king of the Achæans at the time when Hyllus attempted to re-enter the Peloponnesus. In fact, Orestes was not born till after Hyllus was killed. See my Essay on Chronology, chap. xv. sect. 1. § iv. p. 404. and the Chronological Canon, years 3424—3431. Echemus<sup>d</sup> married Timandra, daughter of Tyndarus, and sister of Clytemnestra. He was succeeded by Agapenor,<sup>e</sup> son of Anceus, and grandson of Lycurgus. This Agapenor<sup>f</sup> commanded the Arcadians at the siege of Troy.

In the time of Pausanias,<sup>g</sup> that is, nearly 1400 years afterwards, the tomb of that prince, with a column on which his combat with Hyllus was engraved, was still to be seen at Tegea.

<sup>a</sup> Thucyd. lib. i. § xii. p. 11.

<sup>b</sup> Petavins de Doctrinâ Temp. lib. ix. cap. xxxii. Vol. ii. p. 37.

<sup>c</sup> Pausan. Arcadic. nunc lib. viii. cap. v. p. 607.

<sup>d</sup> Apollodor. lib. iii. cap. x. § vi. p. 200.

<sup>e</sup> Pausan. Arcad. nunc lib. viii. cap. v.

<sup>f</sup> Homer. Iliad. lib. ii. vers. 609. Pausan. loco laudato.

<sup>g</sup> Pausan. Arcadic. nunc lib. viii. cap. llii. p. 703.



Φηγέος] *Of Cepheus.* All the editions and all the Mss. have 'Phegeus;' but it is certain that we must read 'Cepheus.' See Pausanias, *Arcadic.* sive lib. viii. cap. iv. p. 606; cap. viii. p. 613. Apollodor. lib. i. cap. viii. § 11. p. 30; § xvi. p. 49. This Cepheus was one of the Argonauts, and grandfather of Echemus.

Καὶ ἀνέκρινε] *Killed him.* Hyllus was killed \* at the spot where the territory of Megaræ borders on that of Corinth.

Ἡμῶν ἐντέταται ἡγεμονεύειν] *Belongs to us.* So in the text. I think that the copyists have omitted the preposition *ἐς* before *ἡμῶν*. Herodotus uses it in this construction, *ἐς τὸν ἱερέα ἐχειν*, Book vi. § LVII. See M. Valckenaer's note on Book ii. § xxxvi.

Δίκαιον] *It is just.* We must understand *μᾶλλον* with *δίκαιον*, by a sort of ellipsis very common with the Greeks, and even with the Latins. † *Ἐγὼ γοῦν δεξιμὴν ἂν πάσας τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐρίφηναι, ἢ τοιαύτην γνώμην ἔχειν περὶ τὸν πατέρα.* 'I would rather have cast on the ground all the bucklers in the world, than have entertained such a thought of my father.'

\* *Eo tacent, quis tacita bona 'st mulier semper quam loquens.*

XXVII. Ἀργείους] *The Argians, &c.* Polynices having been expelled from Thebes by his brother Eteocles, took refuge at Argos,<sup>d</sup> and came with Adrastus and other Argians to besiege Thebes.<sup>e</sup> Eteocles and Polynices<sup>f</sup> killed each other; and the greater part of the Argians having fallen before the walls of the city, Creon, who was become<sup>g</sup> king, or rather regent of Thebes, forbade them the rites of sepulture. Adrastus went to implore the protection of the Athenians; Theseus laid siege to Thebes, took it, brought away the dead bodies, and delivered them to their relatives for interment.

Plutarch, who has thought fit to contradict Herodotus, pretends<sup>h</sup> that it was not by force that Theseus recovered the bodies of the Argians, but by persuasion, and by a treaty. Euripides, in his *Suppliants*, is of the same opinion as Herodotus. He says that Theseus, after beating the Thebans in a pitched battle, carried off the bodies of the Argians, and performed the last offices to them at Eleusis. See that tragedy, from verse 634 to the end of the piece. Isocrates expressed a similar opinion in his *Panegyricus*;<sup>i</sup> but an opposite one in the *Panathenaicus*,<sup>j</sup> in which he says, that the Thebans listened to the per-

<sup>d</sup> Pausan. *Attic.* sive lib. i. cap. xlv. p. 109.

<sup>e</sup> Lyais contra Theomn. i. p. 118. lin. 4.

<sup>f</sup> Plaut. *Rudens.* Act iv. Sc. iv. vers. 70.

<sup>g</sup> Apollodor. *lib.* iii. cap. vi. § i. p. 172.

<sup>h</sup> Id. *ibid.* § iii. vi. pp. 174. 170.

<sup>i</sup> Id. *ibid.* § viii. p. 179.

<sup>j</sup> Id. *ibid.* cap. vii. § i. pp. 180, 181.

<sup>k</sup> Plutarch. *vit. Parallel.* in Theseo, p. 14. A.

<sup>l</sup> Isocrat. *Vol.* i. p. 146.

<sup>m</sup> Id. in *Panathenaico*, *Vol.* ii. p. 270.

suasions of the ambassadors of Theseus, and permitted them to carry away the bodies of the Argians. In his eulogium on Helen, however, he returns to his former opinion.\* Τῷ δὲ τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν Καδμείαν τελευτήσαντας, βίῃ Θηβαίων, θάψαι παρίδωκε. 'Theseus, in spite of the Thebans, committed to Adrastus the bodies of the Argians who fell before the walls of Thebes, for the purpose of their being buried.'

We might suppose this variation to arise from the circumstance, that when Isocrates composed the Panathenæicus, the Athenians were the allies of the Thebans, and that he did not choose to publish a fact which would be the more likely to displease them, as they declared that† they had voluntarily surrendered the bodies of the Argians, and had never fought a battle on that occasion. The variation in question did not escape Isocrates himself; for in the Panathenæicus he admits that the two accounts are in contradiction; but he asserts himself to have written with good faith, and conformably to the interests of the republic: which is declaring candidly enough, that a writer is less bound to consult truth, than to flatter the vanity of his countrymen.

Εν Ἐλευσίνι] *At Eleusis.* Pausanias, as well as Herodotus, says that these bodies were buried in the territory of Eleusis. "On the road† from Eleusis to Megara there is a well, at some distance from which are the chapel of Megarissa, and the tombs of those who were killed before Thebes." Herodotus has τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐν Ἐλευσίνι, 'in Eleusis of our country;' in order to distinguish that city from those in other countries which bore the same name. Lysias has used a similar specification in his funeral oration on the Athenians, who perished in the third year of the 96th Olympiad under Iphicrates, in giving assistance to the Corinthians, ἔθαψαν ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν Ἐλευσίνι. 'They (our ancestors) have buried them in our Eleusis:' that is to say, Eleusis a city belonging to us. In this passage he is speaking of the very Argians to whom the Thebans had refused burial, and whom the Athenians interred at Eleusis.

Ἐς Ἀμαζονίδας] *Against the Amazons.* Plutarch, after speaking of the cause of the war of the Amazons, says that it was a war‡ of importance, and not a war of women: for would the Amazons have penetrated into the city, and given battle in the vicinity of the Pnyx and of the Museum, if, after having subdued the neighbouring country, they had not fearlessly approached the walls of the citadel itself? It is difficult to believe, with Hellanicus, that they came by land, and

\* Isocrat. in Helenæ Encomio, Vol. ii. p. 129.

† Pausan. Attic. sive lib. i. cap. xxxix. p. 94.

‡ Id. ibid.

§ Lysias Epitaph. Logos, p. 191. Na.

36.

¶ Plutarch. in Theseo, p. 12. E.

passed the Cimmerian Bosphorus on the ice : but that they encamped in Athens itself, is confirmed by names of the places, and by the tombs of those Amazons who fell in the battle. When the two armies were in sight of each other, they hesitated for some time before they gave the signal to engage; but at length Theseus having sacrificed to Fear, commenced the attack, in order to fulfil an oracle. The battle was fought in the month Boëdromion, on the day on which the festival called Boëdromia is still celebrated. The historian Clidemus, who has been anxious to omit no particular of this day, writes that the left wing of the Amazons extended to the place now called Amazonium, that their right reached to the Pnyx, at the spot where the golden statue of Victory now stands : that the right wing of the Athenians, which was formed near the Museum, was opposed to the left wing of the Amazons, as appears by the tombs of those who fell on the occasion ; . . . that the Athenians gave way on that point, and were driven back as far as the temple of the Eumenides ; but that their left wing, which occupied the Palladium, Ardetta, and the Lyceum, advanced on the right wing of the Amazons, and drove them back to their camp with great slaughter ; and that in the fourth month, a treaty was concluded by means of Hippolyta ; for that author calls the Amazon who was with Theseus, Hippolyta, and not Antiope . . . . What is beyond a doubt is, that this war was terminated by a treaty of peace ; and this we know, not only from the name of the place where this treaty was sworn to, thence called ' Horcomosion ' (assertation by oath), which is opposite to the temple of Theseus, but also from the ancient sacrifice annually made to the Amazons on the eve of the festival of that hero. The Athenian orators took particular delight in celebrating this exploit. Lysias, in his funeral oration for the Athenians who died in assisting the Corinthians, pronounces a high eulogium \* on these Amazons, and hence takes occasion to exalt the merit of those who defeated them.

Cimon<sup>1</sup> has described this battle with the same precision that has been employed in detailing the battles of the Athenians against the Persians.

*Tās andō Oepmúboiros*] *Those formidable warriors.* *Tās ánoθήκας*, which we read in the text, gives no meaning. MM. Wesseling, Valckenzer, and other critics, are the more inclined to suppress it, as it is found in very few of the Mss., and is wanting in those marked A and B in the Royal Library. Gronovius substitutes *tās ánoθήκας*, which I have rendered in my translation. This correction is supported by

\* Lysias Epitaph. Logos, p. 190. fin.  
23, &c.

<sup>1</sup> Arriani Exped. Alex. vii. § xlii. p. 507.

M. Toup,\* whose authority on all these matters has great weight. See also the notes of the learned and ingenious Mr. Tyrwhitt on the work of M. Toup, Vol. iv. p. 489. Hesychius explains ἀποθήκας by μὴ φιλονετίας.

M. Coray proposes a very ingenious correction of this passage. Instead of ἐς Ἀμαζονίδας τὰς ἀποθήκας τὰς ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος ποταμοῦ, he corrects ἐς Ἀμαζονίδας τὰς ἀπὸ Θρηίκης τὰς ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος ποταμοῦ, and he appeals to the authority of the following verses from Virgil, Book xi. v. 659:

Quales Threícæ, cum flumina Thermodontis  
Pulsant, et picis bellantur Amazonis armis.

But I do not approve this conjecture. 1. By the Amazons of Thrace, Virgil can have meant no other than those of Asiatic Thrace, for there never were any in European Thrace. 2. Asiatic Thrace being no other than Bithynia, Virgil must have assigned to it an extent much greater than it ever possessed, for he places the Thermodon in it, which was in Cappadocia. An historian, and especially Herodotus, is more exact. I have therefore preferred the correction of Gronovius, who reads τὰς ἀποθήκας, which we find also in Hesychius and in Lycophron. I have before observed, that M. Toup approved this conjecture. Some may prefer that of Mr. Taylor,<sup>b</sup> who reads: ἐς Ἀμαζονίδας τὰς ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος τῆς ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντος ποταμοῦ, κ. τ. λ.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι] *That alone.* This battle was the perpetual theme of exultation to the Athenians, because they stood alone, and at that time the name of the Persians made all Greece tremble. Thus the orator Lycurgus: “It is by listening to these verses, it is by imitating such actions, that your ancestors conducted themselves so valiantly, that not only they were ready to die for their own country, but for all Greece, as for a common country. Thus at Marathon, they conquered in a pitched battle the combined forces of Asia, and by their peculiar dangers established the security of Greece in general. They showed themselves less anxious to claim glory on this occasion, than satisfied at having performed actions worthy of it; at having become the chiefs of the Greeks, and the masters of the Barbarians: for it was not by words, but by deeds, that they manup their virtues to the world.”

XXIX. Πεντακῆσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι] *Thirty-four thousand men.* The whole of the heavy-armed troops amounted to 38,700 men. From these we must deduct 5000 Spartans, and there will then remain 33,700 men; but as these were supported by 34,500

\* Epistola Critica ad Gul. Episc. Glocestriens. p. 62; veler edit. 2da. Vol. ii. p. 500. and Vol. iv. p. 489.

<sup>b</sup> Taylor in Lector. Lyniac. p. 637.

<sup>c</sup> Lycurg. contra Leocrat. pars ii. p. 162. lin. 9.



men lightly armed, some of the combatants must necessarily have had more than one light-armed soldier. 'Ως signifies sometimes 'nearly.' I doubt whether it has this signification here; and am rather inclined to believe that there is an error in the figures somewhere, and that the contingent of some nation should be augmented. In other respects the calculation is just; having perhaps been rectified by the copyists.

Σὺν δὲ Θεσπιέων τοῖσι παροῦσι] *The remainder of the Thespians.* There remained very few of the Thespians after their defeat\* at the pass of Thermopylæ. Their city having been burned by the<sup>b</sup> Barbarians, they had retired to the Peloponnesus. They afterwards<sup>c</sup> endeavoured to re-establish themselves, by admitting other Greeks to the right of citizenship. Themistocles took advantage of this opportunity to procure the rights of a citizen of Thespiæ for Sicinnus, the tutor of his children.

Ὅπλα] *Heavily armed.* The term implies, the arms of the heavy-armed troops. Hence the name of 'Hoplites' which was given to them. Those whose arms were light, were called ψιλοὶ and γυμνοὶ. This is so well known, that I should have scarcely pointed it out in a note, had not M. Bellanger translated ὅπλα δὲ οὐδ' οὐτοὶ εἶχον, 'they had no arms.'

XXX. Ἐφερόν τε καὶ ἄγων] *To pillage.* So in the Greek. Φέρω is said of all that can be carried away; ἄγω, of the cattle that are driven forward, and perhaps also of prisoners. The expression is generally used, when speaking of the ravages of an enemy. A line higher, we must take away the point after αἰρέων, as in the Ms. D of the Royal Library, and read, with the Mss. A, B, and D of the same library, κατελημένοι, without doubling the letter μ.

XXXI. Οἱ τε Ἑρμοσυβίαι καλούμενοι] *Which are called Hermotydies.* We must take away the comma after Καλασιρίας, and place it after καλούμενοι. The Mss. A, B, and D, in the Royal Library have none at all. Several intelligent persons have been mistaken, and have thought that these Egyptians were called 'Machærophori,' or 'sword-bearers,' as if all the Egyptian warriors did not carry the kind of sword called Machæra. Those who follow the profession of arms in Egypt, says Herodotus, Book II. § CLXIV. are called 'Hermotybies' and 'Calasiries.'

XXXII. Τισαμενός] *Tisamenus.* Tisamenus<sup>d</sup> had a son called Agelochus, and a grandson named Agias, who foretold to Lysander that he would obtain possession of the Athenian fleet, which was at

\* Herodot. lib. vii. § cxxii.

<sup>b</sup> Id. lib. viii. § I.

<sup>c</sup> Id. lib. viii. § Ixxv.

<sup>d</sup> Pausan. Lacon. sive lib. iii. cap. xi. p. 232.



*Ægos Potamos*, with the exception of ten triremes; which happened<sup>a</sup> in the fourth year of the 93rd Olympiad.

*Κλυτιάδων*] *Clytiades*. It appears<sup>d</sup> that the *Clytidæ*, the *Iamidæ*, and the *Telliadei*, were three different families of soothsayers. Cicero likewise distinguishes the *Clytidæ* from the *Iamidæ*: "*Elis*" in Peloponneso familias duas certas habet, *Iamidarum* unam, alteram *Clytidarum*, haruspiciæ nobilitate præstantes." The text of Herodotus appears to me to have been altered; but as we have no certain means of information as to these ancient families, I have thought it best to leave it as it stands in all the editions. This family was descended<sup>e</sup> from *Clytius*, the son of *Alcmæon*, and from the daughter of *Phegeus*. He retired to *Elis* to avoid living in the same house with his maternal uncles, whom he knew to have plotted the assassination of *Alcmæon*. His genealogy is as follows: <sup>f</sup> Prometheus, Deucalion, Hellen, *Æolus*, *Cretheus*, *Amythaon*,<sup>g</sup> *Melampus*, *Mautius*, *Oicles*, *Amphiaræus*, *Alcmæon*, and *Clytius*.

*Ιαμιδῶν*] *Iamidaæ*. To what I have said on *Iamus*,<sup>h</sup> the founder of this family, may be added, that his mother having been privately delivered of him, concealed him amongst rushes and violets,<sup>i</sup> and that hence she gave him the name of *Iamus*, *ἰὼν* signifying a violet.

*Theoclus*, who performed the office of a soothsayer amongst the *Lacedæmonians*,<sup>j</sup> in their war against the *Messenians*, in the year 4032 of the Julian period, 682 years before our era, was descended from<sup>k</sup> *Eumantis* of *Elea*, of the family of the *Iamidæ*. Upon this war with *Messenia*, see the *Memoirs* of the Academy of *Belles-Lettres*, Vol. XLVI. p. 52 and following.

*Ἐν πάλασμα*] *In wrestling*. Herodotus positively asserts, as we have just read, that *Tisameus* was overcome in wrestling. I cannot conceive, therefore, why the learned Father Corsini should appeal to the authority of our historian, to prove<sup>l</sup> that he was victorious in this exercise. Pausanias agrees with and confirms Herodotus. *Tisameus*,<sup>m</sup> says he, had the advantage over *Hieronymus* of *Andros*, in running and in leaping; but he was mastered at wrestling. See the *Ionian Lexicon* of *Æmilii Portus*, at the words *παρὰ τὴν πάλασμα ἔλαβε νικῆν Ὀλυμπιάδα*; and also the excellent notes of MM. *Weesseling* and *Valekenaer*.

<sup>a</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. xiii. § cvi. Vol. I. p. 628.

<sup>b</sup> Philostrat. Vit. Apollonii, lib. v. cap. xxi. p. 208.

<sup>c</sup> Cicero de Divinat. lib. i. § xli.

<sup>d</sup> Pausan. Ilincor. poster. sive lib. vi. cap. xxi. p. 494.

<sup>e</sup> Apollodor. lib. i. cap. vii. § ii. pp. 22, 23, 24; § iii. p. 24.

*Her. No.*

<sup>f</sup> Pausan. loco superius laudato.

<sup>g</sup> Herodot. lib. v. § clviii not 3.

<sup>h</sup> Pindar. Olymp. Odo vi. vers. 90, &c. p. 65.

<sup>i</sup> Pausan. Messeniac. sive lib. iv. cap. xv. p. 317.

<sup>j</sup> Fast. Attic. Vol. iii. p. 159.

<sup>k</sup> Pausan. Lacon. sive lib. iii. cap. xi. p. 232.

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[*ἡγούμενον*] *As conductor.* The ancient Greeks always employed a diviner to direct and guide them in their enterprises, even in those connected with war. Homer, speaking of Calchas, says, *νήεσσι ἡγήσαστο Ἴλιον εἶσω.* 'He acted as conductor of the vessels which sailed to Ilium.' *Iliad.* Book 1. versc 71. For want of attention to this, M. Bellanger has translated, 'to command with them in military expeditions.'

[*Μετιόντες*] *They sent to fetch him.* (*Ils l'envoyèrent chercher.*) I read *μετιόντες* with the Ms. B in the Royal Library. This reading is also found in a Ms. of the Imperial Library at Vienna, and has been admitted by M. Wesseling into the text of his edition.

XXXIII. [*Ὡς εἰκάσαι βασιλῆτην καὶ πολυμήτην*] *To compare the royal dignity.* I have adopted the punctuation of M. Wesseling, that is, I take away the comma after *ὥς εἰκάσαι*, and introduce it after *πολυμήτην*. This punctuation is authorised likewise by the Mss. A and B in the Royal Library, which have no comma after *ὥς εἰκάσαι*.

[*Μελάμπος*] *Melampus.* I have spoken of this Melampus, Book 31. § XLIX. note 1. I may here add, that the daughters of Prætus, king of Argos, having gone mad,\* he restored them to their senses, on condition of receiving two-thirds of the kingdom, one of which he gave to his brother Bias. Thus was this state divided into three parts, governed by the Proetides, the Melampodidæ, and Biantidæ. Melampus had previously given a strong proof of his affection for his brother Bias. The latter was desperately enamoured of Pero, the daughter of Neleus. That prince<sup>†</sup> would not bestow her in marriage on any man but him who should bring him from Phylace the oxen of Iphiclus.<sup>‡</sup> To bring these off was an exploit of extreme danger. The friendship of Melampus for his brother, however, induced him to brave it. Having been discovered in the attempt by those who guarded the cattle, he was put in prison. As he was a soothsayer, he knew that this prison was on the point of falling down, and consequently he gave warning of it. Iphiclus, greatly astonished, released him, and inquired of him what means he should employ to have children. He was, however, prevented from having any by the following circumstance. His father Phylaceus wishing to cut down a tree, and the young Iphiclus being near him, instead of hitting the tree with the axe, he struck his son on the organs of generation. Melampus sent for the axe, ordered Iphiclus to scrape off the rust, and drink it. Iphiclus, by way of recompense, gave him his oxen. Melampus presented them to Neleus, who then granted his daughter Pero in marriage to Bias.

\* Pindari Schol. ad Nem. Ode ix. vers. 30. p. 401. col. 1.

† Schol. Theocrit. ad Idyl. iii. vers. 43.

‡ Iphiclus was king of Phylace in Thessaly. Thessaly was famed for the excellence of its horses and other cattle.

Great part of this story is found in Homer's *Odyssey*, Book xi. verses 286 and following, and Book xv. verses 226 and following. In Argolis\* there was a mountain called Acri, Ἄκρι, on which Melampus caused a temple to be built to Diana, after having cured the Prætidæ, or daughters of Prætus. For I read in Hesychius ἀθήραις τῆς Προτιδῆς, and I consider what follows as belonging to another gloss.

Melampus cured the Prætidæ, by causing them to bathe in the fountain Clitorius. Every one who after that time drank of this fountain conceived an aversion for wine. At least so says Ovid,† as well as a Greek epigram,‡ quoted by Vitruvius. On this fountain, see the Geographical Table, Art. ΑΣΑΝΙΑ.

XXXIV. Καὶ τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἐωντοῦ Ἥγιον] *And his brother Hegias.* What must we think then of Plutarch's saying§ that Tyrtæus was admitted a citizen of Sparta? Meursius,¶ it is true, asserts that Tyrtæus was only permitted to live at Sparta, a privilege granted to no foreigners; but that he enjoyed no other; and in proof of this he cites the Apophthegm of Pausanias quoted by Plutarch. Now, as this is the very passage cited by me, he must be in error.

Πρὸς Ἴσθμῳ] *At Ithome.* I read here πρὸς τῇ Ἰσθμῳ, instead of πρὸς τῷ Ἴσθμῳ. This war was carried on far from the Isthmus. See the notes of MM. Valckenaer and Wesseling.

Ἐν Τανάγρα πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τε καὶ Ἀργείοις] *At Tanagra, against the Athenians and the Argians.* This battle was fought in the third year of the 80th Olympiad, that is to say, the year 4256 of the Julian period, 458 years B. C. and 22 years after the invasion of Greece by Xerxes. Thucydides‡ speaks of this battle, and, with Herodotus, affirms, that the Lacedæmonians obtained the victory. Diodorus Siculus says that the result was doubtful. "The Athenians," observes this latter historian,§ "marched against the Lacedæmonians, with the Argians and the Thessalians. They had fifty vessels and 14,000 men. They took possession of the passes in the neighbourhood of Geranea; but upon this intelligence the Lacedæmonians proceeded to Tanagra in Boeotia. The Athenians having also marched thither with great rapidity, arranged themselves in order of battle, and attacked them. Although the Thessalians went over to the enemy, the Athenians and the Argians fought with the greatest courage. Many fell on both sides; but night coming on, the two armies separated. A short time after, and in the course of this very night, the Thessalians attacked

\* Vide Hesych. voc. Ἄκριος.

† Ovid. *Metamorph.* lib. xv. vers. 322.

‡ Vitruv. de Architectura, lib. viii. cap. iii. p. 164.

§ Plutarch. *Lacæd.* Apophth. p. 330. D.

\* Miscellan. *Lacæd.* lib. iv. cap. 2.

‡ Thucydides, lib. i. § cxxii.

§ Diodor. Sic. lib. xi. § lxxx. Vol. i. p.

465.

to consult the Greek auspices. Sophocles has employed the same expression in his *Antigone*, verse 683. edit. Brunck., *ὅστις δ' ὑπερβῆς ἢ νόμον βιάζεται*, 'whoever violates the laws.'

XLII. *Ἰλλυριοὺς τε καὶ τὸν Ἑγγέλεων στρατὸν*] *But the Illyrians and the Encheleans.* Pausanias, who describes the antiquities of Greece with so much accuracy, does not mention (in the *Iliocica*) either this pillage of the temple of Delphi, or the calamities of the nations who took part in it. Appian says that\* the Autarians, who were an Illyrian nation, pillaged that temple, and that they perished by the plague; but we are the less entitled to presume that this was the event contemplated by the oracle, as Appian associates with the Autarians in this expedition those of the Celts who were called Cimbri. We find something clearer in Euripides.<sup>†</sup> Bacchus discovers to Cadmus an oracle of Jupiter, which foretells him that when he shall have retired amongst the Illyrians and the Encheleans, he shall reign over those people; that they shall destroy a great number of cities; but that after having pillaged the temple of Delphi, (of Loxias, i. e. of Apollo,) they shall experience a reverse of fortune. If we could see the oracle itself, we should be better able to judge how Mardonius applied it to the Persians.

XLIV. *Τοὺς στρατηγοὺς*] *The generals.* Plutarch, who speaks also of this interview, names only Aristides. A man on horseback, says he,<sup>‡</sup> softly approached the camp of the Greeks, and addressing the sentinels, he told them to bring to him the Athenian Aristides, who immediately joined them.

*Παυσανίην*] *Pausanias.* This account is much more probable than that of Plutarch,<sup>§</sup> who makes Alexander to entreat Aristides to mention the secret to no one.

XLV. *Ἦμεῖς δὲ ἄνεποι τέ εἰπεν καὶ ἄδατος τοῦτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν*] *We have never tried our strength against them.* Can Pausanias have forgotten, asks M. Wesseling, the brave defence of Thermopylæ by the 300 Spartans; or had their glorious death rendered the Persians still more terrible? To this it may be answered, that the whole of those 300 Spartans having been killed, there was not in the army of Pausanias a single man who had encountered the Persians, or who was aware of their mode of fighting.

An Englishman of merit has reproached me with having forgotten, that there was in the army of Pausanias a Spartan who had been at the battle of Thermopylæ. Had there been such a one, it would have been difficult for that individual to have conveyed to the army of his countrymen an idea of the Persian mode of fighting. But I

\* Appianus de Bellis Illyricis, p. 1196.

† Euripid. Bacch. vers. 1333.

‡ Plutarch. in Aristide, p. 327. D.

§ Id. ibid. F.

may retort on the author of this objection, that it is himself who has not perfectly recollected the text of our historian. He alludes to Aristodemus, who distinguished himself at Platea; but who received no honours after his death, as he died in an attempt to remove the disgrace which he had previously incurred.\* Now what was this disgrace? Herodotus himself informs us, Book vii. § cccxix. and following. Some say that he was kept in bed at Alpenus by a disorder in his eyes, and that under this pretext he repaired to Lacedæmon; whilst others relate, that having been deputed by the army, it was in his power to return in time for the action, had he been so disposed; but that not desiring this, he tarried on the road. On his arrival at Lacedæmon, he was loaded with obloquy and disgrace.

But perhaps the critic in question may allude to Pantites,<sup>†</sup> who was one of the three hundred; but of him Herodotus remarks, that having been deputed to Thessaly before the battle, on his return he strangled himself.

It is therefore certain, from the account of Herodotus, that neither Pantites nor Aristodemus was present at the battle of Thermopylæ, and that there was not in the army of Pausanias any Spartan who was acquainted with the Persian mode of fighting.

Καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν πάλαι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς] *You anticipate us.* The general officers\* of the Athenians, if we may believe Plutarch, considered this conduct of Pausanias very arbitrary: they thought that by thus making them change their post at his pleasure, that prince treated them as slaves; but the remonstrances of Aristides induced them to change this opinion.

XLVIII. Συνεράραξαν καὶ στερῆσαν] *Disturbed it, and stopped it up.* "Pausanias says the same thing, Bœotic. or Book ix. cap. rv. p. 718; Mardonius 'spoiled it,' 'disturbed it,' *στερέσας*. The Abbé Gedoyn, in his translation of Pausanias into French, Vol. ix. p. 246. makes him to say, that Mardonius poisoned the water of this fountain; which Pausanias certainly does not say, nor does Herodotus. The ancient authors only say that Mardonius disturbed this water, that he turned aside its channel, that he stopped up the spring; and Pausanias adds, that afterwards the Plateans had it cleared out, re-opened it, and restored it to its former state. In war, it is fair to starve the enemy, to turn aside the waters, and to conquer the enemy, if possible, without striking a blow. But is it reckoned fair to poison the waters? Would not this be violating the laws of nations and the most sacred rights of humanity? The Persians, barbarians as they were, respected the rights of nations; they were not poisoners.

\* Herodot. lib. ix. § lxx.

† Ibid. lib. vii. § cccxxii.

\* Plutarch, in Aristide, p. 328. A.



The Abbé Gedoyn has not much consideration for the character of nations."—BELLANGER.

L. 'Ες τὴν νῆσος] *Into the island.* The island of Ceroë was, no doubt, known at that time under this denomination, without any addition to distinguish it from other islands; the same as at Paris, when we say 'the island,' we mean the Island of St. Louis. As to what our author adds, that the island is ten stadia distant from the Asopus, we must understand from that part of the Asopus near which the Grecian army was then encamped. The expression would otherwise be ridiculous. See the following note.

Θυγατέρα δὲ Ἀσωποῦ] *Daughter of Asopus.* "Diodorus Siculus," who mentions twelve daughters of Asopus, and Apollodorus<sup>a</sup> who names twenty, do not speak of this Ceroë."—WESSELYNG.

They both speak of Ægina, and the latter of them remarks that Ægina is the same as CEnona. Perhaps there is an error in the text of Herodotus, and we should read CEnona. I follow, as is evident, Apollodorus, in the passage above cited. This passage was not to be found in an Oxford Ms., and on this ground M. Heyne has suppressed the passage in his edition. That critic thinks that Ægius,<sup>c</sup> the first editor of Apollodorus, introduced it into the text of that author from the scholia of Lycophron on verse 175. But I do not see any thing in these scholia to authorise this opinion.

After having maturely reflected on this point, I do not consider the opinion at all tenable. The solution of the difficulty may be found in Pausanias, and I am astonished that no one should before this have given their attention to it. The river of which Herodotus speaks is the Asopus; it descends from mount Cithæron, and separates into two branches a little above Platea: these two branches reunite a little below the same city. The island formed by these branches is called Ceroë. Now let us hear what Pausanias<sup>d</sup> says: "On the road from Platea to Thebes, we find the river Peroë. They say that Peroë is the daughter of Asopus." Now it is pretty clear that the Ceroë of Herodotus and the Peroë of Pausanias are the same; and I am inclined to think that Peroë in the latter writer is an error of the copyists, and that we should read Ceroë: for as there was not on the road from Platea to Thebes any other river than the Asopus, it is manifest that Pausanias gives to that river the name of Peroë. That granted, I suppose that the Asopus took, at its source, at the foot of mount Cithæron, the name of Ceroë; that a little above Platea, it separated into two branches, which united a little below that city. These two branches

<sup>a</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. iv. § lxxii. Vol. i. p. 216.

<sup>c</sup> In notis ad Apollodorus, p. 769.

<sup>d</sup> Pausan. Boeot. nve lib. ix. cap. iv. p.

<sup>e</sup> Apollodorus, lib. iii. cap. xi. § vi. p. 213. 718.

formed, by their circuit, the isle of Ceroë. Ten stadia below the junction of these two branches, the river changed its name, and took that of Asopus, till it discharged itself into the Eubœan sea, near Delphinium. We may then very easily understand that the island of Ceroë was ten stadia distant from the Asopus, that is to say, from the spot where the river first took that name. As this river flows through a great extent of country under the name of Asopus, and a very trifling distance under that of Ceroë, it is not surprising that the second name should have been lost in the first. The same is the case with respect to the Danube and the Ister; that river being now known only by the first name.

Δευτέρα φυλακή] *The second watch.* About four hours after sunset. The Greeks divided the night into three watches. See my translation of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, Book IV. note 3.

LI. Ἐθευρο τὰ ὅπλα] *There pitched their camp.* The Greek expression signifies three things, as has been very properly remarked by the commentators. First, that they put on their armour and took up their arms; next, that they laid down their arms; and thirdly, that they pitched their camp. The notes of MM. Valckensser and Wesseling give examples of all these significations; and in addition to these the reader may consult M. Wesseling's note 45. on § LXVI. book XII. of Diodorus Siculus, Vol. I. p. 524; Paul Leopard, Emendat. lib. XI. cap. XX. pp. 230, 231; and Henri de Valois on Harpocration, under the word Θέμενος, p. 89.

This word is here taken in the last acceptation, derivatively, as I think, from the second. When the Greeks were about to encamp any where, they placed their arms in a certain part of the camp, whence they did not remove them till there was occasion to use them. Hence, in Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, 'to lay down arms,' often signifies 'to encamp.' It would be easy to prove, from the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, that when the Greeks were about to encamp, they placed their arms in a certain place, which was thence called τὰ ὅπλα; but I have not now time to search out the passages to establish this.

LII. Τῶν Ἡρακλεῶν λόχον] *The division of the Pitaneæ.* Pitane was a village of Laconia upon the Eurotas; but the corps here mentioned, it is probable, did not derive its name from that place. It is possible, however, that when the inhabitants of Laconia were transferred to the capital, those of Pitane retained their name. What is very certain, is, that a quarter of Lacedæmon was so called, as we see in Plutarch: "All the Athenians do not dwell in the Colyttus, nor

\* Plutarch. de Exilio, p. 601. B.

the Corinthians in the Craneum, nor the Lacedæmonians in Pitane." The Colyttus being a district of Athens, and the Craneum of Corinth, it should follow that Pitane is a district of Lacedæmon. But the following passage of Pausanias, in my opinion, removes all doubt. "There is" a quarter of Sparta, called Theomelidæ, in which are seen the tombs of the kings of the family of the Agidæ. Near it is the place where the Crotani assemble. The Crotani are the body of troops called the Pitanatæ." This passage serves to prove the existence of such a corps, and the following confirms it. Antoninus<sup>b</sup> sent for young people from Sparta, of whom he formed a company, called Lacedæmonian or Pitanatan. Had there not formerly been a body of troops which bore this name at Sparta, why should that prince have given such a name to the company of Spartans which he had formed? Observe that Pausanias seems to make no distinction between the Λόχος and the Μορα. Yet the Lochus was the fourth part of the Mora, according to the express assertion of Xenophon,<sup>c</sup> who says, that each Mora has a Polemarchus, and four Lochagi or chiefs of a Lochus. The Mora, or, as it was called by the Lacedæmonians, the Μοῖρα, with a circumflex accent on the first syllable, was composed of 700, 500, or 300 men, according to the scholiast<sup>d</sup> of Demosthenes, or according to some authors, amongst whom is Polybius, of 900.<sup>e</sup> Ephorus says that it comprised 500, and Callisthenes 700 men.

Notwithstanding these authorities, the Abbé Gedoyo<sup>f</sup> confounds the Mora with the Lochus. M. Bellanger is likewise<sup>g</sup> mistaken, because he relies on a corrupted passage of Hesychius.

But to return to the Pitanatæ, Thucydides positively asserts,<sup>h</sup> that there never was a company of this name at Lacedæmon. This historian, jealous of Herodotus, and who never omits an opportunity of contradicting him, "perhaps quibbles here," observes M. Bellanger,<sup>i</sup> "because he has called by the name of its nation or tribe, the company of the Pitanatæ, instead of the company of the Crotani, (see Pausanias, as above cited,) which was properly its military name, a quibble upon words which Hesychius has probably copied from Thucydides."

*Κείρον ράτρα νερούπερον*] On account of the opinion of Anopharettus. I read, with Sancti's Ms., *κείρον ράτρα νερούπερον*, which appears to be the true reading. MM. Valckenaer and Wesseling have

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Lacon. arc. lib. iii. cap. xiv. is omitted in Wolf's edition. p. 240.

<sup>b</sup> Herodian. lib. iv. § xiv. p. 155.

<sup>c</sup> Xenoph. Lacedæm. Polit. cap. xi. § iv. p. 87.

<sup>d</sup> Scholiast. Demosthen. in Aristocrat. p. 435. ex edit. Morelhi. This scholium

<sup>e</sup> Plutarch. in Pelopida, p. 286. E.

<sup>f</sup> Pausanias translated into French, Vol.

i. p. 281. note 1.

<sup>g</sup> Essais de Critique, p. 315.

<sup>h</sup> Thucyd. lib. i. § xz. p. 17.

<sup>i</sup> Essais de Critique, p. 316.

adopted it in their edition. If, however, we abide by the usual reading, *καὶ οὐκ αὐτομάρτυρον*, we must translate, 'because Amopharetus refused to follow them.'

LIII. Ἀλλὰ φρονέουσιν καὶ ἄλλα λεγόντων] *Thought one thing and spoke another.* The deceitfulness of their character has always been a subject of reproach against the Lacedæmonians. Andromache, addressing Menelaus, thus expresses himself: "Inhabitants of Sparta, you are the most odious of mortals; in your councils you plot perfidy, you are manufacturers of lies and of mischief; your varying thoughts have nothing sound in them, and are made up of evasions."

LIV. Καὶ ὁ κήρυξ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρστὰρ ὅσφι ἀπικμένους] *When the herald of the Athenians arrived.* Παρστὰρ ὅσφι ἀπικμένους, 'came, arriving to them.' Although this might perhaps be tolerated, I scarcely think it the reading of Herodotus. M. Wesseling, in his various readings, proposes ὅσφι ἀπικμένους, as suggested by Reiske, who highly commends the correction. I confess that I do not understand it. I suspect that it must be a typographical error, and that we should read ὅσφι ἀπικμένους, understanding ἐς νεκρά; which is the same turn of expression that Herodotus has used a line above, ἐς νεκρά . . . ἀπικτάτο. It is true that it is a repetition: but those who are at all familiar with our historian, must have remarked that he often uses these repetitions, especially where he is anxious to avoid obscurity.

LVI. Ἰθὺς τέρην] *Openly.* I have followed the explanation of Ἰθὺς τέρην, given by M. Hoogeveen in his notes on the Idioms of Vigerus, p. 149. of the third edition. M. Wesseling interprets this passage, 'from the knowledge which he had of the military art;' but I greatly doubt the propriety of this interpretation. It was not necessary that Amopharetus should have a great knowledge of the art, to discover that he was abandoned.

Δέκα στάδια] *Ten stadia.* The island of Eroë, to which Pausanias repaired, was only ten stadia distant from the camp, as we have seen at § L.: but by taking the way over the heights to avoid the Persian army, this prince greatly lengthened his road.

Περὶ ποταμὸν Μολόεσσι] *Upon the banks of the Moloeis.* A comma is absolutely necessary after *ποταμὸν*; we should otherwise make *ἰδρυμένον* relate to that substantive, whereas it must be joined to τὸ δέ, (namely, ἄλλο στίφος,) at the beginning of the sentence. The punctuation is faulty in all the editions that I have consulted. In the Mss. B and D of the Royal Library, there is a colon after *λόγον*; which has nearly the same effect as the comma.

LVIII. Δρόμῳ] *Running.* I put the comma after *δρόμῳ*, and not

\* Eunpid. Andromach. vers. 445. ex edit. Brunck.

after Πέρσας, with the Ms. B, so often referred to. The Mss. A and D have none either after Πέρσας, or after δρόμῳ.

Καὶ ὁμίλῳ ἐπήϊσαν] *Uttering loud cries.* So in the Greek. It was needless to remark, that the Persians observed no order, as Herodotus had just said so. This induces M. Valckenaer to suspect, that we should read καὶ κόμῳ ἐπήϊσαν. A correction which I think proper, and have therefore adopted. He supports it by a passage of Plutarch, to which he refers in his note.

LX. Το γὰρ προσκείμενον] *This attack.* Προσκείμεναι signifies, I attach myself to any one, I attack him continually, I press him unceasingly. Hence τὸ προσκείμενον, where we must understand τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν μετὰ βασιλῆος.

Οἱ μὲν πεντακισμύριοι] *The first to fifty thousand.*

Spartans . . . . .	5,000
Seven Helots to each Spartan . . . . .	35,000
Lacedæmonians . . . . .	5,000
A light-armed soldier to each Lacedæmonian . . . . .	5,000
Tegeatæ . . . . .	1,500
Light troops of the Tegeatæ . . . . .	1,500
Total . . . . .	53,000

See § xxviii. and xxi.

Ἐπιπτόν τε αὐτῶν πολλοί] *Many Greeks fell.* Plutarch gives a very detailed account of this, which my readers will, I dare say, allow me to quote.

As the sacrifices\* were not favourable, Pausanias ordered the Lacedæmonians to lay their bucklers at their feet, to sit down quietly, and to think only of him, without attending to the enemy. He continued sacrificing victims, whilst the enemy's cavalry were rapidly advancing. It was already within bow-shot, and many Spartans had been wounded; amongst them Callicrates, the finest, and, as it was said, the tallest man in the army. Being struck by an arrow, he exclaimed, as he fell, that he was not sorry to die, as he had left his home with the intention of devoting his life for the safety of Greece, but that he regretted dying without having signalized himself.

Φάταρτες γὰρ] *Having formed a rampart.* "I think," observes a critic, whom the respect I owe him restrains me from naming. "that this signifies, that they locked their bucklers one against another, so as to constitute a species of rampart. Then, by τὰ γέφυρα ἐκπρώσσει, I understand that this first rank of Persians, whose bucklers were so interlocked, was overthrown; and here, by ἄσπεκτοι, I understand the other defensive arms, as helmets, cuirasses, &c."

\* Plutarch in Aristide, p. 320. B. C.



M. Bellanger has better explained this passage in the following words :—"Φράξαντες τὰ γέβρα: I understand by this expression, that they made a rampart of their bucklers, taken off from their arms and ranged before them. This is a military manœuvre not very familiar to us; but Herodotus shows that this is his meaning: 1. By stating that the combat was at first near this kind of rampart formed by the Persians with their bucklers, *περὶ τὰ γέβρα*, § LXI. and that these bucklers were overthrown by the Greeks, *ὡς ταῦτα ἐπεπτώκεε*. 2. He limits it to this meaning, by another expression, in § XCIII. *συνεφόρησαν τὰ γέβρα ἕκαστος εἶναι σφι*. 'They carried their bucklers, and placed them one on another so as to form a sort of rampart.' This is in speaking of the battle of Mycale. And by another, in § CI. where he says that the Persians defended themselves, and yielded not an inch to the Greeks, whilst their bucklers remained fixed, but that the Greeks threw down this rampart of bucklers, &c."—BELLANGER.

*Τα γέβρα*] (*of their bucklers*). These bucklers of the Persians were made of osier, and covered with skins. See Taylor on Demosthenes.\*

LXI. *Ἦν δὲ χρόνῳ κατὰ ἐγένετο*] *Becoming at length*. The Latin version is not accurate. *Χρόνῳ* does not here signify, 'aliquanto post,' but 'tandem,' as in the following verse of the *Vespæ* of Aristophanes:†

*ἄρ' ἐμέλλομεν ποῦ ἡμᾶς ἀποσβήσειν τῷ χρόνῳ.*

which M. Brunck has correctly translated, 'Eramus ergo vos abac-turi tandem.'

*Ἄνοπλοι δὲ εἶντες*] *Being lightly armed*. So in the Greek. The Latin translator has 'inermes erant:' Du Ryer, 'they were ill armed,' and M. Bellanger, 'they had no defensive arms.' I have remarked, in a note on § XXIX. that *ὄπλα* were the arms of the heavy-armed soldiers, and that hence came the term *ὄπλις*, to designate a soldier so armed. It follows from this, that *ἄνοπλος* must mean a man without these arms, i. e. one lightly armed. I am aware that *ἄνοπλος* signifies likewise a man without arms; but we can hardly imagine that the Persians came into action without arms. If we hear of their seizing on the lances of their enemies, it is because their own arms were much shorter. Herodotus, moreover, explains this word in the following paragraph, by *γυμνῆτες*: *πρὸς γὰρ ὀπλίτας εἶντες γυμνῆτες, ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο*.

LXII. *Πλείστον γὰρ σφας ἐδηλέτερο ἢ ἐσθής*] *Their long and cumbersome garments*. Herodotus, when thus speaking in disparagement of

\* Demosth. in *Neeram*, Vol. iii. p. 620. ex edit. Jo. Taylor.    † Aristoph. *Vesp.* ver. 460.

the Persian garments, alludes to their length. I have therefore thought it right to express this, though the text does not. We are not exactly acquainted with the costume of the ancient Persians; but we know that when they had conquered the Medes, Cyrus, who had observed that the dress of the latter was more graceful than that of his own nation, adopted it, and persuaded his nobles to imitate him, because the dress concealed the defects of figure, added grace, and gave height.<sup>d</sup> This was less, however, a national costume of the Medes, than that which Semiramis had fancied.<sup>e</sup> It was a flowing garment, as we learn from Justin,<sup>f</sup> “*vestis perlucida ac fluida.*” This is confirmed by Ammianus Marcellinus:<sup>g</sup> “*Indumentis plerique eorum ita operiuntur lumine colorum fulgentibus vario, ut licet sinus lateraque dissuta relinquant flatibus agitari ventorum, inter calceos tamen et verticem nihil videatur intectum.*” This dress was afterwards adopted<sup>h</sup> by the Parthians. In fact, they wished to pass for Persians.

We may easily conceive that a robe floating in the wind must be peculiarly inconvenient either for fighting or for travelling. If the dress of the Greeks was long, it was not loose, and as they took it up as high as their knees, and fastened it with a girdle, they were not inconvenienced by it either in travelling or in fighting. The *chlamys* and the *sagum* were as yet unknown to them. It is therefore not surprising that the Greeks should have had a considerable advantage from the style of their dress. That which they derived from their arms was still more material. See also my Treatise on the Malignity of Herodotus, note 149.

LXIII. *Karà tò χρηστήριον*] *As the oracle had foretold.* This does not appear to have been one of the oracles reported by Mys, as Mardonius did not communicate it to any one. See Book VIII. § cxxxiv. and following. If Herodotus here refers to what he said § cxiv. Book VIII., it was rather a presage than an oracle; but perhaps he alludes to the vision which the slave sent by Mardonius had in the temple of Amphiaraius. See Plutarch de Defectu Oraculorum, p. 412. A, B.

*Ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ*] *Stenyclarus.* Herodotus writes ‘Stenyclerus,’ because he adopts the Ionian dialect, which changes the α of the third syllable into η. Strabo<sup>a</sup> writes Stenyclarus; Pausanias always Stenyclerus, as does Stephanus of Byzantium. But the possea-

<sup>a</sup> Herodot. lib. i. § cxix; lib. vii. § ii. p. 681.

lxii. Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. viii. cap. i.

<sup>b</sup> Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. viii. cap. i. § xiv. p. 475.

<sup>c</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. ii. § vi.

<sup>d</sup> Justin Hist. Philippic. lib. xli. cap.

<sup>e</sup> Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xliii. cap. vi. p. 298.

<sup>f</sup> Juliani Imp. Orat. de rebus gestis Constantii Imp. p. 63. A.

<sup>g</sup> Strab. Geograph. lib. xiii. p. 535. A.

sive word being Στενυκλάριος, 'Stenyclarius,' proves that we should write Stenyclarus, with Strabo.

Μεσσηνίοισι πᾶσι] *Against all the Messenians.* It was in the third Messenian war, which lasted ten years; having begun fourteen years after the battle of Platea, in the year 465 before our era, and ended in the year 455.

LXIV. Τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι ἀνάκτορον] *Her temple at Eleusis.* M. Valckenaer clearly perceived that τὸ ἱερὸν was a gloss which the copyists had transferred from the margin to the text. The same critic has also very justly remarked, that Ἀνάκτορον is said of the temples of most of the gods. To which I may add that it is strictly proper, when applied to the temple of Ceres Eleusina.

\* Τίνων γόων ἤκουσα, καὶ στέρνων κτύπον,  
νεκρῶν τε θρήνοις, τῶν δ' ἀνακτόρων ἀπο  
ἤχοῦσι ἰούσης;

\* What groans, what blows, what funereal lamentations have I not heard proceed from this temple?

Meaning the temple of Ceres at Eleusis.

LXIX. Τὰ δὲ ἄλλα . . . ὅσα περ ἔλαβον] *As to the rest of the booty.* The seat of Mardonius, the feet of which were of silver, together with his scimitar, which was worth 300 darics, (about 300*l.*,) fell to the lot of the Athenians, who placed them in the citadel as a monument of their victory. Glaucetes, the quæstor<sup>b</sup> or guardian of the national treasury, afterwards took them away. See the Oration of Demosthenes against Timocrates, p. 466.

Τῶν λοιπῶν μηδὲ τρεῖς χιλιάδας περιγενέσθαι] *Not three thousand of them escaped.* It is not very probable that so small a proportion of the enemy only escaped. However this may be, Perdicas<sup>c</sup> cut to pieces all that remained of the Barbarians. Demosthenes adds, that this prince reigned at that time in Macedonia. But he is mistaken. It was Alexander; Perdicas did not succeed him till long afterwards.

Λακεδαιμονίων] *The Lacedæmonians.* The Greeks<sup>d</sup> lost, in all, 1360 men.

Ἀθηναίων δὲ] *The Athenians.* They were all,<sup>e</sup> according to Clidemus, of the tribe Aiantis, which fought with the greatest courage. This tribe, according to the orders of Apollo, offered up sacrifices, at the public expense, to the nymphs Sphragitides.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Euripid. Supplic. 87.

<sup>b</sup> The Greek appellation is Ταμίης, which I have avoided, as less likely to be understood.

<sup>c</sup> Demosth. περὶ Σουράξεως, p. 100. lin. 27.

<sup>d</sup> Plutarch. in Arimæde, p. 330. l.

<sup>e</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>f</sup> These nymphs formerly delivered oracles in a cavern of Mount Cithæron, called Sphragidium, which cave was consecrated to them. Pausan. Bæotie. five lib. is. cap. iii. sub finem.

Ἀδο καὶ πενήκοντα] *Fifty-two*. Plutarch censures Herodotus for this passage. It is astonishing, says he,<sup>a</sup> that Herodotus should assert that those were the only Greeks who were actually engaged with the enemy, and that no others fought. The number of the dead, and the monuments erected to their memory, attest that the victory was common to all Greece. But if only these three nations had fought, and the others had been tranquil spectators of the battle, this inscription would never have been placed upon the altar: "This is the altar of Jupiter Fleutherius, common to all Greece, which the Greeks have erected, after having repulsed the Persians, and gained a signal victory over them."

Herodotus, who was nearly contemporary with the event, appears to me more entitled to credit than Plutarch, who lived many centuries after. Moreover, he gives very good reasons for the absence of the rest of the Greeks. Some were not in the battle, because, when the army broke up to proceed to Platea, the troops<sup>b</sup> dispersed, with the exception of the Athenians, the Lacedæmonians, and the Tegeatæ, who were attacked on their march; the others could not come to their assistance, and perhaps even were not apprised of the attack. The Corinthians and the Megarians never knew of it till after the defeat of the Persians.<sup>c</sup> They advanced to take part in it, but were intercepted by the Theban cavalry, who, after killing many of them, compelled the rest to retire. In regard to the tombs seen at Platea, the Plateans may have erected them long afterwards, in order to flatter those who felt shame at not having been in the battle. The inscription on the altar of Jupiter is by no means a proof in favour of the opinion of Plutarch; that the battle of Platea secured the liberty of Greece, is all that can be understood from it.

LXXI. Κάλλιστος] *The finest man*. This word must be construed strictly, and not figuratively. Plutarch calls him<sup>d</sup> ἰδέεσθαι κάλλιστον Ἑλλήνων, the handsomest man amongst the Greeks.

Πρὸς Ἀρίμνηστον ἄνδρα Πλαταῖα] *To Arimnestus of Platea*. Arimnestus was the commander of the Plateans; at least Plutarch, in his life of Aristides,<sup>e</sup> positively asserts it. In the temple of Minerva<sup>f</sup> Ἀρὰ, or warlike, at Platea, was a statue of that goddess by Phidias; and at the foot of the statue, a portrait of Arimnestus. He commanded the Plateans, not only at the battle of Platea, but likewise in that of Marathon. Lacon, his son, who was the Proxenus of the Lacedæmonians, that is to say, their chargé-d'affaires at Platea,

<sup>a</sup> Plutarch, in Aristide, p. 330. E.

<sup>b</sup> Herodot. lib. ix. § li.

<sup>c</sup> Id. ibid. § lxviii.

<sup>d</sup> Plutarch, in Aristide, p. 329. C.

<sup>e</sup> Id. ibid. p. 325. E.

<sup>f</sup> Pausan. Boeot. mvo lib. ix. cap. iv. p. 118.

<sup>g</sup> Thucyd. lib. iii. § lii. sub finem.

was put to death by the Lacedæmonians, when they took possession of that city. All the copies of Thucydides say that he was the son of Alcnestus; but I have no doubt that we ought to read the son of Arimnestus, τὸν Ἀριμνήστον.

LXXII. Ἐκ δήμου Δεκελῆθεν] *Of the village of Decelcum.* Σωφάνης ὁ Εὐρυχίδου ἐκ δήμου Δεκελῆθεν. Either we must suppress the preposition *ἐκ* with the Ms. of Sancroft, or read *ἐν* δήμῳ, according to the custom of Herodotus.

Ἑλένη] *Helen.* Helen, as is well known, was the daughter of Tyndarus, and the sister of Castor and Pollux. She was carried off by Theseus, who was then, according to Hellanicus,\* fifty years old. She had not yet attained the marriageable age, οὐ κατ' ὥραν. She might be about ten years old. This abduction therefore took place long before her marriage to Menelaus, and her being carried off by Paris. The Greeks were ten years assembling the troops for the siege of Troy, and the siege lasted ten years: "This is the twentieth year since my arrival at Troy,"† says Helen in the tenth year of the siege. Helen must then have been about thirty-six. She was still eminently beautiful: "the Trojans and the Greeks are not wrong in fighting for so fine a woman," say the old men assembled about Priam: "she resembles the immortal goddesses."‡

Ἐν τῷ Ἀφιδνᾷ] *At Aphydnæ.* Aphydnus then reigned at Aphydnæ; he wounded§ Castor in the right thigh. The Dioscuri not finding Theseus in this hamlet, pillaged it. I write Aphydnus and Aphydnæ with the *y*, because Pseudo-Didymus, from whom I have borrowed the circumstance, uses an *upsilon*.

Plutarch is here at variance with Herodotus. He says,¶ that it having by some means or other come to the knowledge of Academus, that Helen was concealed at Aphydnæ, he apprised the Dioscuri of it; that in recompense for this service, Castor and Pollux rendered him great honours during his life, and after his death, the Lacedæmonians having made frequent incursions into Attica, and having entirely ravaged it, spared the Academy, from respect for Academus. The same Plutarch adds, that Dicæarchus relates, that in the army of the Tyn-  
daridæ there were two Arcadians; the one Echedemus, who gave the name of Echedemia to the place now called 'Academia'; the other, Marathus, from whom the hamlet of Marathon took its name, in commemoration of his having voluntarily offered himself to be sacrificed at the head of the troops, in fulfilment of a certain oracle.

The Athenians,⌘ alarmed at the fall of Aphydnæ, endeavoured to

\* Plutarch. in Theseo, p. 14. E.

† Homer. Iliad lib. xxiv. vers. 765.

‡ Id. lib. iii. vers. 156. 157, 168.

§ Pseudo-Didym. ad Hom. Il. iii. 242.

¶ Plutarch. in Theseo, p. 15. D.

⌘ Id. ibid. p. 16. F; 16. A.



conciliate the Dioscuri, who did not oppose any very great difficulty. They demanded only to be initiated into the mysteries of Eleusis. As none but Athenians were then admitted to these mysteries, Aphidaus adopted them for his sons, and they were initiated at Agræ, a place in the vicinity of Athens and near the Lyceum.

Τιταρίς] *Titacus*. There was a village in Attica called Titacidæ,\* which, no doubt, took its name from Titacus.

Πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι] *Many years*. The battle of Plataea was fought 479 years before the vulgar era, in the second year of the 75th Olympiad: and the Peloponnesian war began in the spring of the year 431 before our era, the first year of the 87th Olympiad, that is to say, nearly forty-eight years after the battle of Plataea.

Δεκέλεις ἀποσχεῖσθαι] *Spared Decelcum*. This must be understood of the first year of the Peloponnesian war, in which Archidamus<sup>a</sup> ravaged Attica, that is to say, of the second year of the 87th Olympiad, that war having begun in the preceding spring, that is to say, at the close of the first year of the same Olympiad. Those who refer this to the time when Agis, the son of Archidamus, took possession of Decelcum, and fortified it, are in error; there being a wide difference between sparing a city, and fortifying it for a garrison town. See M. Wesseling's note.

LXXIII. Ἐφόρος ἐπίσημον ἀγκυραν] *The figure of an anchor*. I read with the Ms. of Sancroft, Ἐφόρος ἐπίσημον ἀγκυραν, which renders the narration distinct and clear.

LXXIV. Εὐρυβάτην τὸν Ἀργεῖον] *Eurybates of Argos*. It was at Nemea that he obtained the victory in the Pentathlon. Pausanias gives a similar account of his death. See also Herodotus, Book vi. § xcii.

We must not mistake this Eurybates for the Eurybates who betrayed Croesus, and whose name became proverbial to designate a traitor. This latter was of Ephesus, the former of Argos.

Χρόνῳ ὕστερον] *Some time afterwards*. It must have been under the archontate of Lysicrates, that is to say, in the 4th year of the 81st Olympiad, 463 years before our era, if we may depend on a fragment of a scholiast on Æschines, quoted by Dodwell,<sup>d</sup> who changes the word Λεωγόρου employed by the scholiast to Λεάγρου. If this correction be right, as it seems to be, Father Corsini is wrong<sup>e</sup> in dating his death in the 75th Olympiad. It is very likely that when he wrote his dissertation on the four principal games of Greece, he had not read the work of the learned Dodwell.

\* Suidas, voc. Τιταρίς.

<sup>a</sup> Thucyd. lib. ii. § xix. p. 111.

<sup>c</sup> Pausan. Attic. sive hb. i. cap. xix. p. 71.

<sup>d</sup> De veteribus Græcorum Romanorumque Cyclus, p. 742.

<sup>e</sup> Corsini Dissertat. iv. Agonistica, p. 150, col. 2.

Λεάγῳ τῷ Γλαύκωνος] *Leagrus, son of Glaucôn*. This Leagrus had a son<sup>a</sup> named after his father. Pausanias says<sup>b</sup> that Leagrus was the first in command over the troops who were cut to pieces by the Edonians. This battle took place in the year 4261 of the Julian period, 453 years before our era. See Dodwell de Cyclis, p. 742.

His monument, as well as that of Sophanes of Deceleum, stood near the road which led to the Academy. (Pausan. loco laudato.)

LXXV. Γυνή αὐτόμολος] *A female refugee*. The Abbé Gedoy, in his translation of Pausanias, Vol. i. p. 255. says, 'that Pausanias found this beautiful woman in the tent of Pharandates;' a circumstance which is not mentioned in Pausanias, and which is disproved by the account of Herodotus.

Φαρανδάρεος] *Pharandates*. He commanded<sup>c</sup> the troops of the Mares and of the Colchi.

Ὁ βασιλεὺς Σπάρτης] *King of Sparta*. "Cleomenes<sup>d</sup> having left no male children, the kingdom fell to Leonidas, the son of Anaxandrides and brother of Dorieus. Leonidas was killed at Thermopylæ. After him, Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus, governed in the capacity of guardian of Plistarchus, son of Leonidas. This woman styles him king, because he fulfilled the functions of royalty."—BELLANGER.

See Pausan. Lacon. sive lib. iii. cap. iv. p. 214.

Ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Αἴγινα] *He sent her to Ægina*. Pausanias (ibid.) says that he sent her to the island of Cos with all her riches.

LXXVI. Τοὺς Μήδους τοὺς μετὰ Ἀρταβάζου φεύγοντας] *The Medes commanded by Artabazes*. Artabazes commanded a body of 40,000 men, Parthians and Chorasmians. See Book vii. § LXVI. Herodotus here calls them Medes, as is his custom in speaking of the Persians, and the nations dependent on their empire.

LXXVII. Λάμπων] *Lampon*. This Lampon was of a family not less illustrious for the number of prizes they had obtained at the Isthmian and Nemean games, than for their descent. He was the son of Pytheas, who had obtained the prize of the Pancratium at the Nemean games. There is an ode of Pindar in celebration of him; the 5th of the Nemean odes.

This Pytheas was son of another Lampon, and eldest brother<sup>e</sup> of Phylacides, who had distinguished himself at the Isthmian and Nemean games. Phylacides had obtained the prize<sup>f</sup> of the Pancra-

<sup>a</sup> Thucyd. lib. i. § li. p. 37.

<sup>b</sup> Pausan. Attic. sive lib. i. cap. xxix. p. 71.

<sup>c</sup> Herodot. lib. vii. § lxxix.

<sup>d</sup> Pausan. Lacon. sive lib. iii. cap. iv.

pp. 213, 214.

<sup>e</sup> Pindar. Isthm. vi. vers. 9.

<sup>f</sup> Id. Isthm. v. vers. 22.

tium at the Nemean games,\* and twice at the Isthmian games. The 5th and 6th Isthmics of Pindar are addressed to him.

Pytheas<sup>b</sup> was the grandson of Cleonicus. Euthymenes, his maternal uncle, had obtained several victories at the Pugilistic contest.<sup>c</sup> Themistius,<sup>d</sup> his maternal grandfather, had also distinguished himself at various games.<sup>e</sup>

Their genealogy is as follows :

CLEONICUS.

LAMPON.

PYTHEAS. ————— Phylacides.

LAMPON, mentioned by Herodotus.

Αἰνυμένειν τὸ πρῶτον] *The most distinguished citizen.* So in the text. See M. Valckenaer's note, and especially that of M. Hemsterhuis on Lucian's *Timon*, § xxxv. Vol. i. p. 147. The Latins, in imitation of the Greeks, said 'prima virorum,' as in Lucretius, Book i. verse 87. In Ovid, *Amor. lib. i. Eleg. ix. vers. 37.* we have 'summa ducum Atrides.'

Υπερφύει] *Admirable.* As *ὑπερφύει* signifies likewise 'which surpasses nature,' I was induced to translate, "You have performed an action the more noble and more grand, as it seems to exceed the powers of humanity."

LXXVIII. Μῆτε προσέλθης ἑμοί γε] *No longer address yourself.* Pausanias entirely altered his conduct in the sequel. He gave way to pomp and luxury, became proud, choleric, aspired to the tyranny, and wished to impose fetters on his country. This was the true cause of his death, and not that which has been assigned by a modern author. See Thucydides, Book i. § cxxviii. cxxix. cxxx. &c.

LXXIX. Ὡς εἶντα χαλκὸν δῆθεν] *As if it had been so much copper.* It is generally known that after the battle of Granson, the Swiss took the silver plate of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, for tin; and the diamond of that prince, one of the finest which was then in Europe, was sold for a florin. See the *Memoirs of Philippe de Comines*, Book v. chap. 11.

LXXX. Τρίπους ὁ χρυσεός] *The golden tripod.* The chiefs of the Phocians made use of it in the sacred war; but the brazen serpent remained till the time of Pausanias. Gronovius, in his edition of Herodotus, gives an engraving of a serpent, which does not at all re-

\* Pindar, *Isthm. v. vers. 21.*

<sup>b</sup> Id. *ibid. vers. 11.*

<sup>c</sup> Id. *Nem. v. vers. 76, &c. Isthm. vi. vers. 85, 86, &c.*

<sup>d</sup> Schol. Pindar. ad *Nem. v. vers. 91.*

<sup>e</sup> Pindar, *Nem. v. vers. 91, &c. Isthm. vi. vers. 93.*

<sup>f</sup> Pausan., *Phocic. 44<sup>th</sup> lib. v. cap. xiii. p. 570.*

semble the description given by that author. The Father of History describes it as a serpent with three heads. In Gronovius, we see three serpents twisted round each other. On the tripod was engraved the following inscription: "The saviours of Greece" have consecrated this tripod, after having delivered its cities from an odious slavery."

Δεκάπηχον χάλκεον Δία] *A Jupiter of bronze, ten cubits in height.*  
 "This statue looked towards the east. It was dedicated by all the nations of Greece who fought at Platea against the Persians commanded by Mardonius. In front of the pedestal, to the right, are engraved the names of the cities who took part in the action. The Lacedæmonians stand first, then the Athenians, then the Corinthians, afterwards the Sicyonians, and fifthly the Æginetæ. After the Æginetæ come the Megarians and the Epidaurians; amongst the Arcadians, the Tegeans and the Orchomenians. After these are the Phliasii, the people of Træzen, and of Hermione, &c."

Ἐδόθη] *And they made him a present of it.* I shall here add some particulars, which find in Plutarch.

"This battle" was fought on the 4th of the month Boëdromion, (14th Sept.) according to the Athenian calendar, which<sup>d</sup> answers to the 27th of the month Panemus of the Boeotians. On this day a general assembly of all Greece is held at Platea, and sacrifices are offered to Jupiter Eleutherius . . . The Athenians, after the battle, would not yield the prize of valour to the Lacedæmonians, or permit them to erect a trophy. These disputes having arisen whilst they had still their arms in their hands, were near occasioning the ruin of Greece, and doubtless would have done so, had not Aristides, by his remonstrances and advice, curbed the ardour of his colleagues, and especially that of Leocrates and of Myronides, persuading them at the same time to refer the decision to the Greeks. In the council held by the Greeks on this subject, Theogiton of Megaræ was for adjudging the prize of valour to some other city, as the only means of averting a civil war. Upon which, Theocritus of Corinth rose, and it was thought he was about to claim the prize for his countrymen, as Corinth occupied the next rank to Sparta and Athens; but he spoke in a very admirable manner, and so as to give universal satisfaction, in favour of the Plateans, and advised that the dispute should be terminated by adjudging to them the prize, considering that such decision could give umbrage to neither of

<sup>a</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. xi. § xxxii. Vol. i. p. 430.

<sup>b</sup> Pausan. Eliac. prior. sive lib. v. cap. xliii. p. 436.

<sup>c</sup> Plutarch. in Aristide, p. 330. F. The same author, in his life of Camillus, p. 138. B, and in his Treatise de Gloria Athenien-

sium, p. 349. F, says that this battle was fought on the third. It therefore becomes difficult to ascertain the true date; but the variation is slight and of little importance.

<sup>d</sup> Dacier says the 21th, for want of attention to the method of the Greeks in calculating their months.

the contending parties. Aristides was the first to approve this counsel on behalf of the Athenians, and after him Pausanias for the Lacedæmonians. When they had agreed, 80 talents \* were set apart for the Plateans, with which they built the temple of Minerva, and adorned it with a statue of that goddess, † and with pictures that still preserve their freshness. The Lacedæmonians erected a trophy for themselves; and the Athenians another. As to the sacrifices, they interrogated the god of Delphi, who enjoined them to erect an altar to Jupiter Eleutherius, (Liberator,) but not to sacrifice on it, till they had extinguished the fire throughout the country, because it had been polluted by the Barbarians, and till they should have kindled one more pure, which they were to take from Delphi, from the common fire-place. The Greek generals traversed the country, forcing every one to put out their fires, and Euchidas departed from Platea for Delphi, under a promise of returning with the sacred fire with all possible diligence. He first purified himself, sprinkled himself with holy water, crowned himself with laurel, took the sacred fire from the altar, and set off with the utmost expedition for Platea, where he arrived before sunset the same day, after having performed a journey of 1000 stadia. ‡ He saluted his fellow-citizens on presenting them with the fire, then instantly fell down, and expired. The Plateans took him up and buried him in the temple of Diana Eucleia (of good fame), placing on his tomb the following inscription: 'Euchidas ran to Delphi, and returned hither the same day.'

"In regard to Eucleia, most people consider her to be Diana, and give this name to the goddess; but others think that she was the daughter of Hercules and of Myrto, daughter of Menætiæ and sister of Patroclus; and that having died a virgin, she was honoured by the Bœotians and the Locrians: for in all the public places, (i. e. in the public place, or square, of each city of Greece,) a statue and an altar have been erected to her, at which all persons who are about to be married previously offer sacrifice.

"In the general assembly of Greece, which was afterwards held, Aristides proposed and carried the following decree: That there should be annually sent to Platea, from all Greece, deputies and Theori to deliberate together, and that every five years Eleutherian games should be celebrated there; that throughout Greece, there should be levied 10,000 infantry and 1000 horse, and that 100 vessels

\* About 18,000*l.* sterling.

† Mon. Mus. 550 years afterwards. For the battle of Platea was fought in the second year of the 75th Olympiad, that is to say, 479 years B. C., and Plutarch flourished about 100 years after him.

‡ These are stadia of 10 to a mile, as it was then reckoned. The mile was 756 toises. There will be therefore about three miles and a half for a French league of 2500 toises. Thus the 1000 stadia make 30 leagues, and not 10, as Deane asserts.



should be equipped for the war against the Barbarians; that the Plateans should be deemed inviolable and consecrated to the god, and should offer sacrifices for all Greece.

"This decree having been approved, the Plateans undertook annually to make sacrifices in honour of the Greeks killed in this battle. This custom still subsists, and is observed in the following manner. On the 16th of the month Mæmacterion, (24th November,) which answers to the month Alalcomenius of the Boeotians, at day-break, a procession takes place, preceded by a trumpet, sounding warlike notes. This trumpet is followed by chariots, loaded with crowns and branches of myrtle. After the chariots comes a black bull, and then the young people of free condition; for slaves are not permitted to take part at this festival, in honour of those who died in defence of liberty. These young people carry pitchers of wine and of milk for the libations, and phials of oil and perfumes. The procession is closed by the archon of the Plateans, who at no other time is permitted to touch iron, or to wear any other than a white robe; but at this ceremony he is clothed in purple, carries a sword in his girdle, and holds in his hands a vase taken from the public treasury, with which he traverses the city on his way to the tombs. He then fills the vase with water from a fountain, washes the columns that support the tombs, rubs them with perfumed oil, kills the bull upon the pile; and after having invoked Jupiter and Mercury Infernus, he invites to this blood, and to this funeral repast, those brave men who died for Greece. He then mixes wine in a cup, and pours it on the ground, saying: I offer these libations to those valiant men who have shed their blood for the liberty of Greece. The Plateans still observe this ceremony."

Platea experienced great calamities. It was destroyed 52 years after this battle, 93 years after it had placed<sup>a</sup> itself under the protection of the Athenians, in the 5th year of the Peloponnesian war, the second of the 88th Olympiad, 427 years before our era. It was restored<sup>b</sup> at the peace of Antalcidas, in the 98th Olympiad, and again destroyed<sup>c</sup> in the third year of the 101st Olympiad; but Pausanias dates this unhappy event in the year following, under the archontate of Asteius, three years before the battle of Leuctræ. Philip rebuilt it<sup>d</sup> after the battle of Cherouen, if we may rely on Pausanias. Plutarch, in his life of Alexander,<sup>e</sup> relates, that that prince wrote particularly to the Plateans to rebuild their city, because their ancestors had given up their country to the Greeks, that they might there fight for their liberty.

<sup>a</sup> Thucyd. lib. iii. § lxxvii. Pausan. xv. § xlvii. Vol. ii. p. 27.

<sup>b</sup> Diodor. sic. lib. ix. cap. i. p. 712.

<sup>c</sup> Pausan. lib. i.

<sup>d</sup> Pausan. lib. i. p. 713. Diodor. sic. lib.

<sup>e</sup> Pausan. lib. i. p. 714.

<sup>f</sup> Plutarch. in Alexand. p. 685. C.

LXXXII. Ὑστέρῳ μὲντοι χρόνῳ μετὰ ταῦτα] *Long after this action.* I read with M. Wesseling, ἐφάρη δὲ καὶ τόδε ὑστερον ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν νεκρῶν περιφιλωθέντων τὰς σάρκας.

Ὅτε ἔχουσα ραφὴν οὐδεμίαν] *Without sutures.* "Aratus," somewhere in his books on medicine, says: I have seen heads of this sort, on the top of which there was but a single line; and there are a great many without any suture." The bones of the sutures of the human skull are dentellated like combs, and close one into the other. "Ossa . . . serratis pectinatum structa compagibus." Hardouin, in a note on this passage of Pliny, relates, that the head of Albert, marquis of Brandenburg, surnamed the Achilles of Germany, born in 1414, had no sutures.

Ἐξ ἐνὸς δοντέου] *Were of a single bone.* Pyrrhus,<sup>c</sup> king of Epirus, had also his teeth of one entire bone, though very distinct: it was the same with Euryphyes of Cyrene, and many others. "Prusiv,<sup>d</sup> Regis Bithyniæ, filius eodem nomine quo pater, pro superiori ordine dentium unum os æqualiter extensum habuit, nec ad speciem deformis, neque ad usum ullâ ex parte incommodum."

LXXXIII. Διονυσιοφάνη ἀνὴρ Ἐφέσιος] *Dionysiophanes of Ephesus.* Pausanias partly agrees with Herodotus: "At the foot of Mount Cithæron," in the territory of Platea," says he, "near the high road from Eleuthera to Platea, is seen a monument, which is said to be that of Mardonius. Every body is agreed that his body disappeared after the battle, but not so as to the name of the individual who granted him sepulture. It appears, however, that Artontes, son of Mardonius, made rich presents to Dionysiophanes of Ephesus, and to some other Ionians, because they had performed the rites of burial for his father."

Ἐθαπτον τοὺς ἑαυτῶν, χωρὶς ἑκαστοῦ] *Buried their dead, each nation their own people.* The Lacedæmonians and the Athenians had each a burial-place, the other Greeks one in common. Pausan. Bæotic, sive lib. ix. cap. ii. p. 715.

LXXXIV. Ἰπέραι] *The Irenes.* All the editions of Herodotus, and all the Mss. have τοὺς ἰπέραι, 'the priests.' The Lacedæmonians, as well as the other Greeks, had in their army a soothsayer whose office it was to consult the entrails of the victims; but we do not find in any other passage of history, that the priests were found amongst the combatants, partaking the dangers inseparable from battles. M.

<sup>a</sup> Jul. Pol. Onomast. lib. ii. cap. iv. segm. xxxiii. Vol. i. p. 171. On Aratus, see Fabricius Biblioth. Græc. Vol. xii. p. 78.

<sup>b</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xi. cap. xxvii. Vol. i. p. 615.

<sup>c</sup> Jul. Pol. Onomast. lib. ii. cap. iv. segm. xciv. Vol. i. p. 201.

<sup>d</sup> Valer. Maxim. lib. i. cap. viii. Etern. in pp. 112, 113.

<sup>e</sup> Pausan. Bæotic, cap. ii. p. 711.

Valckenaer has substituted for this word, which here had no meaning. *Ἰππας* or *Εἰπας*; a happy conjecture, which had occurred to Cornelius de Pauw, and which M. Wesseling was the more inclined to adopt, as this word is found in the lexicon of the words used by Herodotus, as being in the 9th Book of that author. Now there is certainly no other place where it could possibly be introduced: "The Lacedæmonians give the name of *Irenes* to those who have quitted the class of children two years, and that of *Mellirenes* to the oldest of the children. When the *Iren* (*Εἶρην*) has attained twenty years, he commands his cohort in the field."

M. Valckenaer adds in his note, that some would perhaps prefer reading *ροῖς ἱππέας*, the horsemen, or rather the knights, who composed a body of 300 chosen Spartans. But it does not appear that either *Amopharetus*,<sup>d</sup> who commanded the cohort of the *Pitanæ*, or *Callierates*,<sup>e</sup> were of that order. Besides, the authority of the Lexicon of Herodotus, the author of which had certainly read *Εἶρην* in the 9th Book, is of considerable weight.

LXXXV. *Πρόξενον*] *Their host*. *ἔστος*, the host of an individual; *πρόξενος*, that of a city or state, who took charge of their interests, and with whom their ambassadors lodged. The harangues of Demosthenes abound with this expression.

*Καὶ ἐξαιρέτω αὐτῶν τοὺς*] *To deliver up those amongst them*. In fact, it would not have been just to inflict punishment on the inhabitants at large. The government of Thebes, from democratic had become oligarchic. It was the oligarchical party alone who espoused the interests of the Persians, and they alone deserved punishment.

LXXXVI. *Μὴ ἀναπλήσῃ*] *Overwhelmed with misfortunes*. Such is the reading of the two Mss. of the Royal Library, and which Gronovius has adopted from the Medici Ms. We find, Book vi. § xii, in the same sense, *τίνα δαιμόνων παρὰβάντες, τὰδε ἀναπληράμεν*; "what god have we offended, that we endure such sufferings?" See the Lexicon of *Æmilius Portus*, at the word *ἀναπιμπλάναι*. Pausanias has imitated this turn of expression, when he says, *ἐν ἔδῳ κατὰ ἀναπιμπλάσει*,<sup>d</sup> "he suffers the pains of hell."

LXXXVII. *Παῖδας οὐδὲν εἶναι μετὰ τῶν*] *That at that age they could not partipate in the crime*. It would be a signal injustice to make children responsible for the crimes of their fathers. "Ferret" *ne civitas ulla latorem istiusmodi legis, ut condemnaretur filius aut nepos, si pater aut avus deliquisset?*"

This was a wise law, and was derived from the divine injunction.

<sup>d</sup> Plutarch, in *Lycurgo*, p. 60. E.

<sup>e</sup> Herod. lib. ix. § lii.

<sup>f</sup> Id. *ibid.* § lxxi.

<sup>d</sup> Pausan, *Plœcie* cap. xxiii. p. 867.

<sup>e</sup> Cicero de *Natura Deorum*, lib. iii.

§ xxviii.

God says, in Deuteronomy, (chap. xxiv. verse 16.) "Non occidentur patres pro filiis, nec filii pro patribus, sed unusquisque pro peccato suo morietur." 'The fathers shall not be put to death for their children, nor the children for their fathers: every man shall be put to death for his own sin.' Ezekiel likewise, chap. xviii. verse 20. "Anima, quæ peccaverit, ipsa morietur: filius non portabit iniquitatem patris, et pater non portabit iniquitatem filii: justitia justî super eum erit, et impietas impij erit super eum." 'The soul that sinneth, it shall die. The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son: the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him.'

LXXXVIII. *Macedonians*] *Macedonia*. Demosthenes\* attributes this defeat to the Macedonians. Had he then some means of information as to the events of that time, which were inaccessible to our historian? I am the more inclined to think that he is in error in this particular, as he says that Perdiccas was then king. Now it is certain that at this epoch Alexander was king of Macedonia.

Λιμὴ στεράρτας] *Dead with Hunger*. Shrivelled up by hunger, dried up by hunger. 'Fame contractos.' Hesychius explains στεράρτας by στυγμένος.

LXXXIX. Θεμίστορος] *Of Themestor . . . their tyrant*. We have seen, Book VIII. § LXXXV, the reasons which induced the Persians to confer on him the tyranny of Samos.

XC. Εἴτε κατὰ συντυχίαν, Θεοῦ ποιεῖστος] *Either by a stroke of fortune, which God directed*. The words in the text might be literally rendered, 'forte fortuna, Deo rem dirigente.' This expression proves clearly, that our historian believed in Providence, and that in his time the Greeks had not erected altars to Fortune. That superstition originated in the East; all the nations were infected with it, and it had even crept in amongst the Hebrews. It is spoken of in Genesis, under the name of Gad, chap. xxx. verse 11. A table was set out with different viands in honour of this divinity, and libations were poured on it. "Et vos . . . qui ponitis Fortunæ mensam et libatis super eam," says Isaiah, chap. lrv. verse 11. On this passage, see St. Jerome, who informs us that this custom was still observed in all the cities, and especially at Alexandria in Egypt. The Romans, who adopted the gods of the people they conquered, had not forgotten this blind divinity. We know the honours that were rendered to her at Antium, and at Præneste, where she had a magnificent temple.

Δέχομαι τὸν εἰσὺν, τὸν Ἠγαστορατορ] *I accept this presage*. In

\* Demosthen. de Republ. ordinandâ, p. 139. E.

the Greek, 'I accept Hegesistratus for a presage.' Hegesistratus is a compound word, signifying the conductor, or general of an army.

Δοῦς πιστῶν . . . ἢ μὴν] *Promised with an oath.* 'Ἢ μὴν, μὴ μὴν, is the formula usual in oaths, which either affirm or deny any thing; and I have therefore added the words, 'with an oath,' for the purpose of expressing the force of ἢ μὴν. The Ionians, according to the remark of Gregory of Corinth, in his treatise on the Dialects, said ἢ μὲν, and μὴ μὲν, instead. We must therefore here read ἢ μὲν, and attribute ἢ μὴν to the inattention or ignorance of the copyists. I have before noticed this elegance, in a note on § cLiv. of Book iv. But the reader will do well to consult M. Koen on the treatise of the Archbishop of Corinth, p. 222. note 73.

XCII. Πρόβατα] *The flocks.* The word is taken in an extended sense for cattle, as has been before remarked.

XCIV. 'Ἐν τῇν Ἑλλάδι] *Traversing Greece.* In the text, 'against Greece.' It does not appear that Deiphonus ever acted as soothsayer against the Greeks for money. This has induced me to adopt the conjecture of M. Reiske, who reads ἐπὶ τῇν Ἑλλάδα, and which M. Wesseling considers plausible.

Ἐξελάμβανε . . . ἔργα] *He delivered oracles for a pecuniary consideration.* He undertook this office for money, i. e. he pronounced oracles for money. The translators have not understood this passage, as has been very justly remarked by MM. Wesseling and Valckenaer. The ancients used to say of him who gave a work to any one to do, or who farmed or let a property to any one for money,\* ἐκδιδόναι or ἐργοδοτεῖν, and of him who undertook an employment for money, or who took any thing to farm, ἐργολαβεῖν. Φάρτεν δέ, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ ἐκδιδόντος ἔργον δοῖν, τὸ ἐργοδοτεῖν ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐργαζομένου, τὸ ἐργολαβεῖν. They also separate the words, as Herodotus has done; or even ἐκλαμβάνειν, taken absolutely, means the same thing.

Though this expression is not common, many examples of it are to be found in various authors. M. Wesseling cites two from Plutarch, to which may be added the following from St. Basil: 'Ἀμπελὼν ἡ Βασιλεῖα τοῦ Θεοῦ εἴρηται, ὡς ὁ Κύριος παρέστησε διὰ τῆς Παραβολῆς τῶν γεωργῶν τῶν ἐκλαβόντων μὲν τὸν ἀμπελῶνα, τοῖς δὲ καρποὺς μὴ ἀποδίδοντων. 'The kingdom of God is said to be a vine, as our Lord has observed in the parable of the labourers, who had taken a vineyard on hire, but had not paid the tribute.'

XCV. Πρὸς Καλαμίσσιν] *At Calamæ.* So in the text. M. Wesseling, who perhaps had more important calls on his attention at the

\* Jul. Polluc. Onomast. lib. vii. cap. 111xi. segm. cxxxii. Vol. ii. pp. 520, 521.

\* Id. ibid. segm. cc. Vol. ii. p. 838.

\* Sancti Basil. Opera, Vol. i. p. 612. D.



time, has left it to others to discover what this place was, which has been mentioned by no geographer. Alexis\* of Samos relates, that there was in this island a temple of Venus, which was called by some 'Venus amongst the rushes,' ἐν Καλάμοις, and by others, 'Venus in the marshes:' τὴν ἐν Σάμῳ Ἀφροδίτην, ἣν οἱ μὲν ἐν Καλάμοις ἐκλοῦσαν, οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἐλαιατικοῖς. This passage attests beyond a doubt, that there was at Samos a place called καλάμοι, 'the rushes,' and consequently that we must substitute Καλάμοις for Καλαμίσοις, which is a very slight alteration.

XCVI. Νεῖλεω τῷ Κόδρου] *Nelus, the son of Codrus.* Upon the Ionian Migration, see Book I. § CXLV. note 1. and my Chronological Essay, chap. xv. sect. III. § III. p. 424 and following.

The genealogy of Codrus will be found, Book I. § CXLVII. note 1. It is generally known that this prince, who devoted<sup>2</sup> himself for the salvation of his country, was the last king of Athens. A statue was erected to him<sup>3</sup> after the battle of Marathon, which was consecrated in the temple of Delphi. It was the work of Phidias. The Athenians, on his death, abolished the title of king; but the honours and authority pertaining to it were transferred to perpetual magistrates, denominated archons, the first of whom was Medon, son of Codrus. This dignity descended to his offspring, who were called Medontidæ. The last of these perpetual archons, a list of whom is given by Eusebius, was Alcmon. The people of Athens, who were daily increasing in power, would now be governed only by decennial archons, the first of whom was Charops, the son of Æschylus, the last perpetual archon but one. The fourth of these decennial archons was named Hippomenes, and was of the family of Codrus. Æschines, in his oration against Timarchus, applauds the barbarous manner in which this Hippomenes punished his daughter, who had been led into indiscretions by her partiality for a young man. "Our ancestors," says he,<sup>4</sup> "had such an abhorrence of infamy, and were so jealous of the morals of their children, that a citizen finding that his daughter had suffered herself to be seduced, and had not preserved her virginity till her marriage, shut her up in an empty house with a horse, which, pressed by hunger, would naturally devour her. The site of this house is still seen in our city, and is called Parippon Kai<sup>5</sup> Core, the place of the horse and the gul." Suidas<sup>6</sup> informs us that this citizen, whose name is not mentioned by Æschines, was Hippomenes, of the family of Codrus. It should seem, however,

\* Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. xiii. cap. iv.

p. 672. F.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. Achæc. cap. lxxv. p. 588.

<sup>3</sup> Id. Phœnic. cap. x. p. 821.

<sup>4</sup> Æsch. in Timarch. p. 288. E. F.

<sup>5</sup> Ἴσσοι ἐκτετακὶς ἵππου, and Κόρη.

<sup>6</sup> Suidas.

<sup>7</sup> Suidas, voc. Πάριππον καὶ Κόρη.

that the people of Athens formed a more correct judgment of this action than Æschines. Disgusted at the cruelty of Hippomenes, they deposed him, if we may believe the account given by Suidas, under the word Ἰππομένης. See also, on Codrus, Book v. § LXXVI. note 2.

XCVII. Παρασκευασάμενοι ἀποβάθρας] *Having disposed the ladders.* This was a species of bridge, made with cordage, which was lowered down to the shore, for the purpose of getting out of the ship; it was used likewise for embarking. When all the passengers were on board, it was drawn into the ship. Julius Pollux, speaking of the different parts of the tackle of a ship, has not omitted it: ἀποβάθρα καὶ διαβάθρα, ἣν σκάλαν καλοῦσιν. Σάλα is a Latin term, many of which are to be found in the Onomasticon of Julius Pollux.

XCVIII. Νεοχμὸν ἂν τι ποιεῖν] *The design of rising.* Τοῖσι ἐπιλαβομένοισι are without regimen. I read with M. Valckenaer, τοῖσι καὶ παρεδόκεον ἐπεὶ νεοχμὸν ἂν τι ποιεῖν δυνάμει ἐπιλαβομένοισι. Νεοχμὸν τι ποιεῖν, is 'to undertake innovations,' 'to set in motion.'

XCIX. Τὰ θεῖα τῶν πρηγμάτων] *That which happens by God's permission.* It is almost superfluous here to point out the superstition of the writer. Diodorus Siculus shows much more sense when he says<sup>b</sup> that Leotychides, and those who were with him, knew nothing of the victory of Plataea, but devised this stratagem to encourage their troops. Polyænus<sup>c</sup> also considers it as a *ruse de guerre*.

Τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης] *The same day, &c.* It is evident that we must here understand ἐπὶ. Συμπεπύουσι cannot remain. M. Wesseling corrects συμπύκνους, τοῦ τε . . . τρέματος, φημι τοῖσι . . . which I have followed.

C. Περί δειλην] *The afternoon.* This does not mean the evening, as the Latin translator has rendered it, but the afternoon. Hesychius very justly says,<sup>d</sup> Δειλην ὄψιν· ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας μέχρι δύσεως. Δειλη signifies the time from noon till sun-set. But see Book II. § CLXXIII. note 4; Book VII. § CCXXIII. note 1; and Book VIII. § IX. note 2.

CI. Τοῖσι μὲν νυν Ἀθηναίοισι . . . μέχρι κοῦ τῶν ἡμισίων] *The Athenians . . . who constituted one half of the army.* They were<sup>e</sup> commanded by Xanthippus, son of Ariphron, archon Eponymus. Leotychides, king of the Lacedæmonians, of the second branch, supported him in the battle of Mycale. The Abbé Gedoyne says, that he seconded him in his enterprise against Mycale. Mycale is a mountain of

<sup>a</sup> Jul. Polæcia Onomastic. lib. I. segm. xciii. p. 64.

<sup>b</sup> Diodor. Sic. lib. xi. § 111. Vol. I. p. 431.

<sup>c</sup> Strategem. lib. I. cap. xxxii. p. 69.

<sup>d</sup> Hesych. voc. Δειλην ὄψιν, Vol. I. p. 107. post. Δίλαξ.

<sup>e</sup> Pausan. Lacœb. cap. vii. p. 221.

Caria, and the name of a province full of woods and hedges, celebrated for the important victory obtained by the Greeks over the Persians.

*Μαρδόννης*] *But Mardontes*. Mardontes, Book vii. § lxxx, commands the land force; Book vii. § cxxx, he commands the troops destined to man the fleet. This body of troops had most likely been landed.

CII. *Καὶ στρατηγὸς Περίλεως*] *With their commander Perilaus*. I read with Valla and the Ms. A in the Royal Library, *Περίλεως*, which I render Perilaus, as *Μενέλεως* is rendered Menelaus.

CIV. *Ἑρμολύκος*] *Hermolycus*. A statue\* was erected to him in the citadel at Athens.

*Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Καρύσσιοις*] *Between the Athenians and the Carystians*. Thucydides<sup>b</sup> briefly mentions this war. "The Athenians had also a war with the Carystians, in which the rest of Euboea took no part. It was finally terminated by a treaty." This historian dates that war after the taking of Eion on the Strymon, and of the island of Scyros, and before the reduction of the island of Naxos. From these data, Dodwell<sup>c</sup> fixes it in the second year of the 78th Olympiad, under the archontate of Lysistratus, which answers to the year 467 before our era, and the year 4247 of the Julian period.

CV. *Χαίροντας*] *With impunity*. I have before explained this, in a note on § xxix. of Book iii.

CVII. *Οἱ προσέμπονρι*] *He caused her to be solicited*. This verb is applied to those whom a man sends to a woman to solicit her in favour of his passion. See the Lexicon of Phavorinus, at the word *ἐπιπέμπειν*, p. 209. and M. Hemsterhuis on the Ephesiacs of Xenophon of Ephesus, in *Miscell. Observ. Novis*, Vol. iii. p. 7, as also M. Valckenær's note.

CVIII. *Ἀμestris*] *Amestris*. Many critics, and amongst them Scaliger, (*Emendat. Tempor. lib. vi.*) contend that this princess and queen Esther are the same. A mere conformity of name, the cruelty of Amestris, of which Herodotus gives several examples, and the severe though just manner in which Esther treated the ten children of Haman and the enemies of the Jews, have given rise to this conjecture. But Esther was of Jewish descent, and Amestris was of a Persian family. The father of the latter was a satrap, and according to Ctesias<sup>d</sup> was named Onophas, and according to Herodotus,<sup>e</sup> Otanes. If a mere similarity of name could decide the point, Esther might as well be said to be the same with Atossa, the wife of Darius; for she was likewise called Handassa. But it does not appear

\* Pausan. *Attic. cap. viii.* p. 56.

<sup>b</sup> Thucyd. *lib. i.* § xcvi. p. 64.

<sup>c</sup> *Annal. Thucyd.* pp. 74, 75.

<sup>d</sup> Ctesias in Persicus, *vid. Phot. Cod. lxxii.* p. 116. *lib. 31.*

<sup>e</sup> Herod. *lib. vii.* § xi.

to me that we should thence conclude that Darius is the same with Abasuerus.

Τοῦ ἐμελλε οὐδεὶς ἀρεῖν ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκείνη] *Of which she alone should have the command.* Evethon, king of Cyprus, was wiser. He granted Phieretima any thing in the world rather than an army. See Book IV. § CLXII.

CIX. Ἐν ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐγένετο βασιλεύς] *On the king's birth-day.* M. Wesseling in his note has corrected the error of the Latin translator in this passage. M. Bellanger had also a just conception of it. Ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐγένετο Βασιλεὺς is an expression parallel to the following of our historian: \* Ἡμέρην . . . μάλιστα ἐκείνην τιμῇ νομιζονσι τῇ ἑαυτοῖς ἐγένετο. 'Every one has a custom of particularly celebrating his birth-day.' M. Bellanger also adduces this passage from Plato: † Βασιλεὺς γενέθλια πᾶσα θύει καὶ ἐορτάζει ἡ Ἀσία. 'All Asia celebrates with sacrifices and banquets the day of the king's birth.'

The banquet given by the king of Persia to the grandees of his kingdom, was called in the Persian language 'Tycta.' This word, according to Scaliger,<sup>c</sup> signifies the throne. Hence, we may readily conjecture that this festival was celebrated on the anniversary of his accession. Such was the opinion of the learned Reland, as we gather from M. Wesseling. But the passages above quoted prove, in my opinion, that it took place on the anniversary of the prince's birth, and this was M. Wesseling's own opinion. However it is possible that there were two royal festivals, in which the king refused no boon that was asked, the one on his birth-day, the other on the anniversary of his accession, and that both these festivals were called by the same name.

CX. Ἀνυχεῖναι τὸν χρεῖζοντα] *To refuse the favours which are requested of him.* 'Orantem veto excidere.' I have adopted another turn of expression.

Σὺ δὲ μηδ' αὖτις βιά, πρήγματος τοιοῦδε δέμενος] *Do me no violence, as nothing constrains you to it.* In the Greek, 'do me no violence, as if it were necessary you should do such a thing;' that is to say, as if it were necessary that I should put away my wife, and marry your daughter.

CXV. Ἐξ Ἐλαιοντος ὑφελόμενος] *Had carried off from Eleontum.* We should read ἐπαλόμενος. I have spoken of this Ionism in note 2. on § XLIV. Book II.

Πρωταίλων] *Of Protesilaus.* Protesilaus was a Thessalian. He went to the siege of Troy, at the head of the troops of Phylace,<sup>d</sup> of Pyr-

\* Herodot. lib. i. § cxxiii.

† Plat. Akribiad. i. v. l. l. p. 121. G.

<sup>c</sup> Scalig. Canon. Isagog. lib. iii. p. 260.

<sup>d</sup> Homen Hist. lib. ii. vers. 695—699.

Phasus, of Iton, &c. He was killed by a Dardanian as he disembarked. The scholiast of Homer quotes many opinions on this point. Some, says he, contend that this Dardanian was Æneas; others, that it was Euphorbus; again there are those who attribute the death of Protesilaus to Hector, and others to Achates.

Ἐνὶ γῆν τῆν αὐτῆν] *On your territory.* The Persians looked upon Asia, not only as belonging to them, but as having always belonged to them; perhaps because they considered themselves to have succeeded to the rights of the princes whom they conquered. We have seen, Book VII. § XI., Xerxes assert, that Pelops the Phrygian had been the slave of his ancestors, though Phrygia was not under the dominion of the Medes when the Persians conquered Media; nor had it ever been so previously: at least such is the opinion of Herodotus.

If we may rely on Plato,<sup>a</sup> however, the whole of Asia had been subject to the Assyrians. The Medes succeeded the Assyrians, and the Persians the Medes. Hence the pretensions of the Persians. So infatuated were they on this point, that Artaxerxes, who conquered the Parthians in three pitched battles, and restored the empire of Persia in the east, in the year 233 of our era, "made incursions into Mesopotamia, threatened Syria, and wished to recover to the Persian empire all the continent opposite to Europe, and which is separated from it by the Ægean sea and the strait of the Propontis, indeed, the whole of Asia, as being the patrimony of his ancestors, which he was entitled to possess."<sup>b</sup> See also Book I. § IV.

Ἀφολάκτῳ] *Unawares.* I read with the Ms. of Sancroft, and that of Vienna, ἀφολάκτῳ. In the Ms. D of the Royal Library, we read in the margin, in a recent hand-writing, ἀφολάκτῳ ré κως . . .

CXVIII. Πλειστοράῳ θεῷ] *Their god Plistorus.* This divinity, as barbarous as the people who adored him, is utterly unknown. The sacrifices offered to him induce me to believe that he was the god of war, whom the Thracians represented under the form of a sword.<sup>c</sup> The Scythians slaughtered the hundredth part of their prisoners over a vase, and sprinkled this sword with the blood. The same custom obtained with the Huns. "Nec<sup>d</sup> templum apud eos visitur aut delubrum . . . sed gladius barbarico ritu humi figitur nudus, eumque ut Martem . . . colunt." The Cilicians offered to the god of war a worship equally barbarous. They suspended<sup>e</sup> the victim, whether a man or an animal, to a tree, and from a certain distance killed him, by

<sup>a</sup> Plato de Legibus, lib. iii. Vol. ii. p. 683. D.

<sup>b</sup> Herodian, lib. vi. § vi. p. 307.

<sup>c</sup> Herodot. lib. iv. § lxi.

<sup>d</sup> Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxxi. cap. ii. p. 478.

<sup>e</sup> Xenophon. Ephes. de Amoris Anchin et Abrocomar, lib. ii. pp. 35, 36.



throwing darts at him. When they struck the victim, they considered that the god accepted the sacrifice.

CXIX. Ἐπάλλοντό τε καὶ ἡσάριον] *They leaped and palpitated.* The good \* Archbishop of Thessalonica, in his commentaries on Homer, relates this story with the view of supporting another which Ulysses tells the Phœaciens, as if one fable could justify another.

Τάριχος] *Salted.* I have not here made use of the term 'embalmed,' as I have done on similar occasions, because it would not then have appeared what reference these salted fish could have to Artayctes.

Τῷ Πρωτοσίλῳ τιμημένον] *To avenge Protesilaus.* This hero was the son of Iphiclus. He reigned in Phthiotis, near Thebes, over the people of Phylace,<sup>†</sup> of Antron, of Pteleum, of Pyrrhasus, and of Iton. On the arrival of the Greeks at Troy, he was the first that landed: and was immediately killed by a Dardanian. He was buried at Eleontum in the Chersonesus, opposite the city of Troy. A chapel was afterwards erected to this hero on the place of his interment. "Sunt \* Protesilai ossa consecrata delubro." There was likewise, near this chapel, a grove of trees consecrated to him. From the time of Protesilaus to that of Pliny, as soon as the branches of these trees reached such a height that the city of Troy could be seen from them, they withered and budded afresh, alternately. "Sunt \* hodie ex adverso Iliensium urbis juxta Hellespontum in Protesilai sepulchro arbores, quæ omnibus ex eo ævis cum in tantum accrevire ut Ilium adspiciant, inarescunt, rursusque adolescunt." Thus Salmasius<sup>‡</sup> has corrected this passage; and Vossius<sup>§</sup> found it so written in a Ms. I see no reason why Father Hardouin should suppress 'ex eo,' as he was acquainted not only with the correction of Salmasius, but was aware that it was so written in the Ms. of Vossius. We find the same idea conveyed in an epigram of Philip of Thessalonica, who lived under Augustus: "Illustrious Protesilaus, thou first taughtest Troy to feel the weight of Grecian arms, and the trees which grow around thy tomb shoot forth anger against Ilium: for no sooner can it be perceived over their branches, than these branches wither and lose the ornament of their foliage. Great must have been thy wrath against Troy, since even thy trees are still irritated at the sight of it."

Καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ταῦτα ὁ νόος ἔφερε] *And such was likewise the intention of the Athenian general.* Let men deplore as deeply

\* Eustath. Comment. ad Odys. lib. xii. Vol. iii. p. 172B. lin. 34 et seq.

† Homeri Iliad. lib. ii. vers. 595 et seq.

‡ Pompon. Met. lib. ii. cap. ii. p. 144; Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. iv. cap. xi. Vol. i. p. 207. lin. 1.

§ Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xvi. cap. x. Vol. ii. p. 40. lin. 19.

¶ Pliniana Exercitat. in Solinum, p. 610. col. ii. E. F.

‡ Pompon. Met. lib. ii. p. 684.

§ Analect. Vet. Poet. Græcor. Vol. ii. p. 223.

as they will the fatal effects of superstition; let them dilate on the injustice, the atrocities to which the paroxysms of this disorder have incited men the most upright and humane, and I will coincide with them: but I must at the same time profess my conviction, that temples and other monuments raised by the piety of nations in honour of the Deity should be respected; and that Artayctes must have been a monster, thus outrageously to scoff at the received religion of the country.

CXXI. Φιλίειν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαλακῶν χώρων μαλακοὺς ἄνδρας γίνεσθαι] *The most delightful countries commonly produce only delicate and effeminate men.* The Father of Medicine confirms the statement of Herodotus. After describing the advantages which the temperate part of Asia possesses over Greece, he adds, that the men of that country\* are not naturally bold or courageous, and that they do not voluntarily endure fatigue or labour. This opinion moreover is confirmed by experience. Greece conquered Asia, the Romans overcame both Greece and Asia; and though they subdued likewise the Gauls, the Germans, and other northern nations, it was because those people were undisciplined and ignorant of the art of war. When they attained this science, they in their turn became masters of the world, and dismembered the Roman empire. The Franks conquered the Gauls, the Lombards Italy, and the Visigoths Spain. In a word, the inhabitants of the north have always overcome those of the south.

This is a truth which has been more or less developed by some of the most illustrious writers of antiquity. See the notes of Wesseling and Valckenaer on this passage of Herodotus, and especially Gataker ad Marcum Antonium, lib. iv. § xxxix. p. 123, where, amongst other curious passages, he cites one from Polybius, which strikingly confirms this observation. That judicious historian, attempting to account for the inflexible character of the Arcadians, thus expresses himself:† “The cold and gloomy climate of the greater part of the Arcadian provinces gives to its inhabitants a severe character, because it is natural that we should resemble the climate in which we dwell. For such is the cause, and we need seek for no other, of the variety we observe in different nations; so that those who are most remote from each other, generally differ most widely in their manners, form, colour, and political institutions.”

The President Montesquieu, who had deeply reflected on the nature of man and his institutions, and who had convinced himself in his travels, both by observation and reading, of the influence of climate on national character, was so deeply impressed with the truth of this maxim, that he has devoted several books of his ‘*Esprit des Loix*’ to

\* Hippocrat. de Aëribus, Aquas, Locis,      † Polyb. Historiar. lib. iv. § xxi.  
§ xxiii. Vol. i. p. 347.

prove it. It is to be regretted, however, that this ingenious and profound writer should not have observed that the Christian religion, which adapts itself to all climates, has greatly modified this influence. A man has started up, however, who has thought to gain \* himself a name by refuting Montesquieu ; but his futile diatribe has only served to prove that he does not understand the point in question. To answer him, would be to trespass too much on the patience of my readers.

\* Chassebœuf, *Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte*, Vol. ii. p. 423.

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

<b>THEOCRACY established in Egypt.</b>	B. C.
The High Priests of the eight most ancient Deities govern the country. It is unknown when they began to reign.	
The High Priests of the twelve succeeding Deities possess themselves of the chief power (Herodotus, ii. 43.) about	17570
The High Priests of the Deities of the third order succeed them. That of Osiris begins to reign about	15570
That of Orus dispossesses him. Time unknown.	
Theocracy abolished. Menes, 1st king of Egypt, reigns 62 years, according to Eratosthenes, (Syncelli Chronographia, p. 91.)	12356
His son Maneros dies young	12340
Three hundred and twenty-nine kings succeed Menes.	
The last was Mæris. They begin to reign	12294
Foundation of Tyre, according to the Tyrians. Herodotus, ii. 44.	2760
All these events being necessarily posterior to the deluge, which happened 2328 B. C., we must conclude that the Egyptian priests related to Herodotus fables concerning the antiquity of their nation.	
The deluge	2328
Commencement of the Assyrian Empire, according to Ctesias. Diodor. Sic. ii. 21.	2107
— According to Diodorus Sic. ii. 28. and Æmilius Sura.	
Vell. Paternulus, vi.	2057
— According to Castor. Syncell. Chronograph. p. 205.	2027
Earthquake which separated Ossa from Olympus, which, by making a passage for the waters, rendered Thessaly habitable.	1885
Pelasgus, king of the country afterwards called Arcadia, passes into Thessaly	1884
Rape of Io by the Phœnicians. Herodotus, i. 1.	1745
Pelasgus, son of Neptune and Larissa, passes into Thessaly with his brothers Achæus and Phthius, and expels the inhabitants, six generations after Pelasgus, king of Arcadia.	1727
Birth of Moses	1611
The daughters of Danaus institute the Thesmophoria	1568
Rape of Europa	1552
Birth of Minos I. king of Crete	1548
Deucalion passes into Thessaly, with the Leleges and Curetes, afterwards called Locrians and Ætolians, and expels the Pelasgians. Dionys. Halicarn. i. 17.	1541

	B. C.
The greater part of the Pelasgians retire to Dodona. Dionys. Halicarn. i. 18. . . . .	1540
Some Pelasgians go to Crete, others to Lesbos. Id. ibid. . . . .	1540
The Pelasgians who had retired to Dodona, finding themselves a burden to the natives, settle in the country afterwards called Tyrhæna. Id. ibid. 19. . . . .	1539
The Boeotians settle in Thessaly, near Arne and Iolchos. Strabo, ix. p. 616. . . . .	1535
Origin of the Scythians, according to their own account. Herodotus, iv. 7. . . . .	1508
Mæris, the last of the 330 kings of Egypt, according to Vecchietti. Herodotus, ii. 101. . . . .	1424
Institution of the Eleusinian mysteries . . . . .	1404
Ion goes into Asia and makes some weak settlements . . . . .	1391
Ion returns into Ægialea . . . . .	1388
Archander and Architeles, sons of Achæus, leave Phthiotis, go to Argos, and each marries a daughter of Danaus. Herodotus, ii. 98. . . . .	1374
Foundation of Zancle by the Siculi . . . . .	1369
Pelops arrives in Greece and gets possession of Pisa and Elis . . . . .	1362
Nesostriis, king of Egypt . . . . .	1356
Œdipus ascends the throne of Thebes . . . . .	1354
Origin of the Scythians, according to the Greeks of Pontus. Herodotus, iv. 8. . . . .	1354
The Cretans, under Minos II. lay siege to Camicos in Sicily. Herodotus, vii. 170. . . . .	1351
Expedition of the Argonauts; Rape of Medea . . . . .	1350
Tyrcheus, son of Atys, settles in Italy, and gives his name to the country. Herodotus, i. 94. . . . .	1344
The Heraclidæ put themselves under the protection of Theseus . . . . .	1321
Pheron, king of Egypt . . . . .	1312
Theseus marches against Eurystheus with Hyllus, son of Hercules. Eurystheus is defeated and slain by Hyllus. . . . .	1311
Hyllus quits the Peloponnese on account of a pestilence . . . . .	1310
Theseus carries off Helen. Herodotus, ix. 72. . . . .	1296
Proteus, king of Egypt . . . . .	1294
Hyllus killed by Echamus of Tegea. Herodotus, ix. 26. . . . .	1290
Rape of Helen by Paris . . . . .	1290
Siege of Troy formed by the Greeks . . . . .	1280
Taking of Troy, May 23d . . . . .	1270
The Assyrians masters of Higher Asia. Herodotus, i. 95. . . . .	1267
Birth of Pan. Herodotus, ii. 145. . . . .	1260
The third attempt of the Heraclidæ to recover the Peloponnese under Cleodæus, son of Hyllus . . . . .	1245
Rhampsinitus, king of Egypt . . . . .	1244
End of the dynasty of the Atyadæ, kings of Lydia: the commencement is unknown. Commencement of the dynasty of the Heraclidæ. Agron the first of that dynasty. Herodotus, i. 7. . . . .	1220
Birth of Theras, son of Antesion: he was the tenth descendant from Cadmus . . . . .	1214



B. C.

The fourth attempt of the Heraclidæ under Aristomachus, son of Cleodæus. Aristomachus is slain, and leaves three sons under age, Aristodemus, Temenus, and Cresphontes.	1210
The Boeotians return into Boeotia. Thucyd. i. 12.	1210
The Pelasgians who had settled in Tyrrhenia, are expelled by the natives and go to Attica. Herodotus, vi. 137.	1209
The Pelasgians who had entered Boeotia, join the Pelasgi-Tyrrhenians in Attica.	1207
The Pelasgians build the Pelasgic wall for the Athenians. Herodotus, vi. 137.	1192
Conquest of the Peloponnese by Aristodemus, Cresphontes, and Temenus.	1190
The Achæans, driven by the Heraclidæ, take refuge in Ægialea, afterwards called Achæa, then possessed by the Ionians.	1189
Death of Aristodemus: he leaves the crown of Lacedæmon to his two infant sons, Procles and Eurysthenes; Theras, son of Auteson, their maternal uncle, is their guardian. Herodot. iv. 147. and vi. 52.	1178
Cheops, king of Egypt. Herodotus, ii. 127.	1173
The Pelasgians are expelled from Attica by the Athenians, and conquer Lemnos. Herodotus, vi. 137.	1162
The Minyæ, driven from Lemnos by the Pelasgians, fly to Lacedæmon. Herodotus, iv. 145.	1160
The Pelasgians carry off the Athenian women from Brauron. Herodot. vi. 138.	1152
Colonization of the island Calliste, afterwards called Thera, by Theras and some of the Minyæ. Herodot. iv. 148.	1150
Foundation of Leprium, Macistus, Phrixa, Pyrgus, Epium, and Nudium in Triphylia, by the Minyæ. Herodot. iv. 148.	1149
The Pelasgians of Lemnos put to death the children they had by the Athenian women, and also the mothers themselves. Herodot. vi. 138.	1139
Self-devotion of Codrus, the last king of Athens.	1132
Ionic migration, according to Apollodorus and Eratosthenes. Clement. Alexandr. Stromat. i. p. 388. and 402.	1130
Chephren, king of Egypt. Herodot. ii. 127.	1128
Birth of the first known ancestor of the historian Hecatæus of Miletus. Herodot. ii. 143.	1082
Mycerinus, king of Egypt. Herodot. ii. 129.	1072
The Siculi drive the Sicani from Sicily, three ages before the establishment of the Greeks in Sicily. Thucyd. vi. 2.	1059
Zancle, afterwards called Messina, founded by the Siculi. Thucyd. vi. 4.	1058
Asychis, king of Egypt. Herodot. ii. 136.	1052
War between the Lacedæmonians and Argives about Cynuria. Herodot. i. 82.	1032
Anysis, king of Egypt. Herodot. ii. 137.	1012
Anysis, driven from his kingdom by an Ethiopian king, takes refuge in the isle of Elbo.	1011
Sisac, who succeeded the Ethiopian usurper in the sovereignty of Egypt, pillages the temple at Jerusalem. 1 Kings xiv. 25.	970

	B. C.
Anysis leaves Elbo after 50 years, and maintains himself on the throne till his death. Herodot. ii. 140. . . . .	961
Anysis dies. Id. ibid. . . . .	954
N. B. There is in this part of Herodotus an hiatus of 241 years, concerning the history of Egypt. See my Essay on Chronology, ch. i. 12.	
Phidon, king of Argos, invented weights, measures, &c. Herodot. vi. 127. . . . .	895
Charillus, son of Polydectes, king of Lacedæmon, of the House of Procles, or the second House: Lycurgus is his guardian . . . . .	888

	B. C.	Olymp. of Iphitus.
The Olympic games instituted by Hercules, Pelops and Pisus, having been interrupted, are renewed by Lycurgus of Lacedæmon, Iphitus of Elis, and Cleosthenes of Pisa, twenty-seven Olympiads before that in which Coræbus of Elis won the prize . . . . .	884	I. 1
Birth of Homer and Hesiod. Herodot. ii. 53. . . . .	884	I. 1
Legislation of Lycurgus . . . . .	866	V. 3
Last year of the Olympiads of Iphitus . . . . .	777	XXVII. 4

	B. C.	Ol. of Coræbus.
The victors at the Olympic games were not up to this time enrolled in the public registers. They were in the following Olympiad. This Olympiad is considered as the first, because it is the one from which the Greeks have always calculated. It is called the Olympiad of Coræbus, because Coræbus of Elis obtained the prize . . . . .		
Birth of Echecrates, descendant of Elatus, king of the Lapithæ, and grandfather of Cypselus, king of Corinth. Herodot. v. 92. . . . .	774	3
Sabacos, king of Ethiopia, conquers Egypt. Herodot. ii. 139. . . . .	763	IV. 2
Foundation of Naxos in Sicily. Thucyd. vi. 3. . . . .	759	V. 2
Foundation of Rome, according to Varro, in the spring. Plutarch in Romulo, p. 24. . . . .	754	VI. 2
The Medes shake off the Assyrian yoke . . . . .	748	VIII. 1
First Messenian war . . . . .	743	IX. 2
Birth of Eetion, father of Cypselus, king of Corinth . . . . .	742	3
Midas, son of Gordius, king of Phrygia. Herodot. i. 14. . . . .	737	X. 4
End of the first Messenian war . . . . .	723	XIV. 2
Death of Candaules, last king of Lydia, of the race of the Heraclidæ. Herodot. i. 12. . . . .	715	XVI. 1
Numa Pompilius elected king of Rome . . . . .	714	3
Sethos, king of Egypt. Herodot. ii. 141. . . . .	713	4

	B. C.	Ol. of Carabus.
Sennacherib, king of Assyria, enters Judæa, sends one of his generals to Jerusalem, and passes into Egypt. 2 Kings xviii. 13. . . . .	713	XVI. 4
Sennacherib defeated by the Egyptians. Herodot. ii. 141. . . . .	712	XVII. 1
Deioces elected king of the Medes. Herodot. i. 98. . . . .	709	4
Aminocles of Corinth builds the four first triremes for the Samians. Thucyd. i. 13. . . . .	704	XIX. 1
Birth of Cypselus, king of Corinth. Herodot. v. 92. . . . .	700	XX. 1
Second Messenian war . . . . .	682	XXIV. 3
Foundation of Chalcedon. Herodot. iv. 144. . . . .	675	XXVI. 2
Twelve kings, among whom is Psammetichus, govern Egypt fifteen years with equal authority. Herodot. ii. 147. . . . .	671	XXVII. 2
End of the second Messenian war . . . . .	668	XXVIII. 1
Engagement between the Corinthians and Corcyreans. Thucyd. i. 13. . . . .	664	XXIX. 1
Foundation of Byzantium. Herodot. iv. 144. . . . .	658	XXX. 3
Phraortes, king of the Medes. Herodot. i. 102. . . . .	656	XXXI. 1
Psammetichus expels his colleagues and becomes sole king of Egypt. Herodot. ii. 152. . . . .	656	1
Foundation of Abdera. Herodot. i. 148. . . . .	656	2
Orthagoras, tyrant of Sicily. Herodot. v. 66. . . . .	655	2
Eurycrates II. king of Lacedæmon, of the first family. Herodotus calls him Eurycratides. Herodot. viii. 204. . . . .	651	XXXII. 2
A Samian vessel is driven to Tartessus; the first Greek ship that ever put in there. Herod. iv. 152. . . . .	644	XXXIV. 4
Cylon obtains the prize in the double stadium at the Olympic games. Herodot. v. 71. . . . .	640	XXXV. 1
Battus colonizes the island Plataea. Herodot. iv. 157. . . . .	639	2
Birth of Solon . . . . .	638	3
Cyaxares succeeds Phraortes in the kingdom of Media. Herodot. i. 103. . . . .	634	XXXVI. 3
Taking of Sardis by the Cimmerians. Herodot. i. 16. . . . .	634	
Cyaxares forms the siege of Nineveh; and is attacked and defeated by the Cimmerians. Herodot. i. 103. . . . .	633	4
Periander succeeds Cypselus of Corinth . . . . .	631	XXXVII. 2
Battus I. founds Cyrene. Herodot. iv. 158. . . . .	631	
Sadyattes, king of Lydia. Herodot. i. 16. . . . .	631	
The Scythians ravage Judæa and take Ascalon; they then proceed towards Egypt, but are diverted by the presents of Psammetichus. Herodot. i. 105. . . . .	631	XXXVIII. 1

	B. C.	Ol. of Corcebus.
Thraſybulus, tyrant of Miletus. Herodot. i. 20. . . . .	625	XXXVIII. 4
Agasicles, king of Lacedæmon, of the ſecond Houſe. Herodot. i. 55. . . . .	624	XXXIX. 1
Nabopolassar II. the ſame as the Nabuchodonosor of Scripture, and the Labynetus of Herodotus . . . . .	623	2
War between Sadyattes king of Lydia and the Milesians. Herodot. i. 17. . . . .	622	3
Æſop flouriſhes . . . . .	621	4
The Lacedæmonians meet with loſſes in the war with Tegea. Herodot. i. 66. . . . .	620	XL. 1
Nechos, king of Egypt. Herodot. ii. 159. . . . .	617	4
Alyattes, king of Lydia. Herodot. i. 25. . . . .	616	XLI. 1
The Cimmerians driven from Asia Minor. Herodot. i. 16. . . . .	613	4
Conſpiracy of Cylon. Herodot. v. 71. . . . .	612	XLII. 1
Nechos enters Judæa in his march againſt the Aſſyrians. 2 Kings xxiii. 29. Herodot. ii. 159. . . . .	611	2
End of the war between the Lydians and Milesians. Herodot. i. 18, 19, and 22. . . . .	610	3
Some Phœnicians ſail round Africa. Herodot. iv. 42. . . . .	609	4
The Scythians driven from Higher Asia. Herodot. i. 106. . . . .	605	XLIII. 4
Cyaxares takes Nineveh. Herodot. i. 106. . . . .	603	XLIV. 2
War between Cyaxares and Alyattes. Herod. i. 73. . . . .	602	3
Pſammis, king of Egypt. Herodot. ii. 161. . . . .	601	4
Eclipse of the ſun on the 9th of July, predicted by Thales. Herodot. i. 74. . . . .	597	XLV. 4
Birth of Mandane, daughter of Aſtyages . . . . .	596	XLVI. 1
Apries, king of Egypt. Herodot. ii. 161. . . . .	595	2
Birth of Cræſus, ſon of Alyattes, king of Lydia . . . . .		
Aſtyages, king of the Medes. Herodot. i. 130. . . . .	594	3
Legiſlation of Solon . . . . .	594	3
Anachariſis travels through Greece . . . . .	592	XLVII. 1
Arceſilaus I. king of Cyrene. Herodot. iv. 159. . . . .	591	2
Mandane, the daughter of Aſtyages, eſpouſes Cambyſes, a Perſian of good family. Herodot. i. 107. . . . .	576	LI. 1
Lycophron is baniſhed to Corcyra, by his father Periander, tyrant of Corinth. Herodot. iii. 50. . . . .	576	2
Birth of Cyrus. Herodot. i. 108. . . . .	575	2
Battus II. king of Cyrene. Herod. iv. 159. . . . .		
Ariſton, king of Lacedæmon, of the ſecond family, contemporary with Anaxandrides. Herod. i. 65. . . . .	574	3

	B. C.	Ol. of Corusua.
Cræsus is associated on the throne of Lydia, by his father Alyattes . . . . .	574	LI. 3
Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, obtains the prize at the Olympic games. Herodot. vi. 126. . . . .	572	LII. 1
The Phocæans, alarmed at the conquests of Cræsus, raise their walls by the liberality of Arganthomus, king of Tartessus. Herod. i. 163. . . . .	571	2
Amasis, king of Egypt. Herod. ii. 172. . . . .	570	3
Megacles, son of Alcimuon, espouses Agariata, the daughter of Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon. Herod. vi. 130. . . . .		
Solon visits Sardis. Herodot. i. 30. . . . .	567	LIII. 2
Rhodopis, the celebrated courtesan, flourishes. Herodot. ii. 134. . . . .		
Periander sends 300 boys of the chief families of Corcyra to Alyattes to be castrated. Herodot. iii. 48. . . . .	565	4
Periander reconciles Hegesistratus, son of Pisistratus, to the Mytelenians. Herodot. v. 94 and 95. . . . .	564	LIV. 1
Death of Periander . . . . .	563	2
Alalia founded in Corsica by the Phocæans. Herodot. i. 165. . . . .	562	3
Pisistratus acquires the sovereign power at Athens for the first time, in January. Marm. Oxon. Epoch. 41. . . . .	561	3
Cræsus loses his eldest son in the chase. Herodot. i. 43. . . . .	560	4
Cræsus ascends the throne of Lydia, on account of the death of his father, about the end of May . . . . .	559	LV. 1
Cyrus, king of Persia. Herodot. i. 130. . . . .	559	1
Pisistratus driven from Athens. Herodot. i. 59. . . . .	559	2
The Samians seize a corselet sent by Amasis to the Lacedæmonians. Herodot. iii. 47. . . . .	556	LVI. 1
The Samians seize a bowl, which the Lacedæmonians had sent to Cræsus. Id. . . . .	555	2
Lycurgus and Megacles, who had united to expel Pisistratus, disagree: Megacles offers to re-establish Pisistratus, if he would marry his daughter. Herodot. i. 60. . . . .	555	2
Arcesilaus II. king of Cyrene . . . . .	554	3
Cræsus makes an alliance with the Lacedæmonians. Herodot. i. 69 and 70. . . . .		
Pisistratus expelled a second time. Herod. i. 61. . . . .	553	4
Foundation of Barce in Lybia. Herodot. iv. 140. . . . .	550	LVII. 3
Apries strangled. Herodot. ii. 169. . . . .		
Birth of Darius. Herodot. i. 209. . . . .		



	B. C.	Ol. of Cornehus.
Death of Arganthonius, king of Tartessus.		
Birth of the historian Hecateus of Mile-	549	LVII. 4
tus.		
Conflagration of the temple of Delphi. He-		
rodot. i. 59. and ii. 180. . . . .	548	LVIII. 1
The Lacedæmonians recommence war with		
the Tegeatæ with greater success, and take Te-		
gea. Herodot. i. 48. . . . .	545	3
War between the Spartans and Argives, about		
Thyrea, in the spring. Herodot. i. 82. . . . .	545	3
Cæsus dethroned by Cyrus. Herod. i. 84, &c.	545	4
Engagement between 300 Argives and 300		
Spartans, &c. Herodot. i. 82. . . . .		
Arcesilaus II. king of Cyrene, is poisoned.		
Plutarch de Virt. Mul. p. 260. Battus III.	544	LIX. 1
succeeds him. Herodot. iv. 161. . . . .		
The Neuri settle in the country of the		
Budini. Herodot. iv. 105. . . . .		
Advice of Thales to the Ionians. Herodot. i.		
171. He died the same year at the age of ninety.		
Diogen. Laert. i. 37. . . . .	543	2
The wife of Anaxandrides being barren,		
he takes a second by the advice of the Ephori.		
Herodot. v. 40. . . . .		
Pisistratus a third time established in the	542	3
sovereignty of Athens. Herodot. i. 61. . . . .		
Taking of Phocæa by Harpagus, one of the		
generals of Cyrus. Herodot. i. 164. . . . .		
Cimon, son of Stesagoras, victorious in the		
Olympic games in a four-horsed chariot,		
causes his brother Miltiades to be proclaimed		
as victor. Herodot. vi. 103. . . . .	540	LX. 1
Advice of Bias to the Ionians. Herodot. i.		
171. . . . .		
Cyrus takes Babylon. Herodot. i. 191. . . . .	538	3
The Phocæans defeat the Carthaginians and		
Tyrrenians. Herodot. i. 166. . . . .		
Cimon obtains a second victory at the		
Olympic games, and causes Pisistratus to be		
proclaimed in his stead. Herodot. vi. 103. . . . .	536	LXI. 1
Birth of Themistocles . . . . .		
Hyela in CEnotia founded by the Phocæans.		
Herodot. i. 167. . . . .	535	2
Cimon obtains a third victory. Herod. vi. 103.	533	LXII. 1
Polycrates usurps the tyranny of Samos. Id.		
iii. 120. . . . .	532	2
Stesagoras, son of Cimon, succeeds his uncle		
Miltiades in the Chersonese. Id. vi. 38. . . . .	531	2
Death of Cyrus. Id. i. 214. . . . .		
Anacreon arrives at the court of Polycrates. }	530	3
Id. iii. 121. . . . .		

	B. C.	Ol. of Coronus.
Cambyzes, king of Persia. Herodot. ii. 1. } Arcestilaus III. king of Cyrene. Id. iv. 162. } Nitetis, daughter of Apries, sent to Cam- byzes. Id. iii. 1. . . . .	529	LXII. 4
Death of Pisistratus, who is succeeded by his eldest son Hippias. Id. v. 55. . . . . Evelthon, king of Salamis in Cyprus. Id. iv. 162. . . . .	528	LXIII. 1
Cimon assassinated by the sons of Pisistra- tus. Id. vi. 103. . . . .	527	2
Psammenitus, king of Egypt. Id. iii. 10. . . . . Conquest of Egypt by Cambyzes. Id. iii. 10, &c. . . . .	526	3
The Spartans send troops against Polycra- tes. Id. iii. 39. . . . . Birth of Æschylus. Marm. Oxon. Epoch. 49. . . . .	525	4
Foundation of Cydonia in Crete. Id. iii. 44 and 49. . . . .	524	LXIV. 1
Death of Polycrates. Id. iii. 125. . . . .	523	2
Death of Cambyzes. Id. iii. 46 and 47. . . . .	522	2
The Magus Smerdis usurps the throne. Id. iii. 47. . . . .	522	3
Darius, son of Hystaspes, elected king of Per- sia. Id. iii. 88. . . . .	521	3
Siromus, son of Evelthon, king of Salamis in Cyprus. Id. v. 104. . . . .	521	3
Demaratus, son of Ariston, king of Sparta, of the second House. Id. vi. 64. . . . .	520	LXV. 1
The Platæans put themselves under the pro- tection of Athens. Id. vi. 108. Thucyd. iii. 68. . . . .	519	1
The Samian exiles, who founded Cydonia, are enslaved by Æginetæ. Herod. iii. 59. Battus IV. king of Cyrene. . . . .		
Miltiades, son of Cimon and brother of Stesagoras, retires to the Chersonese. . . . .	518	3
The Bactrians besieged by the Persians in compliance with the request of Pheretima, widow of Battus III. and mother of Arcesti- laus III. Herodot. iv. 203 and 204. . . . .		
Birth of Pindar, in April . . . . .	517	LXVI. 3
Babylon revolts against Darius. Herod. iii. 150. . . . .	516	1
Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides, king of Sparta. Id. v. 42. . . . .		
Dorieus, his brother, leads a colony into Lybia. Id. <i>ibid.</i> . . . . .		
Chersis, son of Siromus, king of Salamis in Cyprus. . . . .	515	2
Stesagoras, prince of the Chersonesus, killed. His brother Miltiades is sent by the Pisistra- tidæ to govern that country. Herodot. vi. 39. . . . .		

	B. C.	Ol. of Corabus.
Cleomenes defeats the Argives, and violates the sanctity of the grove of Argos. Herod. vi. 75.	514	LXVI. 3
Hipparchus killed. Hippias succeeds him. Id. v. 55.		
Darius takes Babylon. Id. iii. 158, &c.	513	4
Syloson obtains from Darius the tyranny of Samos. Id. iii. 140, 141, and 149.	512	LXVII. 1
The Alcæmonidæ engage to rebuild the temple of Delphi. Id. ii. 190. and v. 62.		
Spintharus was the architect. Pausan. x. 5.	511	2
Otanes subdues Lemnos and Imbros. Herodot. v. 26.		
Hippias expelled from Athens. Id. v. 65.	510	2
Miltiades sails from the Chersonese and takes Lemnos. Id. vi. 189.	510	3
Athens split into factions; that of Clisthenes superior. He establishes ten tribes instead of four. Id. v. 66.	509	4
Kingly power abolished at Rome.		
Eurylcen, the companion of Doricus, gets possession of Minoa in Sicily, and gives it the name of Heraclea. Herod. v. 46.	508	4
Cleomenes expels Clisthenes from Athens, but attempting to dissolve the council, he is compelled to evacuate Attica by the indignant people. Id. v. 72.	508	LXVIII. 1
Expedition of Darius against the Scythians. Id. iv. 1.		
Cleomenes enters Attica with large forces to re-establish Hippias, but being abandoned by the Corinthians, and his colleague Demaratus, retires. Id. v. 75.	507	2
Invasion of the Chersonese by the Scythians. Id. vi. 40.		
Miltiades returns to the Chersonese.	506	3
The Athenians defeat the Boeotians, invade Eubœa and conquer the Chalcidians. Herod. v. 77.		
Cleander reigns at Gela. Id. vii. 154.	506	4
Commencement of disturbances in Ionia. Id. v. 28.	504	LXIX. 1
Ionia rises up against Darius. Burning of Sardis. Id. v. 100, &c.	503	2
Gorgus, son of Chersis, king of Salamis in Cyprus. Id. v. 104.	502	3
The Cyprians revolt against the Persians.		
The Cyprians again brought under the yoke. Id. v. 116.	501	4
Cleander, tyrant of Gela, killed by Sabylus: Hippocrates succeeds him. Id. vii. 154, 155.	498	LXX. 3
Miletus taken by the Persians. Id. vi. 18.		

	B. C.	Ol. of Carabus.
Aristagoras, who stirred up Ionia to revolt, is slain by the Thracians, while besieging Novem-Vise. Herod. vi. 126. and Thucyd. iv. 102.	498	LXX. 3
Birth of Sophocles. Marm. Oxon. Epoch. 57.		
Representation of the drama of Phrynichus, entitled the Taking of Miletus. Herod. vi. 21.	497	4
The Samians get possession of Zancle, afterwards called Messana. Id. vi. 23.		
Chios, Tenedos, &c. taken by the Persians. Metiochus, the eldest son of Miltiades, made prisoner with his vessel by the Persians. Miltiades reaches Imbros with four other vessels in safety. Pacification of Ionia. Id. vi. 41, 42.	496	LXXI. 1
Preparations of Darius for a war against Greece.		
Scythes, tyrant of Zancle, who had been made prisoner by Hippocrates, escapes to Persia. Herodot. vi. 24.	495	2
Mardonius sets out for Greece in the spring. Part of the fleet of Mardonius wrecked near Mount Athos. Return of that general into Asia. Herodot. vi. 44, 45.		
Birth of Sophocles. Auctor Vit. Sophoclis.	493	4
The Thasians pull down their walls in obedience to the orders of Darius. Herodot. vi. 48.		
The heralds of Darius go to Greece and demand earth and water. Id. ibid.	492	LXXII. 1
The Æginetæ give earth and water. Id. ibid. 49.		
Cleomenes crosses over to Ægina to seize those Æginetæ who were accused of favouring the Persians, but is baffled by the suggestions of Demaratus and forced to depart. At his return to Sparta he procures the banishment of Demaratus. Leotychides, king of Lacedæmon, of the second House. Id. vi. 50, 65, &c.	491	2
Fresh preparations of the Persians against Greece. Id. vi. 94.		
Cleomenes returns to Ægina accompanied by Leotychides and seizes the guilty. Id. vi. 73.	491	
Demaratus goes to the court of Persia. Id. vi. 70.		
Gelon gets possession of Gela. Id. vii. 154, 155. Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. vii. 1.		

	B. C.	Ol. of Coræbus.
Cleomenes, finding his intrigues against Demaratus discovered, goes into Thrace, and from thence into Arcadia, where he endeavours to stir up the people against the Lacedæmonians. Herodot. vi. 74.	490	LXXII. 3
He is recalled to Sparta, through fear of his intrigues. Id. ibid. 75.		
The Persians plunder Naxos, and take the towns of Caryatus and Eretria. Id. ibid. 96, 99, 101.	490	3
Battle of Marathon gained by Miltiades about the 17th of August. Mémoires de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom. xviii. Hist. p. 149, &c.		
Cleomenes kills himself in a fit of madness. Leonidas, his brother, succeeds him at the age of 50 years. Herodot. vi. 75.		
Miltiades not being successful in the siege of Paros, is brought to a trial and dies in prison. Id. ibid. 132, 136.	489	4
Darius makes fresh preparations against Greece. Id. vii. 1.		
Zeoxidamus, the son of Leotychides, dies of a disease. Id. vi. 71.	488	LXXIII. 1
Leotychides marries a second wife, Eurydame, by whom he has a daughter named Lampito. Id. ibid.	487	2
Egypt revolts against the Persians. Id. vii. 1.	486	3
Birth of Euripides. Marm. Oxon. Epoch. 51.		
Death of Darius. Xerxes, king of Persia. Herodot. vii. 4, 5.	485	4
Xerxes subdues Egypt. Id. ibid. 7.		
Achæmenes, a younger brother of Xerxes, is appointed governor. Id. ibid.		
Birth of Herodotus. Aul. Gell. xv. 23.	484	LXXIV. 1
Gelon makes himself master of Syracuse. Herodot. vii. 156.		
Gelon destroys Camarina, and transports the inhabitants to Syracuse. Id. ibid.	483	2
Gelon transports to Syracuse half the inhabitants of Gela. Id. ibid.		
Victory obtained by the Phœceans over the Thessalians. Id. viii. 27, 28.	482	2
Aristides, surnamed the Just, banished by Ostracism. Plutarch. in Aristide, p. 322. Corn. Nepos in Aristide, cap. 1.		
Demaratus gives the Lacedæmonians information concerning the armament of Xerxes. Herodot. vii. 239.	482	3



	B. C.	Ol. of Corcebas.
Gelon destroys Megara in Sicily. Herod. vii. 156.	482	LXXIV. 3
Eclipse of the sun on the 19th of April.		
Id. vii. 37. Pingré, Chronologie des Eclipses.		
Mémoires de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom.		
42. Hist. pag. 123.	481	3
Xerxes leaves Susa about the end of April		
Xerxes reaches Sardis at the beginning of autumn, and passes the winter there. Herodot.		
vii. 32.	481	4
Deputation of the Greeks to Gelon, to solicit his assistance, about the spring. Id. vii.		
153, 157, &c.	480	4
Xerxes leaves Sardis in the spring. Id. ib.		
37.		
Battle of Thermopylæ. Id. ib. 210, &c.		
Plistarchus, yet a minor, succeeds Leonidas. Pausanias, the son of Cleombrotus, is his guardian	480	LXXV. 1
Aristides is recalled in the third year of his banishment. Plutarch. in Arist. p. 323. Corn.		
Nepos in Arist. cap. 1. et ibi not. Bosii		
Xerxes takes Athens, and carries off the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton. Pausan. i. 8.		
Battle of Salamis, on the 20th of Boedromion (30th September)		
Gelon defeats the Carthaginians. Herodot.	480	1
vii. 166.		
Eclipse of the sun on the 2nd of October.		
Herodot. ix. 10.		
Birth of Euripides. Plutarch. Symp. viii. 1.		
Diogen. Laert. ii. 45.		
Battle of Plataea won by Pausanias, guardian of Plistarchus. Herodot. ix. 59, &c.		
Victory obtained at Mycale by Leotychi- des on the same day, the 4th of Boedromion (14th of September). Id. ix. 90, 97, &c.	479	2
Death of Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse. His brother Hiero succeeds him	478	3
The Athenians rebuild their walls.		
Pausanias sent to expel the Persians from Cyprus and the cities on the Hellespont, is recalled, tried, and acquitted, but not sent back to the fleet	478	3
Pausanias put to death. Plistarchus dies soon after, and is succeeded by Plistoanax		
Exile of Themistocles	477	4
The command of Greece transferred to the Athenians		

	B. C.	Ol. of Corambus.
Birth of Thucydides, in the spring. <i>Aul. Gell.</i>		
xv. 23. . . . .	471	LXXVII. 1
Leotychides marches into Thessaly to punish the Aleuadae: suffering himself to be bribed, he is deposed. Archidamus II, his grandson, succeeds him. <i>Herodot. vi. 72.</i> . . . . .	469	4
Archidamus espouses Lampito, daughter of Leotychides by a second marriage. <i>Id. ib. 71.</i> . . . .	468	LXXVIII. 1
Hermolycus killed at Cynos in the territory of Carystus, in an engagement between the Athenians and Carystians. <i>Id. ix. 105.</i> The rest of Eubœa did not take any share in this war. <i>Thucyd. i. 98.</i> . . . . .	467	2
Third Messenian war . . . . .	465	4
Arcesilaus IV. king of Cyrene . . . . .	464	LXXIX. 1
The Egyptians revolt against the Persians, and declare Inarus their king. The Athenians send them assistance . . . . .	463	2
Achæmenes, son of Darius, marches at the head of a formidable army against Egypt, and is defeated and slain. <i>Diodor. Sic. xi. 74.</i> <i>Herodot. iii. 12.</i> . . . . .	462	3
Herodotus goes to Egypt . . . . .	460	LXXX. 1
The Egyptians are subdued: the Athenians make a treaty with the Persians. Inarus is betrayed and crucified. Amyrtæus flies to the isle of Elbo about the middle of June. <i>Herodot. ii. 140.</i> <i>Thucyd. i. 110.</i> <i>Diod. Sic. xi. 77.</i> . . . . .	458	2
The Athenians are defeated at Tanagra by the Lacedæmonians. <i>Herodot. ix. 34.</i> <i>Thucyd. i. 108.</i> <i>Diodorus Siculus</i> says that the victory was doubtful, <i>xi. 80.</i>		
Herodotus returns to Halicarnassus and expels Lygdamus, prince of that city, who had put to death Panyasis his uncle . . . . .	457	4
Reduction of Ithome: end of the third Messenian war. <i>Diod. Sic. xi. 64.</i> . . . . .		
Herodotus reads part of his history at the Olympic games. <i>Dodwell, Appar. ad An. nat. Thucyd. 18.</i> . . . . .	456	LXXXI. 1
The Romans send three ambassadors to Athens for the laws of Solon. <i>Tit. Liv. iii. 31.</i> . . . .	454	3
Sophanes and Leagrus, Athenian captains, are killed in Thrace in an engagement with the Edoni. <i>Herod. ix. 74.</i> <i>Pausan. i. 29.</i> <i>Anonym. Manusc. apud Dodwell. de Cyclis, p. 742.</i> . . . .	453	4
Herodotus reads part of his history at Athens during the festival of the Panathenæa, on the 12th of Hecatombæon (25th July). <i>Euseb.</i> . . . .	444	LXXXIV. 1
Foundation of Thurium by the Athenians		

	B. C.	Ol. of Corvus.
12 years before the Peloponnesian war: Herodotus at the age of 40, and Lysias at the age of 15, are among the colony. Plutarch. in Lys. p. 835. Dionys. Halicarn. in Lysia, p. 130. Plin. Hist. Nat. xii. 4. Diodor. Sic. places this event two years earlier, xii. 9. . . . .	444	LXXXIV. 1
The bones of Leonidas carried from Thermopylæ to Sparta. An oration is appointed to be pronounced every year over the place of burial and games to be celebrated, to which only Spartans are admitted. Pausan. iii. 14. . . . .	440	4
Zopyrus, son of Megabyzus, flies to Athens. Herodot. iii. 160. . . . .	440	LXXXV. 1
Commencement of the war between the Corinthians and Corcyreans. Diodor. Sic. xii. 30.	439	2
Commencement of the Peloponnesian war in the spring . . . . .	431	LXXXVII. 1
Archidamus ravages Attica: Decelea spared by the Lacedæmonians, in return for a service performed by the Deceleans. Herodot. ix. 72. Thucyd. ii. 19. . . . .	431	2
Nicolaus, son of Bulis, and Aneristus, son of Sperthius, put to death by the Athenians. Herodot. vii. 137. Thucyd. ii. 67. . . . .	430	3
The Medes revolt against the Persians, and are subdued. Herodot. i. 130. See note . . . . .	408	XCIII. 1
Athens taken by the Peloponnesians in the spring . . . . .	404	4

THE END.

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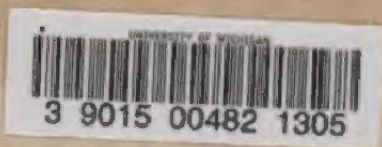
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